

THE
ASIATIC JOURNAL
AND
MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

VOL. IV.
THIRD SERIES.

NOVEMBER—APRIL.

LONDON:
WM. H. ALLEN & CO.
LEADENHALL STREET.

1845.

**Printed by J. & H. COX, BROTHERS (LATE COX & SONS),
74 & 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields**

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS, &c.		PAGE
American Oriental Society ... ..	...	30
Burman Manners, Sketches illustrative of ... ..	...	230
Caste ... ..	...	357
Christianity in Tinnevely, Progress of ... ..	...	632
Connection of the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean by the Isth- mus of Panama ... ..	...	565
Country between Bhawalpore and Sirsa, Survey of ... ..	...	526
Eastern Wives... ..	...	73
Ellenborough, Lord, Entertainment to, at Calcutta... ..	...	94
English in India ... ..	...	347
Excursion in South Africa ... ..	...	502
Extorted Confessions ... ..	...	43
Friends till Death, a Chinese Tale ... ..	...	155
Historical and Critical Review	1, 113, 217, 337, 449, 540	
Historical Discoveries in Affghanistan ... ..	...	134
"India and Lord Ellenborough" ... ..	...	277, 392
Indian Native Army ... ..	...	357
Indications of Character ... ..	...	182
Jangams, Creed, Customs, and Literature of the ... ..	...	79, 169
Japan, Manners and Customs of ... ..	...	11
Joaô de Castro's Lost Log-Book ... ..	...	461
"Jottings from my Journal"	56, 123, 262, 375, 513, 580	
Macnaghten, Sir Wm. Hay ... ..	...	479, 605
Mahomedan Population of India... ..	...	590
Masson, Mr., Reply of .. ..	...	562
Morrison's Chinese Dictionary ... ..	...	44
Nuggur and about it ... ..	...	624
Orientalisms in Æschylus ... ..	...	49, 164, 368
Persia, Present Condition of ... ..	...	391
Persian Texts :		
Jami ... ..	...	10
Khâkânî	145, 186, 229, 244, 356, 415	
Ni'mat Ullah ... ..	...	510
Shams-i Tabriz ... ..	...	631
— Poetry, Translation of		234, 367
Pharaoh's Magicians ... ..	...	40
Physic and Physicians in China ... ..	...	27
Pollock, Sir George, Meeting at Calcutta to welcome ... ..	...	429
Pottinger, Sir Henry, Entertainments to ... ..	...	295
Promotion in China, Penalty for asking ... ..	...	39
Recollections of a Sentinel	19, 146, 245, 416, 596	
Ruth Festival at Juggernaut ... ..	...	254
Salt Tax in Madras and Bombay, Increase of ... ..	...	270, 387
Visits of Foreign Princes to England ... ..	...	74
POETRY.		
A Bohemian Custom Illustrated ... ..	...	47
Translation of a Hindee Song ... ..	...	459
Legend of Vâthen and Vil-Vâthen ... ..	...	511
Ghazel of Hafiz ... ..	...	521
BIOGRAPHY.		
Kamalakanta Vidhyalanka, Pundit ... ..	...	29
Mr. J. G. Gerard ... ..	...	66
Ram Comul Sen ... ..	...	194

CORRESPONDENCE.

State of Oriental Literature	...	...	...	...	200
Proposed School at Simla	...	...	...	...	293

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Journey across the Desert from Ceylon to Marseilles ; by Major and Mrs. G. D. Griffith	...	...	...	...	187
Travels in Lúristan and Arabistán ; by Baron C. A. De Bode	...	...	...	...	237
The Conquest of Scinde ; by Major-Gen. W. F. P. Napier	...	...	...	...	255
The Theogony of the Hindoos ; by Count M. Björnstjerna	...	...	...	...	385
The History of British India ; by H. H. Wilson, Esq.	...	...	...	...	424
Bokhara, its Amír and its People ; by Baron C. A. De Bode	...	...	...	...	472
The Horn-Book of Storms ; by Henry Piddington	...	...	...	...	522

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Portfolio, 93. Hawkins' Wars of Jehovah, *ib.* Waghorn's Overland Guide to India, *ib.* Tate's Counting-House Guide, *ib.* Barker's Union Jack of Great Britain, *ib.* Points and Pickings about China, 201. Hamilton's Letters on License Fees in New South Wales, 291. Danger of the Re-introduction of Corporal Punishment into the Indian Native Army, 292. Howse's Grammar of the Cree Language, *ib.* Hughes's Duties of Judge Advocates, *ib.* Caldecott's Life of Baber, 425. Barber's Overland Guide Book, *ib.* Campaign West of the Indus, *ib.* Borrer's Journey from Naples to Jerusalem, 426. Harris's Introduction to the "Highlands of Ethiopia," *ib.* Beke's Statement of Facts relative to the Mission to Shoa, *ib.* Holme's Anglo-Indian Policy, 533. Reply to "India and Lord Ellenborough," 534. Klauer-Klattowski's German Manual, *ib.*

COLLEGE EXAMINATIONS.

Haileybury College	...	...	...	...	310
Military Seminary, Addiscombe	...	...	...	...	315
College of Fort William	...	...	...	...	321

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY	201, 427, 535,	634
-----------------------	-----	-----	----------------	-----

Bombay Branch of	639
------------------	-----	-----	-----

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE	639
--------------------------------	-----	-----	-----

DEBATES AT THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE	303, 640
---------------------------------	-----	-----	----------

EAST-INDIA CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICES,	97, 204,	301
---	----------	-----

CHRONICLE	99, 206, 323, 435, 538,	648
-----------	-----	-----	-------------------------	-----

OBITUARY.

Mr. Wm. Huttman	...	...	...	...	104
Mr. Wm. Sprott Boyd	...	...	...	...	105
Dr. James Jephson	...	...	...	...	105
Rev. G. M. Valentine	...	...	...	...	106
Rev. W. Bowley	...	...	...	...	210
Mr. T. M. Lane	...	...	...	...	329
Colonel Powell	...	...	...	...	330
Sir Wm. Nott	...	...	...	...	441
Sir James Dowling	...	...	...	...	543

Births, Marriages, and Deaths	...	109, 211, 331, 444, 544,	652
-------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	-----

Arrivals & Departures of Ships & Passengers,	106, 213, 332, 445, 545,	653
--	--------------------------	-----

Overland Mails to and from India	...	111, 215, 335, 447, 547,	655
----------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	-----

Ships destined for India	...	112, 216, 336, 448, 548,	646
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THE ASIATIC JOURNAL

AND
MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1844—APRIL, 1845.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. XLII.

HAVING already said so much, in this place, for several months past, upon the subject of the late Governor-General of India and his recall, our inclination would lead us to avoid this topic upon the present occasion, and until some further information with reference to it was before the public, which is at present in absolute ignorance of the real cause of Lord Ellenborough's removal. But in reviewing the contents of the last month's mail, it is impossible to abstain from noticing this subject, since it engrosses the Indian newspapers, to the exclusion of others, almost all of them joining, as we observed last month, in one consentient cry of vituperation, which leaves scarcely an act of this nobleman's government uncondemned. Lord Ellenborough may have committed grave political errors,—though none can have approached in magnitude the errors of his predecessor; he may have been guilty of a less pardonable mistake, in forgetting to what authority he was really responsible; but it is impossible that his conduct can have justified the clamorous eagerness of reproach with which every part of it has been assailed. The Indian journals contain criticisms upon the government of Lord Ellenborough which would make us believe that it was a series of false policy, blunders, and absurdities, from the beginning to the end; that every thing he did was wrong, and every thing which he ought to have done was left undone; that all these errors were peculiarly his own, none of the members of his council being in the smallest degree answerable for them, whilst the few bene-

ficial, or rather innocent, measures of his administration are to be ascribed to others. The very statement raises a suspicion of exaggeration on the part of this noble personage's accusers; it is repugnant to probability and experience; the more so, when we recollect that the recal of the person thus represented to have been floundering in blunders and eccentricities, putting to hazard our empire in India, and sowing mutiny in the native army, was strenuously resisted by the Queen's Government at home, and was declared by one member of it, whose knowledge of India, as well as his statesmanlike qualities, entitles him to the highest respect, to be an act of gross indiscretion.

It is not our custom to suspect secret motives in those whose actions are open to observation, much less to attribute them; but where accusations are made against an individual placed in an arduous station, which are not proved, which are improbable in themselves, and which are negatived by very high testimony, it is difficult to refrain from surmising that there is some occult reason of his being visited with so much indiscriminate censure. A writer in the *Agra Ukhbar* has attributed the attacks of the Indian press to the denial by his lordship of certain indulgences granted by his predecessor. His words are:—"On his assuming the government, he did not continue to the gentlemen of the press the same indulgence which they enjoyed under his predecessor; he would not, in fact, tell them what he intended to do, or give them an outline of the proposed measures of his Government: from that hour they hated him, and viewed his conduct with the jaundiced eye of malevolence." The fact of the cessation of certain indulgences turns out to be true, for it appears that Lord Auckland did send brief abstracts of intelligence received by Government to all the papers, and that Lord Ellenborough discontinued this practice. But the inference is another matter: we cannot suppose, because his lordship thought it inexpedient and unjust that the head of the Government should itself violate the orders of the Court of Directors, to disconnect the Government from the press, that he would be made an object of malicious attack. The facility with which official information is obtained by the journals of India made the suspension of the authorized communications a matter of little moment. Indeed, this fact is avowed: the *Friend of India* says of Lord Ellenborough:—

We set down his dislike of the press to this feeling of contempt for the sentiments of others, rather than to any resentment for its opposition to his views; and we regard it among his minor failings—for with the hostility which the Court of Directors are known to feel towards

the liberty of the press, he might at any time have conciliated them by gagging it. His lordship's attempts to deprive the press of its influence, by forbidding the communication of all correct intelligence, by those who alone possessed it, was a manifest error. No one can object to the orders issued to the officers of the army to keep the report of military movements as under the seal of confession; for though secrecy is one of the elements of success in the art of war, yet so ill had it been preserved, that General England's route was openly published in the papers before he undertook it; but the subsequent notification, which forbade the communication of any information of which a public officer had become possessed from his official station, produced an injurious effect on the interests of society, and not less of Government. This order has kept nothing, and will keep nothing, from the press, which it has an interest in obtaining. Indeed, some of the most important documents which have ever been published, have appeared since the promulgation of the order, and Government wonders how we came by them.

Another, and much more probable, source of the severe treatment of the late Governor-General is his open, avowed disregard of claims founded solely upon interest, and his resolute perseverance in the course of choosing candidates for office not upon the ground of *who* they were, but *what* they were. In the course of time, the success of such a new policy must have been apparent; but in the meanwhile it would generate a secret, but extensive, discontent, that would circulate amongst the most powerful classes. That Lord Ellenborough did act upon this principle, without reserve, we have the confession of, perhaps, his bitterest censor, the *Friend of India*, which has been just to him upon this point:—

In the distribution of the patronage which was still reserved to the office of governor-general (says that Journal), Lord Ellenborough has been guided, in every instance that we have heard of, by a conscientious regard to the public interests. In many cases he has sought out and rewarded modest merit; in every instance he has acted to the best of his knowledge and judgment in bestowing office on the most meritorious. No man during his administration has had reason to pride himself on his "interest;" on the contrary, he has been considered—perhaps to some excess—as a disqualification. He has rejected all recommendations, though given by near connections. There have been cases in which those for whom the warmest family interest was made from home, have been indignantly rejected, while the connections of political opponents, who were found worthy, have been appointed to vacancies. And those whom his lordship has once taken under his patronage he has seldom been known to desert.

If such be (as we believe it) a true representation of the course which Lord Ellenborough has pursued, no man who knows what the

world is will doubt that he has thereby created many enemies amongst powerful families. But even this will not account for the hard measure he has received from the press of India, by which (as the foregoing extract shews) his honest and impartial dispensation of patronage is made almost the only subject of encomium.

Again ; Lord Ellenborough has been charged with making a distinction in his treatment of the civil and military branches of the service, evincing superciliousness and neglect towards the former, and an open and public demonstration of favour towards the latter ; in fact, he is charged, in so many words, with “ the undue exaltation of the military and the corresponding depression of the civil functionaries ;” nay, further, “ it was not merely by this unjust favouritism that Lord Ellenborough laid himself open to censure ;” but, at the fêtes given to him by the military bodies, “ he repeatedly announced physical force as the fundamental principle of his administration.” Whether this charge be just or otherwise, the very suspicion of it is calculated to inflict a deep mortification upon a large and influential body, conscious, as every individual of it must be, that a more able, meritorious, and efficient organ of administration never existed than the Indian civil service. If it be true, such preference must be regarded not merely as “ an act of impolicy,” but as one of great weakness and injustice. The head of the Government should have no partialities ; he should take especial care that each branch of the service receives an equal measure of regard, though he may, without being guilty of partiality, reward any unusual manifestation of zeal and energy in either. But this is one of the matters in respect to which the public require information. If Lord Ellenborough, instead of shewing an unjust favouritism, by unduly exalting one branch and depressing the other, has morely endeavoured to restore the balance between them, by raising one that was unduly depressed to a level with the other, he has done no more than a discreet head of the Government ought to have done. Let it be remembered that, whatever be the aggregate amount of wisdom and virtue in the civil service,—and none can estimate it higher than we do,—the preservation of India must, for many years at least, depend upon the army, which will never be in a state of efficiency if its European officers, the vital principle and soul of the army, and especially of the native portion of it, feel themselves to be treated as an inferior caste, subordinate to that of civilians. In the review of Lord Ellenborough’s administration, to which we have more than once adverted, the charge of his pointed neglect of the civil service is supported by reference to individual instances,

and amongst them to Mr. Secretary (now Sir Thomas) Maddock, whose feelings, it is asserted, were wounded by his lordship in "many instances." This assertion can have been made upon no less authority than that of Sir T. Maddock himself; and it is, therefore, not for us to gainsay the fact, that that able and estimable public servant conceived that his feelings upon those occasions were not sufficiently consulted. But even this assumption affords no conclusive evidence against Lord Ellenborough. His own feelings were very little consulted in the act and in the manner of his recal; yet no one thought of *therefore* censuring the Court of Directors for doing what they believed to be their duty.

It may be supposed that, in these observations, we are essaying to vindicate the administration and the personal conduct of the late Governor-General of India. We have no such design in them; our intention is to suspend our own opinion till the materials for judgment are before the public, and then we shall not shrink from a rigorous, but impartial, examination of both; and the observations in which we have now indulged have no other aim than to guard those who honour them with a perusal against forming hasty conclusions from imperfect, erroneous, and perhaps partial information. That love of fairness, which is a distinguishing trait of Englishmen, may, perhaps, have some share in disposing us to take a lenient view of the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, when we see him evidently prejudged and run down, whilst he still retains the confidence of the ministers of the Crown, who *really* appointed him, and of whose measures, after all, he may have been the passive instrument: the same writer who, in censuring in the lump all Lord Ellenborough's political acts, regards him as their author, justified his predecessor for carrying into effect the most pernicious measures, on the ground that they were forced upon him by the ministers at home. Moreover, Lord Ellenborough commenced his government at a time when the affairs of India were in a state of unexampled difficulty; he left it, only two years and a half after, exhibiting "a gratifying appearance of peace and prosperity."

The ceremonies attending the departure of the late Governor-General, and especially the entertainment given to him by the corps composing the presidency division, occupy a very conspicuous place in the last Indian papers. As this subject is of some importance, and as, contrary to his usual practice, Lord Ellenborough appears to have sanctioned the publication of an authentic report of the speech he delivered at the military dinner, we have put upon record, in another place, a full account of the proceedings. The

acceptance of this entertainment, an innocent,—at all events, a natural and excusable,—indulgence, like all the other acts of this nobleman in India, has been made a ground of vehement condemnation of him. Nothing, however, could be freer from offence than the whole affair. It was a private convivial meeting, in which every thing was conducted with propriety and moderation.

His lordship embarked at Prinsep's Ghaut, on the 1st August, on board the *Tenasserim* steamer (not the *Auckland*); he was accompanied to the ghaut by Mr. Bird, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, and a number of gentlemen of both services, under three salutes, one fired as he entered the state-carriage at Government House, where he took leave of Sir Henry Hardinge; a second as he entered the fort, and a third when he quitted the shore of India. He arrived in England on the 11th of October, and has, for the present, retired, with additional marks of royal approbation, into private life.

His successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, reached Calcutta on the 23rd July, where he held a levee on the 25th, and a durbar, for receiving the native aristocracy, on the 5th August. The mistake, which occurred upon Lord Ellenborough's assumption of the government, when it was supposed that native gentlemen were not permitted to be presented to the new Governor-General at the levee, with Europeans, was avoided. That circumstance, which has been remembered to the disadvantage of Lord Ellenborough, is thus explained. After the day had been fixed for the durbar (subsequent to the levee), the usual invitations were sent round to the native gentlemen who were in the habit of attending, and it was expected that they would prefer the more distinguished reception they would enjoy at the durbar to being presented among a crowd at a levee. Some of those usually invited to the durbar were, however, present at the levee, and were informed that it was considered likely to be more agreeable to them to wait for the more formal presentation at the durbar, when they quitted Government House; but, through some misunderstanding, other native gentlemen, who were on the Government House visiting list, and not on the durbar list, understood what had been said to the former visitors as also applied to them, and withdrew. It was entirely a simple misunderstanding. As the latest intelligence from Calcutta is the 19th August, no public measure of importance can be expected to have emanated from the new Governor-General, who has, however, re-appointed Mr. Wilberforce Bird, long senior member of the Supreme Council, to the deputy-governorship of Bengal, to which office he had been appointed by Lord Ellenborough, who judiciously severed the local administration of

Bengal and the North-West Provinces from the Government-General, relinquishing at the same time the patronage of the two offices of Deputy-Governor of Bengal and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces.

It has been customary for us to begin our survey of the state of India with the Punjab, the only part of that country which is in a critical condition. The accounts from Lahore, which are to so late a date as the 7th August, represent affairs as still in the same favourable state as respects the position of Heera Sing, who has now the title of "Rajah Sahib." The *Agra Ukhbar Extra*, of August 15th, indeed, speaks of a report received from Lahore of some secret measures, having for their object the overthrow of the Khalsa dynasty, by Heera Sing, in conjunction with his uncle, Golab Sing. This would throw some light upon the cause of the military preparations which have been for some time and are still going on in the vicinity of the capital. The Rajah Sahib has dismissed all the European officers in the Sikh service, ostensibly because they communicated the secrets of the Lahore Cabinet to the English Government: he is represented to have declared to the council, that "no faith was to be found in Christians." It is stated, too, that he has likewise resolved to disband all the Sikh regiments, and enlist only Mahomedans, Kohistanecs as well as Punjabees. These measures are consistent with a scheme for usurping the throne, which the European officers and the present corps would be likely to resist. All accounts, however, concur in stating that, whatever may be the condition of the capital, the internal state of the country is any thing but tranquil, though certainly not one of open rebellion. It is said that "a most vile and treacherous system at present exists; that anarchy, systematic plunder, and shameful confiscation, with private assassination, are the daily and numerous results, and that every thing is carried on by the agency of dark and mysterious craft and policy, hitherto unparalleled in the East." The minister is represented to have addressed the chiefs present at the durbar on the 15th July, and assured them that "the only way in which they could secure advancement was by paying every possible attention to an increase of the revenues of the state."

The accounts from Gwalior, which are to the 12th August, state that matters go on as usual,—intrigues and differences amongst the ministers, conferences with the British resident, and insubordination on the part of the thakoors. The Moonshee Bulwunt Rao is said not to be on the best terms with Ram Rao Phalkea, the head of the council of regency, who is supposed to be jealous of his col-

leagues. The latter fears that he shall be supplanted, and his wife is in constant attendance upon Tara Bhaee, to prevent any private communications hostile to her husband. His chief security, however, consists in the want of unanimity amongst the other members of the council. On the 19th July, it was intimated to the maharajah that the ministers had gone to Sir Richmond Shakespear, to lay before him a memorandum of the income and expenditure of the state. The ministers represented to the Bhaee that, in the time of Alijah Scindia, and even during the regency of the Baiza Bhaee, the revenue yielded at least a crore of rupees, and that a surplus of several lakhs used to be yearly paid into the gungajullee, or state-treasury, whereas now the income did not exceed sixty lakhs. This is a poor fund out of which to pay eighteen lakhs a year to the British Government under the treaty of 1844, besides a debt of twenty-six lakhs.

The other foreign states of India offer no subjects for comment. A strange and improbable announcement is published in a Bombay paper, on the credit of a letter from Bushire, namely, that the King of Persia had abdicated in favour of his son.

The state of British India furnishes no topic of interest or, happily, of anxiety. Scinde was, at the date of the latest advices, perfectly quiet, and the health of the troops excellent. There is reason to think the insalubrity of the country has been over-stated, and that, with proper care and precautions, Scinde may not occasion more casualties than some parts of India. The trying period is, however, after the subsiding of the river, towards the close of the year. At Sukkur, which was surrounded with the waters of the inundation, the troops were remarkably healthy. Another "mischance," as it is called, had occurred near Shikarpore. On the 18th July, Capt. McKenzie marched from Kanghur with 150 horse to attack a fort, followed by Capt. Smith, with 170 men, horse and foot, and a couple of guns. The party, however, suffered so much from heat and want of water (Capt. McKenzie becoming insensible from the effects of the sun, and the men being in a state of extreme exhaustion from thirst), that they were compelled to fall back upon Kanghur, *re infectâ*.

The settlement of Bundelkhand seems a more difficult task than had been expected. The ex-rajah of Jeitpore is still at large, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts to induce him to surrender, and bribe his followers, or those acquainted with his retreat, to betray him. "One letter from the chief military station in Bundelkhand," says the *Delhi Gazette*, "leaves no doubt on our mind as to the feeling which still pervades the country; while another from the

same neighbourhood conveys the disagreeable intelligence of several hundred men having assembled near the banks of the Jumna for the sake of plundering." The same paper, however, acknowledges that much has been done by the police battalions, and especially the portion consisting of Major Ferris's Affghans (who fought so gallantly under him in Affghani-tan), in hunting out and bringing to justice several of the more atrocious followers of the Jeitpore rajah.

Of the local incidents at the presidencies we can select few that are worthy of such a distinction. Entertainments were rather numerous during the month; besides that to the late Governor-General at Calcutta, a splendid dinner was given by the society of Simla to the Commander-in-Chief, on the 19th July, the anniversary of the last and most brilliant action fought in China, and the capture of Cheang-kwang-foo; and a grand ball and supper at Bombay to Sir Henry Pottinger, August 23rd. Upon the latter occasion, the chairman, Mr. Crawford, senior member of council, gave a sketch of the services of Sir Henry, in which he took occasion to deny in emphatic terms the statement, put forth by "dissatisfied spirits, interested, it was to be feared, in the maintenance of evils which it had been Sir Henry's endeavours to put an end to," that the Government at home disapproved of his conduct; whereas he had received "the entire and unqualified approbation of her Majesty and her confidential advisers of all his acts." We regret to have seen in the Hong-kong papers some remarks upon the administration of Sir Henry, discovering a very bitter spirit; and still more to observe this hostility referred in a Bombay paper to private motives. If Sir Henry Pottinger has, in the proper execution of his very difficult and invidious office, provoked the enmity of individuals, the public will protect him from its effects—it is a testimony to his resolution and his honesty.

The Bombay papers contain a long report of a very long trial of eighteen Parsees for the murder of one of their own nation, on account of a grudge arising out of some disputes connected with their newspapers. It appears that the *Chabook*, conducted by Nowrojee Dorabjee, and the *Jami Jamsheed*, edited by Pestonjee Manuckjee, are the organs of two factions, which are on terms of deadly hatred. Muncherjee Hormusjee, the deceased, was employed in the office of the *Chabook*, and the act was a savage, cold-blooded, meditated assassination, perpetrated in the open day, by twenty or thirty men, armed with clubs and knives, and in the presence of many others, who made no effort to rescue the victim, or call in the police. What is still worse, the greatest difficulty was experienced in ob-

taining witnesses, and those who were induced to come forward, including Parsee priests, were guilty of the most unblushing perjury, avowing that they swore falsely through apprehension of the prisoners and their friends. Such were the bulk and contradictory nature of the evidence, that the Chief Justice occupied twelve hours in summing it up. The jury consulted for two hours, and found ten of the prisoners guilty of wilful murder. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon four; the other six were condemned to transportation for life. After the sentence, however, petitions were presented to the Chief Justice,—one by the counsel, suggesting legal doubts, and another from 2,000 natives, denying the facts stated by the witnesses. In consequence, examinations were taken, affidavits made, and disclosures volunteered, and the Judge was induced to respite the sentence of all the culprits except one; and, from the depositions, it is very doubtful whether it would be safe to punish any of the other nine convicted prisoners!

FROM THE SILSILAT UZ-ZAHAB OF JĀMĪ.

تمثيل

گفت روباه بچه با روباه
کای ز مکر سگان ده آگاه
بازی کن کنون مرا تعلیم
که بدان از سگم نباشد بیم
گفت ازان بازی نه بینم به
که تو دردشت باشی او در ده
چشم روی بر تو چشم تو بروی
نفتد ور نه افتد در پی
بکشد گر نه حق شود یاور
پوسینت زیشت و پوست ز سر

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JAPANESE.

NO. XII.—LITERATURE—STATISTICS—HISTORY.

IN first turning over the six numbers of Dr. von Siebold's *Archive*, we flattered ourselves that they contained a genuine specimen of Japanese literature, translated by Dr. Hoffmann, collated with and tested by Mr. Medhurst's English translation of a Corean version of the Japanese original. It turns out, however, that the work, entitled the *Book of a Thousand Words*, is a well-known elementary Chinese work, translated into Corean and Japanese; the Corean by Mr. Medhurst, and the Chinese original by Dr. Hoffmann, using the Japanese and English versions to test his own accuracy. It is, therefore, needless to notice this book, which, though prodigiously admired in Dai Nippon, is no specimen of the literary genius of the Japanese. Dr. Hoffmann says:

"Respecting the age of the *Book of a Thousand Words*, we find conflicting opinions. According to Japanese history, the Chinese scholar Wang-shin, who was invited from the Corean peninsula to the Court of the Mikado, as the primary teacher of the language and literature of the central empire, brought the book to Japan A.D. 285. Its unknown author is supposed to have lived during the reign of Han-Chang-te (from A.D. 76 to 88). According to another view, imported long afterwards from China, the origin of this book is of much later date, and it is ascribed to a certain Chen-hing-sze, who lived during the reign of Leang-Woo-te (from A.D. 502 to 549), and wrought it out from a sketch of the erudite Wang-shin; a contradiction which Sansi, an old Japanese translator of this work, strives to reconcile by the assertion that there have been two books of the same name, and that the last has entirely superseded the first. The plan of the book is an anthology from the oldest Chinese literature. It consists of metrical rhymed propositions, of four and four words each, put together with such poetic audacity, and often so elliptically, that some familiarity with Chinese literature, and with the favourite ideas of this nation, is requisite in order to arrange logically complete, and render intelligible, such detached or broken propositions. One Japanese editor of this work (one of many Japanese translations) announces at the conclusion thirty other various editions."

We have another translated work, but as it is historical, we think as much of the geography, or rather statistics, as can interest the general reader, may conveniently precede it. In this paper, the doctor confines himself to the island of Kiusiu, and all details chiefly to the principality of Fizen, as best known to the members of the factory.

Kiusiu is of volcanic formation, and has four craters; they nevertheless produce annual earthquakes, besides the indications of hot springs, &c. Fizen is very mountainous; to it belongs the Wunzen volcano; indeed its name, *Fizen*, expresses the position of the land relatively to the volcanic fire;* but it is, notwithstanding, very fertile,

* *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxix. p. 180.

the steepest mountains being cultivated to a very considerable height. For this purpose they are formed into terraces, supported by walls, in which rice is grown, as the precipitous banks of the Rhine are built into vineyards. Irrigation is accomplished by a skilful diversion of mountain rills to supply these rice-fields with the due quantity of inundation. Whether the acknowledged superiority of the Japanese rice be owing to this singular mountain-cultivation, is not stated. Fizen owes part of its wealth to its shape ; it is all promontory and bay, besides the 1,016 islands comprised within its limits, and its coast abounds in fish, especially the valuable awabi (*Haliotis*). It is the shell of the awabi, and not ordinary mother-of-pearl, that is employed in the glittering parts of Japanese lackerwork, and the fish itself, accounted, when dried, a prime dainty, is exported to China to the value of £3,000 per annum.

The inhabitants of Fizen, as of Kiusiu generally, Siebold divides into two almost distinct races. Those of the coast and islands, fishermen and sailors, of course, he describes as comparatively small and dark, with black hair, curly, and often nearly woolly, and a more highly Tartar physiognomy, modified by a touch of the Negro. Corporeally they are adroit ; mentally, persevering, bold, frank, good-humoured, and obliging, even to servility. The inland-born, mostly agriculturists, are larger and fairer, with a slight tendency to red hair. They are temperate, industrious, devout, good-natured, generous, and hospitable ; but, like their betters, intolerably ceremonious. The upper classes in all the cities, except Miyako, are pretty much alike, because they all are, and must be, educated at Yedo, whence they possess the high polish of the capital. Even second-rate officials, having there begun their career in inferior posts, have acquired a considerable portion of its polish, and more of its corruption ; since they live through their youth in that paradise of the Yedoites, the notorious Yosihara street, returning premature old men to their native provinces. The sons of considerable merchants are usually educated at Ohosuka ; where, as the Swede Thunberg, nearly three-quarters of a century ago, called it a second Paris, we may conjecture that they find similar resources, if inferior in style ; but we may also be permitted to hope that the destined traders are earlier called home from this island of Circe or Calypso to attend to business.

But this observation does not apply to Miyako, which possesses ample means of educating all her children at home. "At Miyako, simple manners still prevail, maintaining freshness of mind and purity of heart, whilst they foster the arts and sciences, which especially flourish in the Mikado's own city."

In glaring contrast to this pleasing picture stands Nagasaki, the most corrupt and the least national city in the empire. The character of Nagasaki has suffered from the infection of Chinese cunning and rapacity, and the coarseness of European sailors ; and is further debased by the throngs of the craftiest traders in Japan, who are naturally attracted to the only seat of foreign commerce. Even the language

has not escaped these baleful influences ; it is so interlarded with Chinese, as to be well nigh unintelligible to visitors from Nippon and Sikok. Much of Chinese manners, whether for the better or the worse, has likewise been gradually adopted : the lantern-festival is Chinese, and in Japan pretty nearly confined, it should seem, to Nagasaki, where more flesh meat is consumed than in any other city of Dai Nippon.

The principality of Fizen appears to comprise some smaller principalities, as well as some lordships held immediately of the Ziogoon ; but what authority, if any, the prince of Fizen exercises over them, is not explained. His revenue amounts to nearly as much as all theirs together, being £357,000 sterling a year. Kokura, where the Dutch embark for Nippon, is the residence of the prince of Buzen, whose principality is quite independent of, and unconnected with, Fizen, though inferior to it in power and magnitude. But our perplexity concerning the relative positions of the prince of Fizen and his minor princes is certainly not relieved by discovering in Buzen, besides the reigning prince, whose income amounts to £150,000, and a prince of Oni, his relation, with an income of only £10,000 a year, a prince of the house of Satzuma, the power and wealth of which house have appeared in former papers.* And this prince, who holds his court in the second city of the principality, and enjoys an income of £100,000 a year, proves to be the very individual who was indulged with the Dutch name of Frederik Hendrik, and therefore a son of the reigning prince of Satzuma, and a brother-in-law of the Ziogoon.†

We now proceed to the historical portion of these numbers, in which Siebold has given us both the Japanese original and a German translation of a work which seems to partake both of a chronological table and an historical abridgement. The author's name is Asiya Yamabito, and that of the work *Wa nen lei*, of which title we have two translations ; at the head of the German version it is rendered "Historic Tables," upon the title-page of the original "Succinct Japanese Annals." This is, we imagine, about the newest Japanese historical work, since it comes down to the year 1822. To censure it as dry, were altogether supererogatory, that being implied in what has been already said of its nature ; but still we may shew its character by selecting from the wearisome series of brief entries such as refer to points in Japanese history and manners worthy of notice :—

VERTS B.C.

667. Zin mu marches with his army from the west. This prince, who in his lifetime bore the name of honour, Fiko Fobodemi (as a child, his name had been Sano), was the fourth son of Fiko Nakisatake Ukaya fuki avasezuno mikoto, by Tamayori fime (the last pair of terrestrial gods), born in the seventh year of the thirty-third Chinese cycle. On account of his brilliant qualities, he was chosen as heir to the throne in his fifteenth year ; married Afira tau fime, and resided, to the age of forty-four, in a palace on the mountain Takatsifo, in Fiuga (a province of Kiuisu).

* *Asiatic Journal*, N.S., vol. xxx. p. 95, and vol. xxxi. p. 116.

† *Id.* vol. xxix. p. 263.

Years a.c.

662. Zin mu completes the conquest of the country (Nippon), and builds a palace.
660. On the first day of this year, in the palace of Kasivabara, he ascends the throne, as first Mikado, and assumes the title of Kan Yamato Iware fiko Fobodemino inikoto. He raises the first of his wives to the rank of a *kwogu*, and orders sacrifices to the Kami.

It may be recollected that, upon factory authority, we stated that the Mikado has twelve wives, seemingly equal among themselves.* We here find Zin mu evidently a pluralist in wives, but to one alone is assigned a title of dignity, analogous most likely to "empress." Afterwards, we regularly find one wife named—it may be presumed this *Kwogu*, a title subsequently changed. At a later period, we find secondary wives named, as distinguished from concubines; and there seems reason to conclude that, of the dozen, eleven are wives of this inferior class, though not, as in the Ziogoon's case, mere concubines.

585. (Seventy-six of the reign.) The Mikado dies the eleventh of the third month, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of his age, and receives the posthumous name of Zin mu ten wou.
286. In the province Omi, a considerable district sinks; a lake is formed, and the volcano Fusi appears.
219. Zys fook, a man from China, comes to Japan. The Chinese Emperor She-hwang-te ordered Zis fook to seek the herb of immortality in Nippon. Nippon then desired the books of the dynasties Woo-te and San-hwang, which the Emperor She-hwang immediately sent.
93. A pestilence carries off half the population.
92. A general famine. Bands of robbers infest the provinces. At Kasa nuino mura, in the province Yamato, a chapel is built and dedicated to the sun goddess.
91. Chapels are dedicated to the spirits of heaven and of earth. Priestly families are instituted, and lands for their support assigned.
88. Generals-in-chief (Ziogoons) are appointed to subjugate the tribes that are still free on all sides of the empire.
87. The banditti are put down. Great immigration from abroad.
86. An annual census of the people ordered, and official business and rank regulated.
81. By command of the Mikado, ships are built in several provinces.
36. For the promotion of agriculture, the Mikado orders tanks and canals to be made.
24. Pugilism introduced.
2. Human sacrifices at funerals are prohibited.

A. D.

3. The Mikado's consort dies. Instead of living servants, puppets are buried with her. Nomino Sukune now makes figures of clay, which are henceforward to bear the dead company in the grave, in lieu of living men. The Mikado rewards him with the family name of Fazi (meaning, 'modeller').

Years A.D.

61. Tatsima Mori leaves Japan, by the Mikado's command, to fetch sweet-smelling fruits (oranges).
71. Twelfth Mikado, Kei Ko, named successor at twenty-one, ascends the throne at the age of eighty three. Tatsima Mori brings the sweet-smelling fruit (oranges).
87. The Mikado composes a poem, upon occasion of discovering the East and thence thinking of his return home, whilst taking a walk in the province of Fiuga.
200. The Mikado dies in the second month, in the fifty-second year of his age. His consort, with the aid of Takeutsi (now 127 years old), conceals his death, and has the corpse carried across the sea to the palace Toyora miya, on the coast of the province of Anato (Nagato).
201. Mikado Singon Kwogu, in her lifetime Okinagatarasi fime, was great granddaughter of the Mikado Kaï kwa. In the third month she, with her troops, defeats the Kumaosa tribe in Kiusiu, and annihilates the robber Kumawasi, with his faction. Peace and order re-established in Kiusiu. In the tenth month she undertakes with her army the conquest of Sinra (a Corean state), the king of which country immediately submits. Kaou-le and Pe-tse likewise submit, so that the three Corean states are all subject to Japan. In the twelfth month she returns to Japan, and in Tsukusi bears the son who was afterwards her successor.
202. Two elder sons of Mikado Tsuiui, the princes of Kakosaka and of Osikuma, revolt and seek the life of the child and his mother. For many days the sun is eclipsed from noon till evening. In the third month the minister of state, Takeutsi, gives the Prince of Osikuma battle at Utsi, and defeats him. He flies to Seda, where he kills himself.
284. The King of Pe-tse sends his son Atoga with horses to Japan. Atoga introduces the knowledge of the Chinese character.
285. The Chinese philosopher, Wang shin, comes from Pe-tse to the Japanese court, and affords the first instruction in Chinese literature.
323. A dyke built at Ibarada to divert the inundations of the northern waters from Ohosaka; and the Forjye canal dug, to conduct those waters into the western sea.
374. Introduction of ice-cellar.
543. Thirtieth Mikado, Kin Mei, receives from Pe-tse a valuable instrument, that indicates the south.
552. Pe tse sends a Buddha statue, and Buddhist utensils and books, to the Japanese court. Upon the breaking out of a pestilence, the Mikado issues orders to throw the image into the river, and burn the temple built for its reception.
577. Mikado Bindats receives books, two Buddhist priests, a nun, and a sculptor, from Pe-tse.
584. Two Japanese bring Buddhist images from Pe-tse. Sogano Mumako builds a temple, in which they are set up. Buddhist doctrines spread rapidly.
585. Second month.—A pestilence carries off great part of the population. Third month.—Oho murazi Monono obtains leave to lay the Buddhist temples in ashes, and throw the images into the canal.

Years A.D.

- Sixth month.—Sogano Mumako asks permission to profess Buddhism, which the Mikado refuses.
594. Orders issued for diffusing the Buddhist doctrines and building Buddhist temples.
605. The dress of princes and officers of state regulated.
612. Music begins to be learned.
613. The high road from Ohosaka to Miyako completed.
660. Water-clocks introduced.
701. A festival in honour of Confucius first instituted by the Daigakreo Academy.
710. Mikado Genmei, daughter of Mikado Tentsai, founds Miyako.
711. Fudono Yasumaro composes the book of antiquities (*Koziki*), in three volumes, and lays it before the Mikado.
713. By command of the Mikado, in every province a topography and natural history is drawn up, and its provincial legends are collected.
719. Mikado Gensyo, daughter of Prince Kusakabe, regulates female dress.
720. The chronicle *Nipponki* published through the prince and minister Tonerino Sinwo.
792. An order that the Chinese language be learned.
797. The continuation of the *Nipponki* completed in forty volumes, by Suka-varano Mamitsi.
800. Eruption of the volcano Fusi.
806. (*Daito*, 1.) Fifty-first Mikado Feizei institutes the eight inspectors of the eight circles, and passes a law that the young of all ranks shall attend schools.
808. Imibi Firo nari's Supplement to the Legends of Olden Times appears. The physician Firo sada, of Idsumo, publishes a collection of prescriptions in one hundred volumes.
827. The collection of poems, entitled *Keikokasyu*, completed in twenty volumes. It consists of contemporary poems, and was undertaken by the Mikado's command.
847. Fudsiwarano Sadatoyo, upon his return from China, is named head of the lyrics.
888. Mikado Uda succeeds. The painter Kose Kanaoka, who had been distinguished as a poet likewise since 810, adorns the southern side of the Dairi with pictures.
918. The colour of fire in garments prohibited, and rules respecting colours established.
924. The Mikado attends horse-races.
1075. Mikado Siragawa commands Minamoto no Tosiyo to begin the collection of Japanese poems upon golden leaves, called *kinyefu (jo) wakashu*.
1102. (*Kokwa*, 4.) The principal poets and poetesses at court arrange a selection of Japanese poems, under the title of *Yensyogo*,—a most beautiful compilation.
1185. Mikado Go Toba appoints Minamoto no Yoritomo imperial commander-in-chief, who appoints governors in all the provinces.

This is evidently esteemed the exaltation of Yoritomo (who, it will be observed, bears the family name given by Mikado Saga to his princes and

princesses,—thus shewing his sun blood) to virtual sovereignty, since our annalist now divides his page into columns,—one for Mikados, one for Ziogoons. Yet, notwithstanding this recognition of his authority, we find Yoritomo, seven years later, obtaining the title of Ziagoon, subsequently to performing divers acts of authority.

Years A.D.

1189. Yoritomo comes to Miyako to do homage. Minamoto no Yositsune, driven by Yasufusa out of Osyu, kills himself. Yoritomo sends troops against Yasufusa, who annihilates him. [This last statement materially corroborates Tayusiro's idea, that Yositsune had eluded his brother's general, who would thereby incur his master's displeasure].

1200. Monomitsi appointed regent. Yoritomo dies.

But, perhaps, it is to be supposed the Ziagoon had business enough of his own, without undertaking the Mikado's, as regent. Presently, in addition to the Mikado and Ziagoon columns, we get a third column for a series of anti-Mikados, with anti-nengos for dates. This contest for, or division of, the mikadoship, lasted for fifty-five years, during which, in addition to battles and sieges, we have records of lyrical publications, buildings of temples and palaces, &c., as before. At the end of that time, the pseudo-Mikados submitted, and we return to the lesser confusion of two columns of synchronous sovereigns of one and the same realm, who are not colleagues.

1394. Mikado Go Komatsu appoints Ziagoon Yosimitsu *syokok*, or prime minister. Yosimotsi, fifteenth Ziagoon.

Yosimitsu must, it should seem, have abdicated either prior to being appointed *syokok*, or upon receiving the office, which must, we apprehend, be one of those *Dairi* posts, mentioned heretofore,* as objects of ambition to the highest in the empire. An efficient administration office it could hardly be, since we know that the *kwanbak* was the prime minister before the virtual division or cession of sovereignty, and that, under the new title of governor of the empire, he, the president of the ministerial council, still is so.† It is to be noted that the appointment of the *kwanbak* usually stands in the Ziagoon column, that of a *syokok* always on the Mikado side.

1409. The Mikado visits Yosimitsu. Yosimitsu dies. * * * *Nanban* (barbarians from the south) bring a black elephant and parrots.

1469. The Japanese painter Setssyu returns from China.

1539. The use of fire-arms learned.

Amidst civil wars, hard to be comprehended in this style of narration, we find the first not over-pleasing mention of the heroic successor to the Yoritomo dynasty, Nobunaga.

1557. Nobunaga slays his younger brother, Nobuyuki.

1561. Birth of Seikwa, afterwards distinguished for his knowledge of Chinese literature.

1600. (*Ket tayo*, 5). The Chinese statistical work, *Ching huán ching jao*, published in Japan.

* *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxix. p. 384.

† *Id.* vol. xxx. p. 94.

Some of the following entries are worth extracting, as proofs how little the Mikado cared which party triumphed in the civil wars for the ziogoonship, and how little Buddhism had at that time—viz. prior to the political antipathy conceived to Christianity—crushed or superseded Sinsyu :—

Years A.D.

- 1603. Thirty-second Ziogoon, Minamoto Jyeyason. Mikado Go Yosei appoints Hideyori (Taykosama's son) *Nai daizin* (evidently one of the desired Daiiri officers).
- 1605. The Mikado appoints Fidetada, the son of Jyeyasou, Sei i Ziogoon, the thirty-third.
- 1628. (*Kwan yei*, 5). One hundred and ninth Mikado, Go Midsunowo builds the Kami temple Kamonoyasiro.
- 1639. Intercourse with Christian nations broken on.
- 1640. The genealogies of the princely families registered.
- 1647. Arrival of Europeans, who are repulsed by Mikado Go Kwomyo, or Ziogoon Jyemitsu.
- 1658. The Chinese Ching, known, under the name of Koksenja, as the conqueror of Formosa, seeks support at the Japanese court; it is refused.
- 1663. One hundred and thirteenth Mikado, Reigen, forbids the self-slaughter of dependents upon the death of their lords.
- 1690. The high school of Chinese science founded at Yedo.
- 1722. One hundred and fifteenth Mikado, Nakano Mikado, visits his minister, Sukesane. (Still no seclusion, even of the Mikado; but this is the last locomotive entry concerning a Mikado.)
- 1781. A Yedo bookseller publishes the Encyclopædia *Kun syo rui tsui*, which, in 639 volumes, comprehends 1,273 divisions, together with the work named *Bitsu foo ryak*, which consists of 1,000 volumes,—the most extensive undertaking of the kind in Japan.
- 1789. Forty-second Ziogoon, Jyenari, orders the establishment of rice magazines throughout the empire.
- 1795. The Ziogoon has a grand hunt. (The last locomotive mention of a Ziogoon).
- 1797. Siragawako publishes the antiquarian work *Sinko syu tsui*, a collection of ten kinds of antiquities, which is highly valued by all lovers of archæology.
- 1798. The calendar improved Europeanwise.
- 1804. Fall of a mountain and devastation of the land on the lake Kizawa. * * * By command of the Mikado, great presents are offered at the Kami temple at Usa, in Buzen.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SENTINEL.

CHAPTER III.

THERE was much rejoicing in the Matoonga barracks after our return from the Persian Gulf. Our comrades vied with each other in hospitable endeavours to make us feel that we were welcome and worthy of the cloth. The camp-kettle was continually replenished from the stores of the sutler, and the punch-house, which in those days was the substitute for the canteen, was ransacked for moist sugar, limes, and arrack, the ordinary compounds—bating the water—of our jorums of punch.

But, after the fitful fever of enjoyment, came sundry business considerations, arising out of the wear and tear of the campaign. There were new clothes to be purchased, wounds to be healed, and offences to be inquired into. The refit of a soldier is never contemplated by him with much pleasure, because it generally makes a great hole in a man's pay, keeping him "under stoppages" for an almost indefinite time. However, in the present instance, we were not subjected to much distress or privation, for the carpets, rugs, piastres, shawls, &c., we had severally captured—to say nothing of the sale of our prize-certificates—gave us the means of raising a little fund, which covered all charges for re-equipment. One man required a new jacket, most of us new trousers, and I stood in need of a new cap, to replace the chaco which had become "shocking bad" during the scuffle in the battery. The substitute "tile" that fell to my lot, was a compound of the chaco and the Albert hat, which lately excited so much deserved ridicule. It had a peak before and one behind, whence the felt crown rose to the altitude of six or eight inches, stretching out at the summit in a style that I might have thought picturesque if I had not found it confoundedly top-heavy. Our Government has always been unfortunate in its selection of regimental caps for the British infantry and artillery. From the sugar-loaf affairs, which Hogarth has depicted in the "*March to Finchley*," down to the present head-gear, not a single covering has been devised which has contributed at one and the same time to the comfort, the protection, and the martial appearance of the soldiery. But I think we err altogether in the article of dress; the *principle* on which the effect of a uniform depends is the connection in the spectator's mind of *uniformity of action* with uniformity of appearance: hence, a very plain, simple costume, sufficiently distinguished from the ordinary dress of the people, has the most decidedly military aspect. It most completely impresses us with the notion of power. If this principle were well understood, it would lead to an abandonment of all frivolous ornament, retaining only such as really adds to the utility of the dress. Colonel Mitchell, who, some seven years ago, wrote much on this subject, very justly ridicules the heavy caps, enormous jack-boots, and other absurdities, which have been from time to time in-

flicted on the soldiers. He says, the dress of soldiers ought to be consistent with the greatest activity. "Who," he asks, "ever thought of following the hounds in a hussar cap, or of shooting partridges in pipe-clayed breeches; or who would send a sailor aloft to reef top-sails in a stiff, leather stock? Why," he adds, "a soldier's dress should be as much as possible calculated to cramp his exertions we leave the ingenious to discover." But though Colonel Mitchell leaves the alterations in dress to others, he gives a few notions of his own. He prefers the *Grecian helmet*, for all classes of soldiers, to any other species of head-covering; and I do not believe the soldier lives who, having once placed that helmet on his brow, does not agree with the colonel. It is light, protective, and thoroughly military in appearance. In India, it would only be necessary to cover it during a day's march with white cotton (slightly wadded, perhaps), or incase it in *sola*, to render it the most acceptable sort of *topee* that could be "served out." The French and the Prussians have lately taken to the use of the helmet among the infantry, while, with us, it continues to be the exclusive privilege of the Horse Guards, and some regiments of heavy dragoons and horse artillery. One word more before I dismiss the subject of costume. Let the cavalry broad-swords be looked to. I should have thought it almost unnecessary, after the unhappy affair at Purwandurrah, to have renewed the subject; but as no pains have yet been taken by the Government to deprive future cavalry regiments of an excuse for turning tail before a foe, it is a duty to re-urge the adoption of a different description of weapon. The fault of our cavalry sword seems to me to consist in its being too broad. Few men, unless very well practised in the use of this particular weapon, can cut with the edge. I have heard that, in some cavalry combats, in Spain, the French dragoons were bruised and contused by our men, without being severely wounded. Let any man, accustomed to the use of weapons, handle the sword of a Sikh, a Persian, or an Affghan, and he will find it very nearly as difficult to avoid giving edge with it as to cut with a dragoon sabre! The reason is, that, in England, swords are made by manufacturers who are not swordsmen; in India and Persia, they are made for men who, feeling that their lives depend upon their weapons, will not buy what they cannot use to some purpose.

After obtaining my new equipments, I returned to my duties as adjutant's clerk, and soon fell into the hum-drum routine of barrack-life. Not so, my immediate comrades. Two of them had been disqualified for further service by injuries received in service, and Pomeroy was sent to join a detachment garrisoning a fortress in the Southern Concan. The former were invalided, and sent to England upon small pensions, and I remember being much struck with the unjust and inequitable calculation of service (both had been for some years in the battalion) by which the pension was regulated. Credit was refused for the time the men served at the *depôt* in England, and the months passed during the voyage to India. This cruel usage, I believe, is still

in force, and as I have another purpose in view at present than the mere record of my personal adventures in the army, I may be permitted to dwell upon it.

It will, perhaps, be considered superfluous by some readers, that importance should be attached to so inconsiderable a term as twelve months—the maximum of the period employed as above stated—but let me remind them that, when the sand has nearly run its hour, the glass is watched with double solicitude. It is not whilst life is young and hope runs high, that the mind will be ruffled by the consideration of such matters as the one now treated; but it is in after-life, when time, toil, and climate have done their work; when, with mind and body alike enervated and worn, they sigh for a return to the land where genial breezes may prolong for yet a little while the flame just glimmering in the socket; it is *then* they will question the right of Government to appropriate their time and services without awarding a just equivalent.

Few men enter upon a military life without having previously made themselves in some degree acquainted with its practices and ordinances; without having weighed the benefits to be derived therefrom against the disadvantages to which it subjects them. In a former chapter I glanced at what a man sacrifices when he converts himself from a free agent into an automaton, whose national and constitutional right of thinking and acting for himself have been transferred to another. Such a sacrifice, such an utter prostration of a man's independence, is not made without the assumed certainty of some benefits either present or prospective; and as the former is understood to be a species of comfort minimized, the latter enters most largely into the contemplation of the soldier at the time of his enlistment. The provision for old age or infirmity of any kind, usually termed pension, is proportioned to the periods of *service*; fourteen years entitling a man to pension in India, and twenty-one years to the same should he prefer returning to his native country; but when the time arrives at which it is convenient to claim the pension, the soldier finds that while he has been calculating his service from the hour of his enrolment at Soho Square or elsewhere, his honourable masters have been computing it from the date of his arrival in India, and he must either consent to prolong his stay, with the risk of dying intermediately, or go back to England without any provision for his declining years. Now this I maintain to be, in the highest degree, cruel and unjust. The Company's soldier, while at the *dépôt* in England, is constantly employed in attaining a knowledge of his professional duties, and then engaged, in common with her Majesty's troops, in the multifarious and heavy duties of the garrison. Liable to all the penalties of the Articles of War, and subject to the closest restraints, the severest fatigues, and the humiliation of coarse reproof from the non-commissioned officers, he is, to all intents and purposes, as much a soldier *then* as when he is afterwards handling the sponge staff in India, and enduring the perils of war and climate. The Company, indeed, recognize his position by re-

quitting his service with the daily *oboli*. Yet it is deemed that the time so spent at the depôt shall be of no ultimate account to the soldier. It is high time that such an unworthy juggle should cease to be practised. Mutual trust and confidence are the great bonds of society, and without them it could not possibly subsist. When we have bound ourselves, therefore, by *legal* contract to give service for support,—to shed our blood for present bread and ultimate provision,—the obligation is of double force, and the neglect or infringement of it totally unpardonable.

My comrades, as I have said, were sent to England as invalids, on a pension, I believe, of one shilling *per diem*. At the time of their examination before the medical board, a good many other men submitted themselves to a similar ordeal, on the ground of their having been rendered unfit for service by accidents or the diseases incidental to the climate. In many instances these men claimed to be invalided in perfect good faith; but there were numbers, at the time of which I speak, who had resorted to the vilest expedients, involving much self-torture, in order that they might be returned at once to their native country. No method, however base, and even injurious to themselves, was left untried to impose upon the humanity of their superiors and confound the skill of the physicians, who were frequently baffled and deceived by the persevering villany of their practices; these extended even to personal mutilation, and not a few rendered themselves miserable through life by the use of deleterious medicines and other substances taken to create symptoms of disease, and excite, despite of nature, appearances capable of alarming the compassion of their doctors. The many atrocious instances of delinquency in that way brought to light and punishment left no room to doubt the existence of deception. The fellows were cunning and clever, but not clever and cunning enough. The mask was thrown off too soon after the fiat of the Board was pronounced. Cripples surrendered their crutches, blind men were suddenly restored to the perfection of vision, the auricular faculties of others, who had assumed deafness for weeks, all at once revived, and gentlemen who had long been incapable of exertion, now shewed their aptitude for pugilistic encounters! These marvellous recoveries taking place before the transports sailed to England with the reputed invalids, led to inquiry and its consequences—courts-martial and their penalties. But in some cases the deception had been carried so far, that the impostors were never able to take a retrograde step. A thumb blown away by a pistol-ball, to disqualify the man from “serving the vent”—jaws fractured, that the teeth might no longer bite a cartridge—legs broken, that marching should become an impossibility—and the absorption of large quantities of mercury during the existence of an *artificial* disease, involved permanent injuries which, while they helped a rogue out of the service, put it beyond his power to earn bread elsewhere. However incredible the collusive fracture of a limb may appear, it was, in 1820, by no means an uncommon occurrence. The performance of the operation, with the view to avoid detection, was too horrible and disgusting

for record here: suffice it to say that, in some degree to mitigate its tortures, the subject to be wrought upon was usually reduced to a state of senseless intoxication, and after the effects of the liquor had subsided, the miserable sufferer waked to all the horrors of his condition, and frequently lived to lament, for the remainder of his days, the folly and rashness which had led him to subject himself to the hideous mutilation.

Although the diet of the ordinary messes was tolerably good, consisting as it did of tea and bread of a morning and evening, and roast, boiled, stewed, or curried meats at dinner, the coarse manner in which some of the men conducted themselves at table (for politeness formed no part of the drill-sergeant's code) induced me to arrange for messing apart. The Portuguese women were famous for their domestic economy, and the skill with which they produced a plentiful and a varied meal at a very reasonable rate. To mess with a man who was united to one of these ingenious little housewives was, therefore, a species of luxury and a privilege, the more especially as, to their other virtues, they added cleanliness in the *ménage*. Accordingly, I made overtures to a clarionet-player in the band thus situated, and as I engaged to pay one-half my clerkship's staff salary, in addition to the regular monthly allowance for messing, I was at once admitted a member of the establishment. Mrs. Kenna was herself—to use her own words—“*too much please*” to have “*one writer gentlyman*” in her mess; and as I was not the only one a cut above the ordinary rank and file—for the schoolmaster's sergeant was likewise a member—the whole thing was marvellously respectable. Kenna, a son of Apollo, had humanized under the influence of clarionet puffings; the pedagogue was, by virtue of his calling, master of Latin and logic, and I, sublime in kaligraphy, and histrionic to boot, was the efficient representative of the lighter accomplishments of life. Could any thing be more aristocratically intellectual? And then the refectations! Oh, how fondly, in after years, I loved to retrace the breakfast scenes at Matoonga; the little white table-cloth—the blue-and-white tea-cups—the numerous diminutive plates, each filled with a curious and mystic curry—a selection of fried bummelows, a broiled kid bone, or a coil of pickled mango strips! And, even while I write, the page is blotted with the tribute of a tear to the memory of the exquisite little dinners prepared by the dark and delicate hands of our hostess, and served up by Antonio, a youth of all-work, whose great ambition was to possess a plain hat a world too wide for his small sconce, a white jacket too short in the arms, and trowsers not too long in the legs, wherewith to cut a conspicuous figure at mass. Antonio and his mistress were of the same class, nation, tribe, or whatever it may be called, whose ancestors were the mighty Lusitanians who landed on the coast of Malabar under Vasco de Gama and Albuquerque, and who now populate the ruined settlement of Goa. Pluming themselves upon their Christianity, they professed a spurious sort of Roman Catholicism, reverencing the image of the Holy Virgin, and devoutly recognizing the influence of the priesthood, who, on the island of Sal-

sette, contiguous to Matoonga, greatly resemble in their poverty, good-humour, and superstition, the Father Macguires of the "first gem of the Say." I once accompanied Mrs. Kenna to mass at one of the tiny chapels scattered over the island. The ceremony was of the rudest kind, and the "discoorse," delivered from a curiously carved pulpit, in a jargon compounded of Latin, Portuguese, and Hindoostanee. His reverence the Padré was a portly gentleman, of sable hue, who appeared to have no reason to complain of the working of the "voluntary principle." Indeed, on the very day of our visit, numbers of the poor naked cultivators, who professed Christianity, and believed in the "priesta's" power of absolution, came in, bearing their offerings of the season—rice, corn, fruits, conserves, &c.—which were duly deposited in an adjoining chamber, that did duty for a vestry-room. All these people, however, were not Portuguese or Goanese; many of them were converted Hindoos, of the lowest caste, who had abjured the worship of Ganesa, the sylvan deity of the Hindoos, for a devotion more consonant to reason and more replete with agreeable promise to the repentant sinner. These poor people had experienced much persecution at the hands of the higher orders of Hindoos, through the forfeiture of caste, and were glad to take refuge from it under the shadow of a more beneficent religion; but they still filled the lowest menial offices, or earned a precarious livelihood by field-labour. Indeed, I do not see how the conversion of this class can at any time cause their employments for livelihood to differ materially from the avocations now suited to their social spheres of life, as the Christian religion not only points out, but enjoins, honest industry for the respectable self-maintenance of its professors in every calling which man's necessities require; only that the converted sweepers and horsekeepers, now degraded to the lowest places in the gradation list of caste, will be at liberty, as Christians, to continue in those employments, without losing the advantages of their adopted creed. Though Christianity is not the religion of the country, all classes are, in religio-political theory and practice at least, tolerated by the British Government, and prevented from interfering with or persecuting one another:—

With the once-conquering Moalem, here,
The Hindoo sits, untouched by fear;
And each sends up the prayer to heaven,
By *Shaster* or by *Koran* given;
Nor dares his neighbour's rites impede,
Nor questions his dissenting creed.

And if our conquest of India had produced no other good to its inhabitants than the slaking of the fiery spirit of religious intolerance, or at least the preventing it from flaming into practice, it might well be regarded as the bestower of the greatest earthly blessing, next to that thorough propagation of the Gospel, without the accompaniment of which, all other blessings must be transient and imperfect.

It would be tedious to the reader, were I to inflict upon him all my

recollections of barrack-life in India. The dull round of guards and parades, diversified only by an occasional public punishment, presented little that deserved to be remembered, and still less that merited grave and minute record. Nevertheless, existence has its charms. The great variety of character which a foreign cantonment presents, and the fun which arises from its collision, is by no means a bad substitute for the change of scene which distinguishes the soldier's life in England, or the excitement of a campaign on the Continent or Peninsula of Europe. The Irishman, gay and *insouciant*, looking forward to the hour when the *dram* hugh shall sound, presents a strong contrast to the cautious and wary Scot, with his eye ever upon the chance of promotion. The Englishman, either sullenly discontented, or phlegmatically resigned, seeks employment in tailoring, writing, or following the trade to which he may have been apprenticed, within the barrack circle, happy if the fruits of his labour enable him to purchase an additional shirt, or provide the means for a jollification. In the field, all are pretty much alike—patient, cheerful, resolute. The Irishman piques himself upon the smartness of his movements—"Och, then, it's Paddy Murphy who'll spring up wid life at the word of command!" Sandy is the representative of the *vis inertia*. An officer is quite sure that he will never desert his post, nor yield an inch to the enemy. The Englishman is cleanly, obedient, and intelligent—lacking something of the fire of the Celt—yet acting more from impulse than the canny Scot. In garrison, much of their time is passed in conversation, which turns chiefly upon the exploits and adventures of their past lives at home, or in comparing the comforts they pretend to have resigned with those immediately accessible, or in bantering each other upon their common position. "Och, bad luck to me, why did I list?" says a hapless child of the West, temporarily discontented with his fate. "Did you come here for want?" asks an Englishman. "Devil's cure to me, if I did," rejoins Tim O'Grady, "for I had plenty of that at home." "I wish I were the sergeant-major's wife's cat," cries Terence O'Rourke, "for then I should have every night in bed." "Ax the colonel to give you the three stripes, and you'll do just as well," says a comrade. "Maybe it's himself that will tip me three hundred, if I do," replies Terence. "Three guesses for the man wot wishes he was at home with his mother!" ejaculates Bill Brown. "It's Tom Smith, the skilligolee with his eye out," cries another. "You're a watch," rejoins Brown.

Wide as is the distance which unhappily separates officers and men, the latter are acute observers, and take the measure of a superior's character with marvellous accuracy. For a just, generous, and high-minded officer they entertain the highest respect, take pleasure in obeying and following him, are solicitous to belong to his company or troop, and are cautious not to give ground of offence. On service they forage for him with alacrity, are prompt to assist in pitching his tent and unloading his camels or bullocks, and will fight for his honour, glory, and protection to the death. But towards a harsh, cruel martinet, they en-

tain the most bitter antipathy. Every petty annoyance to which such a tyrant may expose the man, is repaid ten-fold. In vain he confines, flogs, drills, stops the grog, and bars promotion; his detachment, company, or whatever it may be, is always the most irregular, the least cleanly, the most inefficient. To a weak, goodnatured centurion, not over-burthened with sense and shrewdness, the men are forbearant, but they love an occasional joke at his expense. I remember a Scotch officer, named Paterson, of this kind. He was the best-tempered creature in the world, and at the same time one of the dullest. His accent was particularly broad and drawling, and furnished the men with infinite food for mirth. One day, while examining the company at open order, he stopped opposite one Barney O'Driscoll, who had lost the tuft of his cap. Looking up at the cap, and addressing Barney, he said, "Where's your feyther, my mon?" This was too good an opportunity to be lost. "He's in Ireland, your honour," replied the wag, affecting to misinterpret "*feyther*" for "*father*," instead of "*feather*."

Another class of characters, who afforded me much diversion, were the illiterate fellows who pretended to knowledge. There was one who, having the *vis comica* in a remarkable degree, and displaying some vulgar histrionic talent, was, by virtue of his staff office of quartermaster's sergeant, appointed manager of the small theatre in the barracks. He could not read a line, and was, therefore, *taught* his parts by his wife, a clever little half-caste woman, who read them to him. One day, an officer visiting the theatre during a rehearsal, for the first time, said to the eccentric manager, "How are you off for echo, here?" "Echo? echo?" repeated the perplexed catechumen—"eh?—oh—ho—pretty well for that—pretty well for that—but we shall get a larger supply by the next ship!" On another occasion, the colonel of the regiment desired him to call the sergeant-major, to whom he wished to speak. Away went Dixon (the quartermaster sergeant), and scoured the cantonment, soon returning alone. "Well," said the superior, "have you found him?" "No, Sir, he's *non compos mentis*!" "What?" inquired Colonel B., extremely surprised, "what say you?" "*Non compos mentis*, Sir," iterated the confident Dixon. "What the devil do you mean?" "I mean, colonel, that he's not to be found." "And that's your way of announcing the fact, is it? Pray where did you pick up your Latin?" "Oh, at school, Sir, of course." "Then, Dixon, either you were a dunce, or your schoolmaster an ass." "What, Sir, isn't it right? I know the sentence begins with a *non*, and I'm sure it ends with an *entis* or an *entus*." "Well, Dixon, next time endeavour to remember that *non est inventus* is the phrase." "Thank you, Sir, I'll not forget. I believe my wits were *non est inventus* when I made the mistake." The colonel smiled at the new blunder, and left the barracks.

PHYSIC AND PHYSICIANS IN CHINA.

MEDICINE in China is in an extremely low and degraded state; there are no medical schools; anatomy is unknown, and the whole science of medicine, even amongst the regular practitioners, consists in an obscure theory respecting the two principles *yin* and *yang*. The fees of physicians are ridiculously small.

Du Halde* has published translations of two medical works from the Chinese: one on the Pulse, by Wang-shoo-ho, who flourished under the Tsin dynasty, prior to the Christian era; the other a *Pun-tsaou*, or Medical Herbal, containing the remedies usually prescribed. The former version is by F. Hervieu. Du Halde has given the following account of the theory of Chinese medicine:

The Chinese recognize two natural principles of life,—vital heat and radical moisture, of which the animal spirits and the blood are the vehicles. They give the name of *yang* to the vital heat, and that of *yin* to the radical moisture. These two principles of life, they say, are found in all the chief parts of the body, the limbs and the intestines, their combination being the source of life and vigour. They divide the body into *right* and *left*, each having an eye, an arm, a hand, a shoulder, a leg, and a foot. Another division is into three parts,—upper, middle, and lower; they likewise divide it into members and intestines. The six principal organs, wherein reside the radical moisture, are the heart, liver, and one of the reins on the left; and the lungs, spleen, and other rein, on the right. The intestines, which are six in number, are the seat of the vital heat. The radical moisture and vital heat pass from their respective seats into the other parts of the body by means of the spirits and blood: whence it would appear that the Chinese were acquainted imperfectly with the theory of the circulation of the blood from the earliest date of their medical science, about 800 years after the Deluge. They suppose that the human frame, by means of the nerves, muscles, veins, and arteries, is, as it were, a kind of lute, or instrument of harmony, the several parts of which render certain sounds, or rather have a certain species of temperament peculiar to them, by reason of their shape, situation, and use, and that it is by means of the different pulses, which communicate the various sounds and tones of the instruments, that an accurate judgment can be formed respecting their condition: just as a cord, in greater or less tension, touched at one place or another, gently or forcibly, gives out different notes.

Having established these twelve sources of life in the human body, they sought external indications of their internal state, and found them in the head, the seat of all the senses connected with animal operations; the tongue, which is in communication with the heart; the nostrils with the lungs, the mouth with the spleen, the ears with the reins, and the eyes with the liver; and they profess to draw from the colour of

* Description de la Chine, t. III. p. 461.

the face, eyes, nostrils, and ears, the sound of the voice and the taste imparted to the tongue, certain conclusions respecting the temperament of the body, and the life or death of a patient.

In accordance with this theory of the human system, external matter is supposed to act upon it. This external matter consists of the five elements,—earth, metals, water, air, and fire. The human body, they say, was composed of these five elements, and in such a manner that there are parts of it in which one element predominates. Thus, fire rules the heart and first intestines, air the liver and gall-bladder, water the reins, metals the lungs and great intestines, earth the spleen and stomach, &c.

The pulse, as already remarked, is supposed to indicate infallibly all the dispositions of the different parts of the body. The principles are the following :—It is motion, they say, which causes the pulse, and this motion is created by the flux and reflux of the blood and animal spirits, which are conveyed to all parts of the body by twelve channels, and the perfect knowledge of the pulsations discovers the state of the system,—the nature of the blood and spirits, their deficiency and excess, which the skilful physician's office is to regulate and restore to their just temperament.

When a physician is called in to a patient, he places the latter's arm upon a pillow, and applies his fingers along the artery, sometimes gently and sometimes forcibly ; he considers the action of the pulse for a very considerable time, noticing the slightest difference with great attention ; and often, without interrogating the patient, tells him in what part of his body he feels pain, what organ is affected, and when he will recover.

So far Du Halde, whose account we have much abridged. Its accuracy, on some points at least, is ascertained by a curious report made by F. Amiot, who was himself a patient of a Chinese physician, in a letter from Peking, dated 26th June, 1789.*

"A serious illness," observes M. Amiot, "of the character which the Chinese call *Shang-han*,† and which indicated its presence by causing me the most acute pains, compelled me to have recourse to a native physician. I described my case to him, telling him that I had for two days experienced such sharp pains under the left breast, that I could not eat, drink, or sleep, and had lost the free exercise of all the animal functions. He felt my pulse on both arms for a long time, and told me that the seat of my disorder was the liver, and that it arose from an excess of the *yang*, the effects of which would extend to the whole frame, if not prevented, by tempering it by the *yin*. He added that, as soon as I should have taken two draughts, which he would prescribe for me, my pains would entirely cease, and I should be able to sleep. The result was just as he had predicted : the pains ceased, and I slept part of the night. He then made me take certain gentle medicines for three or four days, after which he ordered one more powerful, to pro-

* Mém. concernant les Chinois, t. xv

† This is the name given to a malignant fever, very common in China.

cure a crisis, which was to remove the principal cause of the disease, and put me in the way of getting well. The crisis came on as he had foretold, and the disorder continued to diminish day after day."

M. Amiot interrogated the physician respecting the principles of his art, and the replies of the Chinese doctor seem to imply a practical skill in diagnostics which is, perhaps, worthy of more attentive investigation.

Amongst the irregular practitioners in China, some very strange and disgusting articles are added to the simples which compose the Chinese *Materia Medica*. It is believed that various parts of the human body are efficacious in medicine; and, in particular, that the gall of a *mga* increases courage,—whence this article is in great request amongst those who are deficient in spirit. The manner in which it is taken is to steep 100 or 200 grains of rice in a human gall-bladder, and when dry, to eat ten or twenty grains a day. Executioners make considerable profit by administering to this depraved vulgar error.

THE PUNDIT KAMALAKANTA VIDHYALANKA.

MR. TORRENS, the secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, announced to that body the death of this eminent native scholar, one of the Society's officers, in the following terms :—

I have, with much regret, to report the death of the aged and highly respected Pundit Kamalakanta Vidhyalanka, the friend and fellow-labourer of James Prinsep. With him has expired the accurate knowledge of the ancient Pali and Sanscrit forms of writing; for, although we now possess a key to these ancient characters, no pundit has exercised himself in the act of decyphering to the extent to which has Kamalakanta. Like all learned persons of his class, he carefully avoided the communication of his peculiar knowledge, and latterly, having, as he thought, little chance of being contradicted, the old man became exceedingly dogmatical and opinionative. As I was totally destitute of that critical ingenuity and wonderful acumen, which supplied in our lamented friend, James Prinsep, the want of philological accuracy, and as I had not command of the time which he could devote to the careful and patient investigation of the readings of ancient inscriptions, I soon abandoned the attempt to avail myself of Kamalakanta's services in this department. His appointment about the Society was that of Sanscrit Librarian.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.*

OUR transatlantic brethren,—for so we must consider them, sprung from the same stock and speaking the same language,—have commenced a new race of generous rivalry with us, by instituting a society for cultivating the literature and philology of the East. The Americans cannot dispute with us the merit of many inventions which they may, nevertheless, carry to a higher pitch of excellence; in like manner, they have been anticipated by the mother country in the commencement of Oriental inquiries; and we run little risk of error in predicting, mortifying as is the avowal, that they will soon outstrip us in this branch of learning, although no nation could have enjoyed better opportunities than ours of cultivating it, and of reaping the exclusive fame which such distinction would have conferred. America is eminently, to use an expressive colloquial phrase, a “go-a-head” nation, yet its scholars do not think, with many at home, that real knowledge is advanced by neglecting every thing that is old and keeping the mind intent only upon what is new. The vast cycle of subjects, which are essential to the perfection of human knowledge, embraces some, such as history and philology, which require that our investigations should be directed backward along the tracks which lead to those early families of mankind, who have left no records of themselves but the few impressions of their intellect which have survived the perils of ages. Strange, however, to say, it seems to be considered derogatory to modern scholars thus to retrograde,—to go back in order to leap the further. The history of all nations, save those connected immediately with our own, is excluded from the pale of their studies, and philology is a science held to be unworthy of the attention of utilitarians. The mark of the leaf of an extinct plant upon a piece of silurian rock, or the mutilated skeleton of a pterodactylus or a siva-therium, will excite intense interest amongst large classes of students, whilst the relics of the history and of the minds of nations contemporary, perhaps, with those obsolete species, are regarded with utter indifference—nay, are with some supposed to be impediments to the diffusion of sound knowledge and right principles, and might be annihilated with benefit to mankind.

The neglect of philology is, indeed, peculiar to England, which labours under the reproach of being almost the only nation in Europe wherein this branch of learning, so important in many respects, and

* Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. I., No. 1. 1843. Boston, Little and Brown; London, Wiley and Putnam; Paris, Bosange.

so essential in theological studies, is despised. The philological researches of the Germans, in the last and present centuries, have so enlarged the boundaries of this department of knowledge, that, according to a writer in the *Quarterly Review*,* "they remain the objects of distrustful wonder even to the students in our Universities." It is easy for men of lively and volatile temperaments to represent the study of philology as the refuge of dulness and pedantry, and, unfortunately, there are examples of men whose laborious trifling has cast a discredit upon this path of learning; though in many cases the study is derided, not because of its inutility, but its difficulty. Mr. Pickering, the President of the American Oriental Society, in his address, has given an answer to the foregoing objection in the following words:—

But some persons, whose attention has not been particularly directed to this subject, may be ready to ask, in the current formula of the day, what *utility* is to be derived from these extended studies of the languages and literature of the globe? The important purposes to which these researches into language would be subservient, were, I believe, first distinctly pointed out by the great Leibnitz—one of those rare men to whom we may apply the title of a universal genius. In his earliest publication on the subject, a century ago, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Academy of Berlin*, he justly observed—that, "as the remote origin of nations goes back beyond the records of history, we have nothing but their *languages* to supply the place of historical information."

The perseverance of modern objectors, however, would obviate this answer by denying the utility of any history of remote nations. "Of what consequence is it to us," they say, "what was done, or said, or thought by Hindus or Chinese twenty centuries ago? How are we made better, or happier, or wiser, or richer, by the knowledge of such antiquated facts?" This argument, if worth any thing, would apply to all history, even our own early annals, and would, indeed, apply *a fortiori* to all contemplative studies. Thus, however, to narrow the inquiries of the human mind would be to cramp and stunt its powers, which can never be exerted with effect in any channel of investigation unless they are permitted a free range. Had Newton, when he observed the different refrangibility of the rays of light, turned away from the discovery as affording no prospect of utility, we might yet have been in the very infancy of the science of optics, and ignorant of some of the most important astronomical facts.

The indifference of Englishmen towards Oriental subjects is the

* Vol. xlv. p. 337.

more extraordinary considering the connection, political and commercial, which has subsisted between Britain and all the great nations of the East for many years, and which furnished various motives for inquiry. The Hindus are our fellow-subjects; large drafts of our educated youths are annually sent to India, to be employed in the several departments of its government, who are compelled to acquire a knowledge of the vernacular dialects. With Persia, whose modern language is the vehicle of official and polite intercourse at most of the native courts of India, we have long maintained intimate political relations. China has been for more than a century opened to us alone, and a copious dictionary of its peculiar and highly interesting language has been published in English. In spite of all these inducements, or rather provocatives, to a general desire to become acquainted with the literature and science of India and China, nine-tenths of the productions of which are unexplored, its topics are absolutely nauseating to English readers. No bookseller dares to publish here a work of an Oriental character; few, if any, of such works have returned the cost of publication, unless they have been, as it is termed, *light*,—that is, very superficial, and imparting amusement rather than information. In Germany and France, which have no connections with the East, and whose scholars have no impulse to the cultivation of Oriental literature but the pure love of science, the case is different. In the former country, Oriental works meet with a remunerating sale; and although, in France, public support will not always suffice to guarantee the authors or publishers of such works from loss, yet there the government judiciously steps forward, and by a comparatively small annual expenditure, supplies the deficiency of public patronage. It is well known that the Journals of our different Asiatic Societies, which are the receptacles of papers of great value, have little circulation beyond the members, and, as regards our own publication, which is obliged to pursue a medium course,—leaning a great deal to the popular side,—we have been repeatedly constrained to refuse insertion to papers of the highest merit, by first-rate scholars, on the Continent as well as at home, and what is worse, to assign as a reason the humiliating fact, that the paper would provoke complaints from some of our readers, and perhaps damage the sale of the work!

In this state of things, we hail with pleasure the appearance of the “Journal of the American Oriental Society,” as a coadjutor (judging from its contents) likely to give a fresh stimulus to such studies in England. Perhaps, when it is seen that the fields of research, which we have so unaccountably neglected, are enriching

America with harvests of valuable results, jealousy will accomplish what better motives have failed to effect.

This first number of the *American Journal* is almost entirely filled with the excellent address of the President of the Society, Mr. Pickering, which takes a very comprehensive view of the subjects inviting its attention. After alluding to the favourable circumstances under which the Society has been formed,—the peace of the world, the accessibility of the Eastern nations, and the great number of American missionaries who are masters of the languages and literature of the East,—he remarks that the object of the Association is one of almost boundless extent, “the history, languages, literature, and general characteristics of the various people, both civilized and barbarous, who are usually classed under the somewhat indefinite name of *Oriental* nations.” In taking a kind of Pisgah view of the mighty regions of inquiry, he distinguishes two principal countries “which have been the central points of civilization for that portion of the globe, and have shot out the rays of knowledge through the darkness of the surrounding regions,”—namely, Egypt and India.

Mr. Pickering devotes a considerable portion of his address to the first of those countries, whence we infer that it is probable its history and literature will become prominent subjects of the Society's researches, facilitated as they are by the discovery of a key to the hieroglyphic writing which has “opened new sources of historical information.” Of the resources for investigation, Mr. Pickering gives the following description, in a letter from Dr. Lepsius, an eminent German hierologist, now employed in Egypt by the Prussian government. Writing from Gizeh, “at the foot of the pyramid of Cheops,” he says:—

It is incredible how little this spot has been explored, though more visited than any other part of Egypt.....The best maps of this site hitherto produced, represent two tombs besides the pyramids, having particular inscriptions and figures. Now we have drawn a minute topographical plan of the whole monumental plain; and on this plan there are marked, independently of the pyramids, forty-five tombs whose occupants I have ascertained by the inscriptions. There are altogether eighty-two tombs, which, on account of their inscriptions or other peculiarities, demand particular attention. With the exception of about twelve, which belong to a later period, all these tombs were erected contemporaneously with, or soon after, the building of the Great Pyramid, and consequently their dates throw an invaluable light on the study of human civilization in the most remote period of antiquity.....The sculptures in relief are surprisingly numerous, and represent whole figures, some the size of life, and others of various dimensions.....The

paintings are on back-grounds of the finest chalk. They are numerous and beautiful beyond conception—as fresh and perfect as if finished only yesterday. The pictures and sculptures on the walls of the tombs represent, for the most part, scenes in the lives of the deceased persons, whose wealth in cattle, fish, boats, servants, &c. is ostentatiously displayed before the eye of the spectator. All this gives an insight into the details of private life among the ancient Egyptians.....By the help of these inscriptions I think I could, without much difficulty, make a Court Calendar of the reign of King Cheops.....In some instances I have traced the graves of father, son, grandson, and even great-grandson ; all that now remain of the distinguished families which 5,000 years ago formed the nobility of the land.

Mr. Pickering then commences a kind of geographical survey of the different nations who have a claim to the title "Oriental," beginning at the Straits of Gibraltar. The whole line of the African coast, once the seat of colonies from Egypt, is now occupied by a people who, in language, habits, and social institutions, are Orientals, their dialects belonging to the Semitic stock. The ancient predecessors of the present inhabitants of the Barbary coast, the Carthaginians, and the Berbers, supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Numidians, are included in the same category, and are interesting in an historical and ethnographical view. The investigation of Punic antiquities is facilitated by the now well-ascertained fact (a conjecture of Bochart confirmed by Gesenius) of the affinity of the Phœnician to the Hebrew. The Berbers, who are becoming a subject of great interest, since they have been found to extend from the confines of Egypt to the western coast of Africa, and since their language has been traced from the highlands of the African continent to the natives of the Canary Islands (perhaps the continuation of the Atlas mountains), called Guanches, who, as a nation, became extinct in the 16th century. Mr. Hodgson, the American consul at Tunis, found still remaining in the Berber country, and often without the slightest change, the names of rivers, mountains, and villages, which are mentioned by Sallust and other ancient writers, and which preserve to this day the same significations.

Quitting the continent of North Africa, Mr. Pickering passes to Malta,—the Melita of Sacred History,—the language of which, being a dialect of the Semitic stock, and in substance the common Arabic of the African coast, entitles it to a place in Oriental investigations.

Turning to the countries lying eastward of Egypt, the learned President notices Syria, comprehending the Holy Land, Baalbec,

and Palmyra. He then proceeds to Asia Minor, where much remains to be explored; the Caucasian nations (the Circassians and Georgians, in particular), which "have strong claims to the attention of scholars from the associations connected with them, as well as from their historical importance;"* and the Armenians, whose literature is valuable, "not merely for the original works of its native writers, but for the translations made by them from foreign languages, particularly the Greek."

Kurdistan, comprehending ancient Assyria, part of Armenia, and ancient Media, has lately excited great interest, in consequence of its being the abode of the Nestorian Christians, "the small but venerable remnant of a once great and influential Christian church." Of these Nestorians an account has been published by the Rev. J. Perkins, an American missionary amongst them. They number about 140,000; their ancient language is the Syriac, which they call their *literary* language, their books being written in it; their vernacular tongue is a barbarized dialect of the ancient Syriac, from which it is derived as clearly as the modern Greek from the ancient.

Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia, come next in review, and are justly designated as countries the history and antiquities of which "offer to the student in Eastern learning many subjects of the most interesting character." Mr. Pickering speaks of the labours of Dr. Grotefend and MM. Burnouf and Lassen upon the cuneiform character; but he seems not to be aware of the success which has attended the studies of Major Rowlandson upon the same subject, nor of the recent explorations of M. Botta.

Persia attracts much of Mr. Pickering's attention. Its language, as he observes, is interesting for the remarkable affinities which are found in it to the languages of the great Teutonic family. Noticing the objection of Richardson, that the Greek history of Persia is destitute of all resemblance to its own annals, he says:—

In the first place, the history of Kai Khoosroo, as given by Eastern authors, corresponds in several points with the accounts given by Herodotus of the great Cyrus;† and Sir William Jones, in the most decided terms, says: "I shall then only doubt, that the Khosrau of Fir-dausi was the Cyrus of the first Greek historian, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt, that Louis Quatorze and Lewis the Fourteenth were one and the same French King. It is utterly incredible, that two different princes of Persia should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been

* There is an entire version of the Scriptures in the Georgian language, of so early a date as the beginning of the sixth century.

† Malcolm's Hist. vol. i. 344.

doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather, in consequence of portentous dreams real or invented ; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer ; and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom ; and, having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence !” * The same accomplished scholar again observes, that the Greek writers, who sacrificed every thing “to the graces of their language and the nicety of their cars,” must have formed their name of Cambyzes from the Oriental Kambakhsh, or Granting Desires, a title rather than a name ; and Xerxes from Shiruyi, or Shirshah, which might also have been a title.† It has been heretofore assumed, on more careful investigation, that the Lohrasp of the Persians was the first Cambyzes of the Greeks, as the power and lineage of the Persian hero completely accord with the description and family of the Grecian ;‡ and the recent discoveries in Egypt now furnish a new corroboration of the Greek historians, in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, in which this personage is called Kambeth : and hieroglyphical tablets of the sixth year of his reign are now extant.§ There is as little doubt that the Gushtasp of the Persians is the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks, under whose reign the Persians were converted to the worship of fire ; and his name and that of his son Xerxes (Kahearshah) have at length been found in the inscriptions in the arrow-headed, or ancient Persian, character.|| In respect to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes (the Isfendiari of the Persians), we have fables from the writers of Persia, and the Greek narratives are so full of exaggeration of the numbers of their enemies, as to throw a doubt over this event, which warrants us in distrusting what they narrate, except the simple fact, that their country was invaded by a powerful army under a Persian prince, who was defeated.¶ To these corroborative facts may be added one other. According to the Greeks, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the son of Xerxes, succeeded to the throne of Persia ; and Eastern writers also state, that Gushtasp (Hystaspes) was succeeded by his grandson, Bahman, who was known by the name of Ardisheer Dirazdust, or Ardisheer with the Long Hands, or Long Arms, as he is termed by all the Persian authors ; and Firdusi says of him—“When he stood on his feet the ends of the fingers of his hands reached below his knee ;” which corresponds with the Greek writers. All these proofs (says Malcolm) render it certain, that Ardisheer and Artaxerxes are the same ; and this point, being admitted beyond all doubt, is of great importance in determining the epoch both of Cyrus and Xerxes.** After this epoch the Persian histories have more definite points of coincidence with the Grecian. The Persian writers speak of the wars of

* *As. Res.* vol. II. p. 43.

† Shiruyi, a prince and warrior in the *Shahnameh* of Firdusi.

‡ Malcolm's *Hist.* vol. I. 224.

§ See Mr. Gliddon's publication, before cited.

|| Malcolm's *Hist. Persia*, vol. I. 57 and 234.

¶ *Ibid.*

** Malcolm, *ubi sup.* and pp. 67 and 235.

Darab, that is, Darius, against Philip, whom they call Philippos of Room; by which term—adopted since the establishment of the Eastern empire of the Romans—they describe the provinces west of the Euphrates to the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.* His son, Alexander the Great, is also well known in Persian and other Asiatic writers, under the name of Secunder or Secander, and sometimes Eskander Younani, Alexander the Ionian or the Greek.† Yet it seems to be admitted, that the Asiatic writers do not make the slightest allusion to that celebrated Expedition of the Ten Thousand, which has given immortality to its commander.‡ This total silence is accounted for, by some writers, upon the hypothesis that this expedition, though so much magnified by the Greek writers, was probably a very inconsiderable one—a conflict between the Greeks and one of the provincial governors, or satraps, of Persia—and not of sufficient importance to be related in the general histories of the nation.

Mr. Pickering, in his geographical survey, is now brought to India, which he seems inclined to view as connected, in respect to civilization, with Egypt: an error of which fuller inquiries will probably convince him.

If there were no other motive for the pursuit of this branch of knowledge, there would be a sufficient one in the fact, that the great parent language of India, the Sanscrit, is now found to be so extensively incorporated into the Greek and Latin, and other languages of Europe, and, above all, in those which we consider as peculiarly belonging to the Teutonic or German family, that no man can claim to be a philologist, without some acquaintance with that extraordinary and most perfect of the known tongues. Of its intimate connection with the European languages I could give you innumerable examples, if time permitted. But a single brief remark of the first Sanscrit scholar of the age, Professor Bopp, of Berlin, will supply the place of such illustrations. That profound scholar says—in strong terms it is true—“When I read the Gothic of Ulphilas’s version [of the Scriptures] I scarcely know whether I am reading Sanscrit or German.”

It is a high gratification to every American, who values the reputation of his native land, to know that some of our young countrymen are now residing in Germany—that genial soil of profound learning—with a view to the acquisition of the Sanscrit language; and that we shall one day have the fruits of their learning among us.§ At the same time we have many missionaries in the different provinces of the hither and farther India, in Ceylon, the Burman empire, Siam, and other kingdoms of Asia, who are masters of the various languages of the people among whom they are stationed.

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 56, note.

† Richardson’s Dissertation, p. 395, note.

‡ Malcolm, vol. i. p. 241, note.

§ Since this Address was delivered, one of our countrymen has returned from Germany, with a rich collection of Oriental manuscripts (formerly in De Sacy’s library) and a valuable body of works in Sanscrit literature; which, it is said, are to accompany him to the ancient and respectable college at New Haven.

In Chinese learning the American scholars and missionaries are already entitled to take a high station. It is well known that the language and literature of China extend to many adjoining nations, —Corea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Loo-Choo, and even to Japan. Of most of these dialects the Americans have some knowledge.

Mr. Pickering takes a rapid glance at the Indo-Chinese countries, the Indian Archipelago, New Holland, and Polynesia, with which concludes his outline of this magnificent field of inquiry. "Its magnitude," he observes, "is calculated at first view to throw us almost into a state of despair, lest we should not have it in our power to accomplish any thing that shall bear any proportion to the subject." A more deliberate consideration of the matter, however, satisfies him that there is no ground for despondency. Their nation has many facilities, by means of its extended commerce, and of its missionary establishments, which are more active in relation to the languages and literature of other countries than those of any other nation;* he asserts, and we believe the fact, that the American missionaries include "a greater number of proficient in various languages of the East than are to be found amongst the missionaries of any other nation." In addition to these resources, their travelers in the East are multiplying, with a greater stock of preparatory knowledge; the Oriental languages "have been cultivated during the last thirty years, in the United States, to an extent which the most sanguine could not have anticipated;" and increasing importance is attached to Oriental studies in their Universities and Colleges, as a branch of general education. In all these respects England is backward,—as much so as when Richardson declared that, "unless some steady plan of encouragement be adopted by those who have power to promote it, Oriental learning must apparently languish in a state of lethargy hardly differing from non-existence." It is mortifying, indeed, to find that, amongst the encouragements suggested to the American Society, is the low state of these studies in England:—

In order to aid ourselves in forming some judgment of what it may be in our power to accomplish, and what may be reasonably demanded of us, in comparison with other nations, it may not be without use, to advert to the actual state of ethnographical and philological science in that great country in whose language we shall make our intellectual contributions, and with whose labours foreign nations will

* The American Board for Foreign Missions has seventeen printing establishments, with four type-foundries, and thirty-one presses, at which printing has been executed in thirty five languages, including the Hebrew, Armenian, Turkish, Arabic, Syriac, Mahratta, Goojoorattee, Hindoostanee, Tamil, Telooگو, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Bugis, Hawaiian, Marquesas, &c.

naturally compare those of our countrymen. I should not undertake, even if I had the ability and the right—to which I certainly make no pretensions—to sit in judgment upon the labours of the scholars of England, to whom we owe so much; but, if the opinions of eminent Englishmen themselves are of any authority in this case, the actual state of philological and ethnographical knowledge among them is far lower than it ought to be. But, although this, if true, may render the competition of other nations in this branch of knowledge so much the more easy, yet those who have the true spirit of scholars will naturally look for the standard, at which they ought to aim, in those nations where this learning is in highest state, as success in such a case would be proportionably the more honourable.

And then Mr. Pickering cites acknowledgments, made by English authors, of the great inferiority of our philologists and ethnographers to those of other nations, which it is humiliating to read, and the truth of which it is vexations to be obliged to confess:

*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et potuisse dici, et non potuisse refelli.*

We have been thus full in describing the views and objects of the American Oriental Society, because we think the description will gratify the few in this country who take an interest in the advancement of Orientalism, and because it may, as we have already hinted, operate in others upon a feeling of honest shame, when they reflect that, in a few years, we may be learners instead of teachers, and indebted for information respecting Eastern literature to American writers.

PENALTY FOR ASKING FOR PROMOTION IN CHINA.

SOME useful hints may be taken from the official regulations even of China. For example: in a late *Peking Gazette*, the Board of Punishments is directed to inflict a hundred blows upon an inferior officer for daring to presume to ask for promotion; but as the style and wording of the paper were correct, he was not to be dismissed from office.

PHARAOH'S MAGICIANS.

THE historical writings of Oriental nations offer to the intelligent reader, at first sight, so many fictions, so much mixture of the false with the true, the probable with the absurd ; facts are so often accompanied by prodigious and sometimes ridiculous circumstances, that he is tempted to doubt even those matters which are most authentic, and to confound them with the marvellous incidents which embellish, or rather disfigure them. Nevertheless, when we come to reflect, it will appear that these extraordinary narratives are not to be altogether despised, and that, with the help of an enlightened critical sagacity, it is possible to educe from them some advantage with regard to the knowledge of past events. In fact, although they are, for the most part, the fruit of an uncontrolled imagination, many of them have been wrought out of the wrecks of records too remote and obscure to form a part of genuine history ; some are allegories, the occult interpretation of which has been lost in the lapse of ages, and others, deeply impressed with the seal of the miraculous, were destined in their origin to display, in the march of certain events, the invisible and providential hand which disposes, as seems best to it, of the hearts of mortals and the destiny of empires. To reject unexamined, without distinction, all narratives of this kind, would be, in our opinion, a proof of little discernment ; it would be to refuse the light which they may throw upon the darkness of ancient times, and to incur the reproach which has been made against the writers of the last century, of having too lightly and carelessly discredited every thing in history which did not bear the evident and incontestable marks of authenticity. It is true that there exists an opposite vice, which should be carefully shunned by every sincere friend of truth : it consists in finding explanations of all the dreams, furnishing commentaries to all the absurdities, and a meaning to all the fables, which antiquity has transmitted to us. This habit, so common to restless and systematic minds, but so dangerous from the errors into which it may lead, tends naturally to enlarge the knowledge of facts by the discoveries accomplished by conjecture and induction. It has its source in that irresistible movement which, in our days, impels the human mind towards scientific researches, out of the impatient ardour to know every thing, the insatiable desire to fathom and explain all things, from the scarcely perceptible phenomena of nature to the slightest historical allusion : a manifest proof that mind is at work, and is extending its range, for thought is a necessary aliment of its existence.

But there is a means of avoiding the two vices we have pointed out, and we may enter upon the field of conjecture without encountering the danger of being misled, or at least deviating too much from historical verity ; namely, that of taking no more of such narratives than is consistent with facts already proved, and of adopting only these conjectures which are founded upon probability. Guided by this wise and sure principle, the orientalist may study in the original authors the

history of past times, with the hope of making fortunate discoveries, and of furnishing plausible explanations of most of the traditions which have been hitherto disregarded because their sense and bearing have been unknown. He will comment with advantage upon fables which conceal the origin of primitive nations, and will draw from obscurity or neglect a multitude of events which lie hid in tales and legends, and which owe in great part their preservation either to their original and striking form, or to the character they bear of the marvellous, for which mankind have always a partiality. It is in this spirit that we have endeavoured to explain the following tradition of the Mussulmans respecting the magicians of Pharaoh. It is taken from a work highly esteemed in the East, written by one of the most celebrated Arabian compilers,—the treatise on “The Charms of Society,” or “History of Egypt and Cairo,” by Jellal-eddin Abd el-Rahman el Soyuthy, who flourished in Egypt, as we are informed in his own biography, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hegira:—

“We read in Al-Kandi,* that the recorders of traditions agree that never were so many persons converted at once as when the magicians of Egypt believed in the mission of Moses.

“Ibn Abd el-Hokm† relates, after Yazid ben-Abi-Habib, that one of the contemporaries of the companions of the Prophet said: ‘Never were more people converted at the same time than when the Egyptians believed in Moses.’ The same author relates, after Abd-allah Hobairah al-Salbany, after Bekr ben-Amru al-Haulany and Yazid ben-Abi-Habib: ‘There were in Egypt, in the time of Pharaoh, twelve magicians, who were the chiefs of all the rest;‡ each was at the head of twenty diviners, and each diviner commanded 1,000 sorcerers: including diviners, magicians, and sorcerers, there were in all 240,252 persons versed in the practice of the occult arts. When they had been witnesses of the prodigies performed by Moses, they were convinced that heaven had declared in his favour, and their twelve chiefs, conceiving that they ought not further to resist the will of God, prostrated themselves, as a mark of devotion, and their example was followed by the diviners, who were, in their turn, imitated by the other sorcerers, all crying out, ‘We believe in the Master of the Universe, the God of Moses and of Aaron.’§

* Abu Omar al-Handi Mahommed, son of Yusuf, son of Yakoub, flourished in Egypt about the middle of the fourth century of the Hegira, under the reign of Sultan Kafur. He is author of two works: “On the Prerogatives of Egypt,” and “On the Cadis of Egypt.”

† Author of “The Conquest of Egypt,” who died in that country, A.H. 237.

‡ St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8) informs us that the chiefs of Pharaoh's magicians were two personages named Yannes and Mambres. In the Greek text, the name of the latter is written *Ἰαμφοῖς*, Yambhres, or as we write it, Jambres. Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher, cited by Origen (*Contra Cel.*, iv. 51) and by Eusebius (*Prep. Evang.*, ix. 8), likewise mentions Yannes and Mambres; he states that these magicians were chosen by the Egyptians to oppose *Museus*, chief of the Jews, whose prayers were very powerful with God, to cause the plagues which afflicted Egypt to cease.

§ These words are from the *Koran* (see sur. xxv. 46, 47—Lane's *Selections*, p. 196). Mahomet is the first, to our knowledge, who has spoken of this conversion of the magicians: he had this tradition, no doubt, from the Rabbis. He attributes to the new converts a language worthy of the early martyrs of Christianity: “I will cut off your hands and feet, alternately, and crucify you all,” Pharaoh says to them. “Verily,” replied the magicians, “then we shall return unto our

"Ibn Abd-al-Hokm relates, moreover, after Yazid ben-Abi-Habib, that a contemporary of the Prophet said: 'The magicians were of the number of the companions of Moses, and none of them took part in the backslidings of the children of Israel, when the latter offered incense to the golden calf.' The same says: 'We have the following tradition from Hani ben-al-Motawakkel, who had it from Ibn al-Lohayah,* who had it from Yazid ben-Abi-Habib, who had it from a contemporary of the companions of the Prophet: the magicians who had believed having requested of Moses leave to return to their property and their families, in Egypt, that Prophet granted it, and added his blessing. They then retired to the summit of the mountains, and were the first who embraced a solitary life. They received the name of *Separated*. Nevertheless, they did not all quit the camp of the Israelites; part of them remained with Moses, and adhered to that holy man till the moment when God called him to him. In the sequel, the inclination for a monastic life having ceased, there were no longer any ascetics in Egypt till the appearance of the companions of the Messiah, who peopled anew the deserts of Egypt with men devoted to a life of seclusion."

OBSERVATIONS.

The Holy Scripture informs us that the Hebrews were followed to the wilderness by an innumerable crowd of Egyptians of every age and of both sexes; but it nowhere gives us to understand that the magicians who resisted Moses were of the number. It is true that, after the third plague, they cried "This is the finger of God;"† but they continued not the less to calumniate the Prophet to the king, and to encourage the latter in his obduracy. They were soon after smitten, like all the others, with the sixth plague, against which all the resources of their art became fruitless, and their bodies were covered with ulcers and tumours. Nothing, however, hinders the admission that some of these magicians may have been in the end converted, and that they may have even asked Moses to lead them with his own people into the Wilderness to sacrifice there to Jehovah. The tradition just quoted, thus understood, has nothing improbable in it, and may even serve to explain the incessant murmurs of the Israelites against God and his messenger, their complaints and their tears at the remembrance of the delicacies they had tasted in the land of Misraim, and the extreme facility with which they gave themselves up to idolatry at the very foot of Mount Sinai, still resounding with the voice of the Almighty. We can thus conceive how the Hebrews, placed, on the one hand, under the influence of the ills and privations which they endured in solitude, on the other, shaken by the seditious and impious discourses of the Egyptians who

our Lord. We trust that God will pardon our sins since we were the first to believe" (see *Koran* sur. xxvi. 49-51; sur. xx. 75; sur. vii. 117 *et seq.*). If we credit the Talmudists, the king of Egypt, the victim of his obstinate incredulity, was at length forced to retract the blasphemies he had uttered against the God of Israel.

* Author of a book of traditions. He was a cadi and lawyer. He was of Hadramaut, in Southern Arabia. He died in Egypt, A.H. 164.

† Lit. "The finger of God is here." *Exod.* viii. 19.

had followed them, more to escape the plagues which afflicted their country, than because they were convinced of the divine mission of Moses, and seduced by the arts of the priests of that nation, who, having returned to their former opinions, and regretting their imprudent step in venturing into the Wilderness in the train of an ambitious impostor (as they deemed him), took advantage of his absence to undeceive them and regain the empire over them which they had lost, and to engage them to return to Egypt where there was no longer tyrant or plague; we can conceive how the Hebrews, born in the midst of Pagans, and accustomed to the fascinating spectacle of the pompous ceremonies attending an idolatrous worship, should prostrate themselves before a golden calf, which they had probably adored in Egypt.

We leave to theologians and commentators to explain, with the aid of these data, other facts related by Moses, the difficulty of which has hitherto much exercised the sagacity of interpreters, but which cannot fail to acquire clearness and probability as soon as it is admitted, with the sacred author, that the camp of Israel contained a crowd of Egyptians, and when we believe, with the Mussulmans, those great collectors of antique traditions, that in that crowd were found priests, philosophers, and magicians of the same nation.*

* From a paper by L'Abbé Barges: *Journ. Asiatique*, Juill.—Aug. 1843.

EXTORTED CONFESSIONS.

THE following remarkable recent instance of the ill-consequences of extorting confession from natives of India is related in the *Bombay Courier*:—

"A native, named Bhamia, a labourer of Ghotowlee, in the Tannah collectorate, had been assaulted by three fellow-villagers, for which he cited them before the mamlutdar, in a neighbouring village. Whilst on his way home, he met four Company's sepoy, who, being in want of a cooly, forced him to carry their baggage. Bhamia accompanied them to Poonah, where he was laid up with the guinea-worm. In the meanwhile, his father, alarmed at his absence, reported the circumstance to the mamlutdar, who, suspecting that the three villagers had, in revenge, kidnapped the man, got them apprehended, and, finding no evidence to criminate them, ordered them to be bastinadoed till they confessed their guilt! To put an end to the torture, they confessed they had murdered the man, and named the first place they could think of as containing his remains, and where a corpse was actually found! The mamlutdar at once committed them for trial by the session judge. When the trial came on, they repeatedly asserted their innocence, to the astonishment of the judge, who ordered the body found to be exhumed, and examined by the civil surgeon, Dr. Kirk. That gentleman reported that the body was that of a female. It bore no marks of violence, and had to all appearance been buried some time. The judge, not having heard of the means used by the mamlutdar to extort the confession, postponed the trial for the purpose of making further inquiry into the matter. Some days afterwards, it being intimated to him that fresh evidence had been procured against the prisoners, they were again put on their trial; the witness was called, and his examination had gone some length, when, to the amazement of every body, Bhamia was brought into court by several of the prisoners' relatives! He had shortly before arrived at his native village, and was forced along almost up to the judge's seat."

THE LATE DR. MORRISON'S CHINESE DICTIONARY.

LETTER FROM M. STANISLAS JULIEN TO ROBERT THOM, ESQ., H.M.
CONSUL AT NING-PÖ.

SIR: You are aware, as well as all other Chinese students, of the interesting notice inserted by Morrison, at the commencement of his Tonic Dictionary (Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, part ii. vol. i. Chinese and English), of the Chinese lexicon *Woo-chay-yun-foo*,* which he has taken for the basis of the second portion of what is, without dispute, up to the present moment, the best Chinese dictionary composed in an European language.

According to Morrison, "this work was compiled by Chin-sên-säng, who is said to have spent his life in making the collection of words contained in it, and to have died before its publication. He committed his MS. to the care of his pupil, Han-yih-hoo, who travelled over the whole empire in order to verify it and add to it. Some of Chin-sên-säng's pupils rose to eminent situations in the state; and when the Emperor Kang-he projected the formation of his dictionary, one of them, Pwan-ying-pin, mentioned to that great monarch the work of his master. After much search, it was at last found, yet unpublished, in the hands of Han-yih-hoo. Considerable use seems to have been made of it in the compilation of Kang-he's dictionary, for the definition is often verbatim in both." Morrison adds that, this work being arranged according to tones, and difficult to consult even by learned Chinese, he took it to pieces in 1812, and reduced the 40,000 characters it contained to about 12,000.

Engaged for the last twenty years in the collection of materials for a Chinese and French dictionary, I inquired for this work in China, as early as 1828, at Canton, Nan-king, and later at Peking, both by means of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and by the pupils of the Russian mission. I continued my researches till 1843, but all the trouble which was incurred to discover it proved useless. In 1837, a dictionary, in 26 vols., entitled the *Woo-chay-yun-suy*,† which has no connection

* This title means 'The Magazine of Rhymes, i.e. the Tonic Collection of the Five Cars.' The origin of this difficult expression, "the five cars," is this: the philosopher, Chwang-tszu, speaks of one Hwuy-she, who carried his library with him in his travels, and whose books loaded five cars (cf. *Ks-ze-rhoo* v. fo. 30). From a very remote period, the expression *Woo-chay-shoo*, 'the books of the five cars,' has been used elegantly to express a large collection of books. In this sense the *Wang-gun-she* (cf. *Ping-tze-luy-pien*, xcvi. p. 32) says: "While children are young, let them love fruits and dainties; but when they are grown old, and love reason, it is necessary that they read the books of the five cars," or "five cart-loads of books," i.e. a great quantity of books: "*Sau tsh woo chay shoo*," should read five cart-loads of books.—Note of M. Julien.

So also in the *Fan Tang*, an historical novel, 12mo. vol. i. p. 4, speaking of Tsh-jin-ke, the author says: "His years were twenty-three; his nature elegant and noble, rich in learning as five cars, '*heh foo woo chay*.'" The great similarity of the characters *foo* and *tang* (cf. Morrison, part ii. No. 9867 and 9469) renders it possible to read also, as an emendation of the text, "*heh tang woo chay*," 'his learning was equal to five cart-loads of books.'—Note of the Translator.

† This work, composed by Ling-e-tung, was published under the Ming dynasty, in 1592. The Emperor Kang-he, who entertained the highest opinion of it, ordered the editors of the great Lexicographical Repertory, the *Pei-udn-yun-foo*, to collect out of it all the composite expressions, and the examples, and to insert them, revised and corrected, at the head of each article (Imperial Preface of the *Pei-udn-yun-foo*).

with the work asked for, was sent me by mistake from the capital. The same happened to Mr. Morrison, jun., who wished to exert, for my sake, the most active means to discover it, and to whom the *Woo-chay-yun-suy* was also sent instead of the *Woo-chay-yun-foo*.

You have had yourself the goodness to consult Chinese booksellers and learned natives; but both the one and the other gave you, in writing, information so strange,* that you were tempted to believe that the work was completely unknown to them, and if you had not been intimately convinced, as I was myself, of the literary probity of Morrison, you could not have done otherwise than doubt the existence of this lexicon, and only see in the *Woo-chay-yun-foo* an imaginary work, the authority of which had been invoked to give credit to a compilation made by an European. One circumstance appeared to me especially inexplicable; this was, not only the absence of the *Woo-chay-yun-foo* in the library of the Emperor K'ien-lung, but the omission of its title in the great catalogue in 132 vols. 8vo. which he published of that immense collection, and in which five books are devoted to the history and the bibliographical and literary description of the most curious and most esteemed Chinese dictionaries. This is not all: M. Callery, author of a Chinese vocabulary, published at Macao, in 1841, under the title of *Systema phoneticum Scripturæ Sinicæ*, 'Phonetic System of Chinese Writing,' ventured to print in his preface, p. 60, during the lifetime and under the eyes of Mr. Morrison, jun., the following passage: "The second part of the Dictionary, Chinese and English, arranged alphabetically, deserves praise, and is of much assistance to students; only the author has forgotten to state one thing, that it is nothing more than the *English translation* of the manuscript tonic dictionary drawn up and augmented by the missionaries in Latin, a copy of which I have in my possession."

After such an assertion, enunciated with this tone of assurance, and

* Those readers who cultivate the Chinese language will doubtless read with interest the original notes furnished to Mr. Thom by the Chinese he consulted on this subject. A learned man named Choo-tang, says, *Woo chay yun foo pun she Soo pan, keu soo kih keth shoo fang yun, tze pan e mō, kin an pan Pei wdn yun foo, tsang Woo chay yun foo, xuan tsas jh nuy, kwan Pei wdn, tsō yew Woo chay yay. I.e.* "The dictionary *Woo-chay-yun-foo* was originally printed at Soe chow foo, according to a native of that place and the catalogue of a bookseller; the blocks for printing that work are no longer in existence, and the *Woo-chay-yun-foo* has been abridged, and inserted into the new edition of the *Pei-wdn-yun-foo*. So that whoever sees the *Pei-wdn*, sees at the same time the *Woo-chay*."

Here is evidently a mistake. The dictionary based on the *Pei-wdn-yun-foo* is the *Woo-chay-yun-suy*. (See preceding note.) Mr. Thom adds, in a letter dated 9th December, 1843, which contained the MS. note just read: "Up to the present moment, I have not been able to discover the *Woo-chay-yun-foo* at Nan-king, Ning-pō, or Shang-hae; but I have not yet received an answer from Soo-chow-foo and Hang-chow. It must be excessively rare. A searcher after old books at Nan-king, whom I instructed to hunt it up for me, gave me the following information: *So yaou Woo chay yun foo tze tēn tze wdn kō shoo fang, tēl she san pōo, nae she Woo chay yun foo suy yih pōo, Pei wdn yun foo yih pōo, Kang he tze tēn yih pōo, san pōo lēn hō, tēl Woo chay yun foo she yay.* 'I have diligently inquired in all the bookshops for the dictionary *Woo-chay-yun-foo*, which you require; it is composed of three works united, viz.—1st. The *Woo-chay-yun-suy* (36 vols. see note 1); 2nd. the *Pei-wdn-yun-foo* (132 vols.); 3rd. the *Kang-he tze-tēn* (32 vols.).'" Upon which M. Thom observes, with much justice, that he does not see how the union of the three preceding works can make up the *Woo chay* any more than a collection of the works of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid could make those of Horace.

uncontradicted by Mr. Robert Morrison,* by a person residing in China, who affirms that the tonic dictionary, drawn up, according to Dr. Morrison, after the *Woo-chay-yun-foo*, is only the English translation of a dictionary compiled by the Roman Catholic missionaries, a copy of which he himself possesses, who would not now believe that the notice given by that illustrious Chinese scholar concerning the *Woo-chay-yun-foo* was a fable, invented at random, and that it is necessary to give up all hope of ever finding the original work?

But, Sir, nothing is better proved at present than the existence of this rare and precious work; for see what a French missionary, whom I have the honour to number among my pupils, and who is very well versed in Chinese, has written to me from Macao, on the 13th February, 1844:—

“I have just seen, *to-day*, the famous dictionary the *Woo-chay-yun-foo*, the existence of which M. Callery had denied. The title is not false, for it is repeated on all the leaves of the work, from beginning to end. This dictionary is arranged like the *Pei-wän-yun-foo*, which you have already. It consists of twenty-two volumes, of the size of classical books, in 8vo., and is excellently printed. A poor family in the environs of Canton, having need of money to celebrate the new year, wishes to sell it, and asks for it fifty piastres (about £11). The author is called Chin-sên-säng.”

I do not know whether my correspondent will have purchased for me this work, for which I have given repeated commissions from one hundred to one thousand francs. Perhaps it will be sold when my answer, dated the 6th of April, arrives, in which I requested him to buy it for me, if there was yet time. But it is a great point both for me and all other Chinese scholars, to know that the work is not chimerical, but actually exists. It must also be a subject of joy to the Orientalists of all nations, who entertain no less respect for the personal character of Morrison than esteem and gratitude for his labours, to see him henceforth acquitted of a literary fraud, unworthy of an honourable man, and which would have left a sad stain on his memory.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

STANISLAS JULIEN,

Member of the Institute.

Paris, 10th May, 1844.

The above letter is important for the vindication of the character of Dr. Morrison (of whose probity, however, no doubt had been ever entertained either by his friends in England or by Chinese scholars in this country); and the demonstration of the existence of this dictionary throws upon M. Callery the *onus* of proving his assertion, if he has means of doing so, to justify himself from a serious charge.

* An English Chinese scholar, who was, during twenty years, the colleague and friend of Dr. Morrison, explains thus, in a letter, dated 3rd November, 1842, the silence of his son: “I cannot possibly imagine that Morrison could have fabricated such a fable as that which M. Callery imputes to him. If Morrison, junior, did not think it worth his while to vindicate his father's memory, it was probably because he thought the charge was too absurd to deserve serious refutation.”

A BOHEMIAN CUSTOM ILLUSTRATED.

In a village of German Bohemia, the body is laid out on the bed. By its side stand a burning lamp and a cup of holy water. The neighbours come in softly, one after another, step slowly up to the bed, and kneel down. They then dip a little bunch of six ears of corn, bound together, into the holy water, sprinkle the winding-sheet, and, having turned it down to take one more look at the face of the departed, they stand a few minutes in melancholy contemplation, and then retire.

A SOLDIER resteth from his toil,
By death, the plunderer, stript of spoil !
Did he wield the flashing brand,
For the hearths of father-land ?
Where the reddening flags went down ;
Where the hot smoke swept the town ;
Where the scared child hid his eyes
From the flame-vapour in the skies ?

It is well ! earth's battles won,
He the perilous race hath run.
Wave the wheat-sheaf o'er his bed,—
Type of the living and the dead !
Fierce companions of the spear,
Read the warrior's history here :
Now, where tower'd the chieftain's crest,
The white sheet rustles on his breast !

Perchance the gentle pastor he,
Whom village-patriarchs come to see ;
And childhood's wondering face inclin'd,
Clasping its little hands behind.
To him each rustic threshold dear,
The proud to check, the sad to cheer.
No human flower by Sorrow's rain
Beat down, but he would raise again !

Calm he sleeps—no busy camp
So well becomes that burning lamp ;
Emblem of his soul's clear ray,
Glimmering, blazing into day !
High that wheaten cluster wave,
Type of victory o'er the grave !
Merchant ! who the pearl hast found ;
Husbandman ! how green thy ground !
Faithful servant ! called to rest ;
Disciple ! by thy Master blest !

A Scholar slumbers ! wind and rain
 Have rent his singing robes in twain.
 Lord of the golden bow and quiver,
 Roaming by Fancy's crystal river !
 Magician ! throned in palace bright,
 Working thy miracles of light !
 No more Wit's battles shall be fought
 With thine arrowy flight of thought.

It is well ! draw nigh—draw nigh—
 Wave the wheaten cluster high !
 Soon the summons shall be spoken,
 And the spell, Enchanter ! broken.
 Soon thy visions of rich dreams
 Shall scatter more resplendent gleams,
 And streams of sweeter music roll
 From the pure palace of thy soul !

Perchance a Wife—a Mother there,
 Bids good-by to home of care !
 Still the light of fading bloom
 Streams through the angel's shading plume,
 As though his stooping life had cast
 Mist on the mirror as he pass'd !

An Infant sleeps ! no angry storm
 Comes that lily to deform ;
 But a freshening summer breath
 Closed the fragrant leaves in death.
 Cold her mother's arms to-night ;
 Unruffled her small pillow white ;
 No chequering taper spots the floor,—
 Hark ! they linger at the door !

Lo ! they enter ; father—mother—
 Weeping sister—thoughtful brother ;
 To the slumberer's couch they creep :—
 Wave the wheat-sheaf o'er her sleep !
 Lily ! that never toil'd nor spun,
 Gone to bloom in tenderer sun ;
 By purpureal blossoms crown'd,
 Water'd with dew on Eden-ground !

ON THE ORIENTALISMS IN ÆSCHYLUS.*

At the early period when civilization and refinement had just begun to dawn upon Greece, while intercourse with foreign nations was still impeded, and to some extent rendered impossible, by the barbarian tribes which surrounded her, and offered almost insuperable obstacles to commerce or travel, in the shape of robber-gangs, and piratical fleets, it is reasonable to suppose that, if thrown into contact with a people whose manners and language were different from their own, her children, their national character being still unformed, would receive a sensible, if not a permanent, impression from the novelty of the objects for the first time placed in their way, and their language, ideas, and customs be tinged with the peculiar characteristics of the nation with whom they were compelled to mingle. Such an event was the Persian war. In it, for the first time, were the Greeks of the Peloponnesus and its vicinity brought as a body into contact with that powerful people of whom such terrible tales were conveyed to them, but with whom they were personally so little acquainted. For though, according to the Father of History, occasional intercourse was kept up by the visits of single individuals, and commerce, to a certain extent, had for a long while subsisted between Persia and Greece, yet so little were the inhabitants of the latter, as a nation, known to the former, that, as we read in Herodotus,† Darius, being informed of the capture and burning of Sardis by the Athenians (B.C. 504), inquired *who the Athenians were*, and, on being told (*πυθόμενον*), vowed vengeance against them, appointing a slave to repeat to him daily, "O, king, remember the Athenians." Surely, had Athenians been in the habit of visiting his metropolis, the question and the admonition would have been alike unnecessary. But leaving the minute investigation of this point to those who have penetrated deeper into the mysteries of antiquity, we shall take it for granted that, before the Persian war, but little intercourse had taken place between the Persians and the Greeks. By this event the two nations were thrown together; and the Greeks, it is not to be doubted, were thus imbued with some of the spirit of Orientalism. In speaking of *the Greeks*, we would be understood to refer to those of Greece Proper alone. The communication between these and their relations and tributaries in Asia Minor would not be likely to impart to them such a measure of

* The author of this article feels it incumbent on him to mention that the idea on which it is founded was suggested by a passage in Cumberland's *Observer*, No. 133.

† *Terpich.* 105.

Oriental peculiarities as actual dealing with that nation from whom these peculiarities were in the first instance derived.

It is at present our purpose to examine how far this theory finds support in the works of the earliest Greek dramatist now extant. They are in a peculiar manner adapted for such examination, inasmuch as their author contributed to the glory of Hellas with his sword as well as his pen, by the repulse of the "long-haired Mede"* on the ever-glorious field of Marathon.

Before proceeding farther, it will be as well to anticipate an objection which may be started. If the Persian war had such an effect, some one may say, why do we not find in Greek manners some traces of the ten years' war before the walls of Troy? Is it possible that so important an event can have made no impression on the Greek character, while, as you say, the Persian war gave a tincture to the minds of the children of Greece? On a little reflection, it will be seen that this objection is groundless. In the first place, the Trojan war belongs almost exclusively to the mythic period, and we must not implicitly believe the poetic tales told us about the magnitude of the armaments concerned in it and the length of time it occupied. Again, the Greeks at that time were not a compacted nation,† as they were, to a great extent, at the time of the Persian war, but consisted of a number of half-civilized tribes, on whom no impression such as we are speaking of could easily be made. But even granting, for argument's sake, the legends to be true, and the petty tribes to have been united in one firm, compact body, what literature, what remains of any kind have we of that period in which to perceive that such impression was not made? For aught we know, Greece may then have been as much tinctured with Trojan customs and manners, as we contend it was with Orientalism by the Persian war.

To return to our subject. We are about to examine some portion of the works of Æschylus, and to endeavour to detect in them an Oriental cast, derived from his communication with an Eastern people. The next point to be determined is what portion of his works to examine. Out of nearly one hundred tragic and satyric dramas ascribed to his pen, we have seven only extant. The subject of one of them is the return of the vanquished Persian king to his country and home. This play would, therefore, seem at first sight best adapted to our purpose. But a little consideration will shew that this is not the case. The plot of the tragedy is laid in Persia; the speakers are all Persians; so that the forms of speech, &c., to be

* Epitaph. in Æsch

† Thucyd. i. 2

found in it, are designedly Oriental. And, what is more, we are told by Glaucus, in his treatise on the works of *Æschylus*, that it was borrowed (*παρὰπειρῆσθαι*) from the *Phœniææ* of Phrynicius, a poet who is recorded by Herodotus* to have written another play which had connection with the Persians, the *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*, or *Taking of Miletus*, a city in Asia Minor, which was captured and sacked by the Persians about the year B.C. 500.

The portion of *Æschylus's* extant writings, then, to which we shall turn our attention, is the Oresteian Trilogy, the most complete part of his works which we possess.

The first play in this Trilogy is the *Agamemnon*. For the benefit of those readers who may be unacquainted with, or have forgotten, the plot of this sublime piece, we shall give a sketch of it here.

The drama is opened by a *persona protatica*,† under the character of a φύλαξ, or sentry, who is stationed to observe the last of the series of beacons which was to announce at Argos the fall of Troy and victory of Agamemnon. He laments his hard and toilsome lot. At this moment, he perceives the beacon-fire on the height of Arachnæum,‡ and hastens to inform his mistress, Clytæmnestra, of the welcome sight. The Chorus then enter, and in a long and obscure ode bewail the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the woes of the house of the Atreidæ. Clytæmnestra next appears, and announces to them the news conveyed to her, and the manner of its communication. They reply by another ode, which has for its subject the abduction of Helen, and the fall of Troy. A herald from the Troad then presents himself, announcing the truth of the intelligence conveyed by the beacons, and recounting the miseries which the Greeks had undergone beneath the walls of Troy. Clytæmnestra declares, with expressions of well-feigned affection, her joy at the thought of again seeing her long absent husband. The Chorus then, in a third ode, lament the woes brought by Helen on the unhappy family of Priam. At the end of it, Agamemnon enters in his war-chariot, accompanied by Cassandra, and expresses his thanks to the gods for their assistance in overcoming his enemy, and bringing the expedition to a prosperous termination; and modestly refuses the honours which his treacherous wife presses upon him. The two retire, and the Chorus break out into a more undisguised expression of fear respecting the probable fate of the king. Cassandra refuses to accompany Clytæmnestra into the palace, and prophesies, at first darkly, then in less dubious terms, the murder of Agamemnon and herself by the impious and adulterous

* *Æroto*, 21.

† *Donatus*, *Præf. in Ter. And.*

‡ *Agam.* 309, ed. Dind.

queen ; then, yielding to her fate, her prophecies concluded, retires. Suddenly, behind the scene, are heard the groans of the dying Agamemnon. The eccyclema is thrown open, and Clytæmnestra discovered standing by the side of her slaughtered husband, the fatal weapon still reeking in her hand. Ægisthus then comes forward, and avowing his participation in the deed, expresses his joy at its completion. The play concludes with his menaces to the Chorus in case of their refusal to submit to his authority.

In looking at this production as a whole, one cannot but be struck with the solemn air of Oriental mysteriousness which it wears. The dark hints of the sentry, of the Chorus, of Cassandra, of Clytæmnestra, must remind every one of the gloomy veil which was thrown over the tenets of Christianity, when infected by the admixture of the ancient Persian religion by the Manichaean heretics of the third century. Where in Homer, whom Æschylus professed to have copied, is such mysterious grandeur to be found as overspreads the whole of this piece? It seems as if it must be evident to the most casual observer, how Oriental in its solemn and sometimes even turgid sublimity is the whole conception of the drama before us. The story is certainly an old Greek legend ; but Æschylus has coloured it, and imparted to it the tinge of his own feelings, just as a painter, although he may borrow a landscape from nature, yet shews his own peculiar ideas by the light and shade, the colouring, and the grouping of his picture. Though *names* and *actions* may be handed down to posterity, *characters* can never be the subject of legendary tradition.

In the character of Agamemnon we see a proud and haughty sovereign, who, notwithstanding, never forgets, amid the splendour of his rank and victories, that he is a man, is subject to the vicissitudes of human life, and is dependant for every thing on a Supreme Power. This character strongly reminds us of that of the Mogul emperor Humayoon in more modern times : who, when seated on the imperial throne of India, and surrounded with all the pomp and pageantry of an Indian court, had yet sufficient humility and pious feeling to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to a poor outcast, who had saved his life, and shielded him from his pursuers in times of adversity.

In Cassandra there is not much to remark. She is a prophetess, and but little more. Yet, in her strains of wild sorrow, her attachment to her ill-fated lord, and her resignation to the Supreme will, some analogy will be perceived to the character (so far as we can judge of it by the short account we possess) of "Rizpah the daugh-

ter of Aiah," whose tenderness towards the corpses of her murdered children is so touchingly described, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 10.

Clytemnestra is a personage whom we at once pronounce unnatural. But the poet's intention was, no doubt, to frame a character combining the most horrible extremities to which female failings can be driven. Hypocritical (*Agam.* 587, 855), treacherous (958), vindictive (1412), haughty (1035), impure (1257), impious (1440), a murderess (1384), her character consists of parts, the existence of which separately and *per se* is possible,* but which, when combined, form an appalling and intentionally unnatural whole. Nevertheless, vile as she is represented, there is no inconsiderable resemblance between her and a personage mentioned in Scripture, who is not the creation of a poet's brain. We refer to Athaliah, as recorded in the 2nd book of *Kings*, 11th chap. In this latter we behold a shameless murderess, led on, not by feminine desire of revenge,† but by the less natural impulse of ungoverned ambition. Her resemblance to the character we are discussing is certainly very strong; more so than that of any non-Oriental character that can be brought forward from the pages of history or of fiction.

Of *Ægisthus* little can be said. He is represented as a pitiful, cowardly miscreant; and as such we would compare him with Haman in Sacred History; in profane, in some respects at least, with Cambyses. But here we cannot help remarking that we have had many opportunities of learning how truly Oriental such a character is, in the conduct of some of the chiefs of Afghanistan during the late campaign in that country.

The introduction of the *φύλαξ* at the beginning of the piece reminds us of the reference made in Holy Writ to the "watchman upon the wall," and similar expressions. For instances we may refer the reader to 2 *Sam.* xix. 24, where the "watchman" goes to look for an expected messenger, and on seeing him *tells the king*, as the sentry in our play announces the kindling of the beacon to his royal mistress: or to 2 *Kings*, ix. 17, where the "watchman" on the tower of Jezreel announces to king Joram the approach of Jehu. These two out of numberless allusions to the perfectly, though not exclusively, Oriental custom of setting a watch to keep a look-out for any expected event, may suffice to shew that even this opening character is by no means irreconcilable with the theory advanced of the Oriental cast in the works of this author.

* Simonides, *περὶ γυναικῶν*. Translated in the *Spectator*, No. 300.

† Juvenal, xiii. 191.

Having thus gone through the *characters* introduced in the play we are discussing, it remains for us to examine the *diction* used throughout. We will first remark, that the pompous and occasionally tumid and bombastic tone of *Æschylus* has ever been a subject of criticism. It has been attributed to his desire to avoid the low coarseness of the satyric drama, which drove him into the other extreme; "so that," Twining observes, "as extremes will meet, the λέξις γελοία, which he took so much pains to avoid, came round and met him in the shape of bombast, at the very moment when he thought himself at the greatest distance from it." This did not escape the notice of Aristophanes, who, in the *Ranæ*, makes Euripides speak of his dramatic antagonist by the facetious title of κομποφακελορρήμων, or 'the Pomp-bundle-worded one.* But this pomposity, and especially the proneness to long compounds, is to be explained on the principle we have laid down, viz. of viewing it as an Orientalism; most Eastern languages especially delighting in long and frequently intricate compound words.

With this remark, we will now proceed to our task. It is not our intention to find an Oriental parallel, or to assign an Oriental origin, for every peculiar expression used by the Greek author; but merely, as stated in the outset of this paper, to endeavour to prove the existence of an *Oriental cast* in the piece, as a whole. This has been shewn, or endeavoured to be shewn, in the characters of the *dramatis personæ*; we shall now bring forward a few examples of expressions which seem to partake of this cast.

V. 282. 'Απ' ἀγγάρου πυρός. The word ἀγγαρος, implying the series of beacons which announced the fall of Troy, is entirely Persian, and signifies a courier, in modern Persian هزاره the well-known *harkára*. The reader of Herodotus will remember the account given of these couriers in *Uran.* 98, and will, at the same time that he sees the peculiarly appropriate manner in which the word is used (ἀγγέλου would suit metre and sense, but not convey the full idea of the *successive* fires), acknowledge that *Æschylus* cannot but have acquired this word from his intercourse with the nation to whose language it belongs. The word is found in the form of a verb in *S. Matth.* v. 41, used in a derived sense, from the violence frequently employed by this class of men.

V. 356. "O night, who didst cast enveloping toils over the

* Aristoph. *Ran.* 699. It may be as well to insert the whole speech of Euripides:—

'Εγὼ δὲ τοῦτον, καὶ διέσκεμμαι πάλοι,
'Ανθρώπον ἀγριοποιῶν, αὐθαδέστομον,
'Εχοντ' ἀχάλινον ἀκρατὲς ἀθύρων στόμα
'Απεριλάλητον, κομποφακελορρήμονα.

towers of Troy, so that none, old or young, escaped the vast net of slavery and woe." The metaphor used here is highly Oriental. Compare *Lam.* iii. 47. "Fear and a snare is come upon us; desolation and destruction;" and many similar passages of Scripture.

V. 495. "Thirsty dust, brother of mud." This singular expression, and a similar one to it, *Sep. contra Theb.* 494, "Smoke, the curling sister of fire," have been much and undeservedly derided, as absurd and ridiculous bombast. Twining observes: "There could not be any thing in the cart of *Thespis* more laughable than to call smoke the brother (sister?)* of fire, and dust the brother of mud." We must frankly confess our inability to see any thing laughable in the matter, except the strange mistake into which this distinguished critic has fallen. The metaphor, by which one thing is styled the "brother" or "sister" of another connected with it, is a truly Eastern one. How is the often-repeated idea of *Hafiz* and the other Persian poets, that "the bulbul is the sister of the rose," extolled and admired for its beauty and elegance! and yet it is not one whit less "absurd" and "ridiculous" than the expression now in question; nay, there is considerable beauty in the comparison of the inseparable union which exists between smoke and fire to that affection which should be mutually entertained by members of the same family. The figure is common in Scripture, *e.g.* "I am a brother to dragons," *Job*, xxx. 29. "I have said to corruption, Thou art my father; to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister." *Job*, xvii. 14, &c. Are these forms of speech to be censured as ridiculous? More examples might be adduced but for the fear of straying from the subject; we cannot help observing, however, that this phrase appears one of the strongest arguments for the theory suggested.

Having now reached the *epitasis* of the play before us, viz. the entrance of the victorious chief (v. 810), we propose in a subsequent paper to finish what remains to be examined in this play, and on the same principles go briefly through the two other pieces composing the *Orestean Trilogy*. Meanwhile, the little already said may, perhaps, induce some to view the peculiar style of this patriarch of the drama in a somewhat different light to that in which they have hitherto been accustomed to regard it.

* *Αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν.*

"JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL."

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER IV.—THE CORNET BECOMES A FINE FELLOW.

THE conclusion of the last chapter found three of the party deep in secrets of omelets and stews, for really Jack was such a curious fellow in these matters, that Andrew and I could not resist being interested. Among the hundred little appliances it was the duty of Jack's syce to carry, was a small leather case, not bigger than a cheroot box, and in this item of his property he took considerable delight. When opened, it presented a series of little square bottles, neatly stoppered, and firmly placed in their respective sockets, and each containing a precious essence, not of perfume for the external, but a rare condiment for the inward man, the pride of Jack's eyes, from whose companionship he ever derived much satisfaction; and so he well might, for in the little case, diminutive as it was, was the active principle of bushels of pungent chillies, maunds of white bleached celery, delicate tomata, and divers other difficult-to-be-got condiments, stimulating to the palate, and highly convenient, withal, in a marching establishment so limited as Jack's. I say, from this peculiarity of my friend, Andrew and I derived no trifling benefit, and in seeing us rejoiced, Jack rejoiced himself. But eating must come to an end, as well as every thing else, and in due time ours concluded, and finding the old paul rather worse accommodation than nothing, we stretched ourselves, lit our "Manillas," and awaited Fitzflareup's arrival.

After some discussion as to how he should be received, Jack Opie snatched up his hat, and sauntered along, with a new cheroot in his mouth, in the direction in which he expected the cornet to come. We were pitched under a cluster of tamarind trees, inclosed, as it were, by the remains of an old mud wall, broken or rather worn down by the crumbling hand of the seasons. From the northern aspect of this inclosure the eye could, in the horizon, discern a few similar groves, but distant several miles from our encampment; the intervening space formed the cemetery of thousands who had there reposed since the glory of Curragh-Manickpore had faded, centuries before, and which dynasty had flourished coeval with Sirhind, and Gour, and Mandoo. Hundreds of tombs, from the humble head-stone to the ruined mosque, covered the heights; every little eminence was crowned by its ruin, and deer paths, intersecting each other as closely as net-work, rendered them of no difficult access. Thousands upon thousands of dead mouldered in the soil of Curragh; and here, it is said, there was a great battle fought, and these are the monuments raised to the slain of note; but for this they are too numerous. This field of graves, extending for miles, was furrowed by numerous ravines, probably worked out by the periodical rains, and in viewing it from our camp inclosure these were not discernible; the appearance of an undulating prairie, tipped here

and there with streaks of dry jungle grass, was alone conveyed to us, and these grassy streaks were celebrated as cover for quail and hare. On the elevations were mosques variously denoting the consequence, when living, of those they rested over, and many shewed remnants of Moslem architecture of exquisite workmanship and design; on a very few, the once haughty emblem of the crescent was conspicuous.

Over this desolate and extensive tract I proposed shooting, and Andrew willingly consented to accompany me, as, standing some hundred and fifty yards from the camp, we scanned it from the top of a mouldering dome. The view was impressive, and to a considerable extent romantic; but as we turned towards the encampment, the cornet was just arriving, and Jack was busied beside him, and all impression of awe created by the tombs of Curragh fled on the instant. More dead than alive, from the long-continued heat, we disinterred the cornet. His general appearance denoted some suffering; he looked parboiled; but Jack had the secret of conciliation, and had evidently made up the matter in his own peculiar way. Moreover, Jack gained much goodwill, not only from Cornet Fitzflareup, but from Andrew and myself, in that he placed before the former a grill "*à la Jack Opie*;" and, having seen fully to the comfort of the cornet in his absence, he prepared to accompany us in search of a few quail.

A few minutes saw us equipped. The polished brown mottled barrels, that once had shone in Joseph Manton's window, looked light and elegant, and refreshing to a sportsman's eye, as they rested upon the leather-covered shoulder of Jack's immortal moleskin.

We returned with a brimming bag of quail, the essentials for hare soup, and a pea-fowl pullet for mullagatawny, and found the cornet much improved in manners; a sense of the odious egotism that had so prominently glared forth on every occasion when he joined in conversation had come to his rescue, and I began to think Jack's doctrine wiser than I had at first deemed it. The good effects were visible to us all, and the cornet, finding us all better company, enjoyed the evening beyond common. The night passed over, and next morning another bag of game was brought into the little camp ere breakfast time. Just as we were all concluding this meal, so gratifying to a marching man, the cornet gave sudden symptoms of a relapse into egotism. He concluded a very lengthened historical and biographical notice of the "*family*" by stating that, at his father's table, no wines but champagne, burgundy, and madeira, were ever seen. Upon this, Jack Opie put down his knife and fork, and twisting his lips in a corkscrew fashion, gave utterance to such a long, low, sarcastic whistle, that formed a good comment on the cornet's folly.

Jack, after taking a few turns within the tent, exclaimed, "Well, here goes for a bath; come, Fitz, will you bathe?" "Thank you; but that shower-bath from earthen pots, so common in this country, is detestable: pray excuse me." "Oh, certainly; but I never bathe in that way." Jack vociferated "*Qui là*," gave his order, and without requesting

the absence of the party, and with a degree of modesty of which I am ashamed, proceeded to divest himself of his upper garments; and ere he had completed this, he to whom the order was given entered, bearing in his arms half a dozen of what bore a singular resemblance to bottles of claret; and so they might, for they were bottles of claret—part of a dozen, the purchase of Jack Opie at Allahabad, for the use of the party, but which had turned out the veriest sloe juice. The bearer placed them in a corner, and Jack carefully folded aside the suttrinjee or carpeting of the tent in their neighbourhood, during which Fitzflareup kept his eye upon him, almost afraid of trusting his tongue with a demand for explanation. Except the pantaloons of American drill, Jack was nude indeed, and standing up in the corner prepared, the bearer handed him a bottle and a table-knife. The cornet stared still more. Jack twigg'd his wonder with the corner of his eye, but kept his gravity, and with a dexterous twitch with the back of the knife he knocked the head of the bottle off; and this done to his satisfaction, he directed a stream of claret on his head and shoulders. Three or four bottles were disposed of in this way, and Jack's American drills had imbibed the greater part of it. "How refreshing!" muttered Jack. "You don't mean to say that that is claret?" said Cornet Fitzflareup. "Claret! why not? Of course it is. In my father's house we never bathed with any thing else."

This little joke completed Jack's victory over the cornet,—he saw the point of it, and had the sense to benefit thereby. We never heard of his father's establishment again, and Jack Opie's bantering was of essential service to him. But a year afterwards, and a finer cavalry officer was not among the subalterns of the mounted branch than Cornet Fitzflareup; and the good turn Jack had done him was rendered still more effective by an incident occurring but two nights subsequently, and in which Fitzflareup was a severe sufferer.

Two miles from Curragh-Manickpore, we found ourselves at Munde-ke-Serai, a locality celebrated in the Doab for the strange ideas of its inhabitants relative to the rights of property. It was necessary to be even more than usually on the alert the night of our stay at this place. After our evening glass had passed, every thing that could possibly be spared was sent outside to be placed on the hackeries, and under the immediate charge of the village chokeedars. Andrew followed, without comment, the example set by Opie and myself; but poor Fitzflareup could not reconcile safety to his valuables with their being removed from his own neighbourhood, and a box of cavalry accoutrements, claiming his especial care, he could not feel in his heart to part with, even for one night. It was a long thin box of deal, tin-lined, and stamped with the fashionable seal of a Jermyn Street breeches-builder, and the cornet had peeped into it oftener than he would have liked it to be known, and from every fresh peep derived undiminished satisfaction. No wonder then that, instead of trusting it without the tent, he should consider it safer within; and the more so, that he thrust the long thin box underneath the mattress of his bed. No one gain-

sayed the proceeding. With the exception of Jack Opie, each jumped into his bed, and Jack, having extinguished the light, set to work to place the articles within the tent in such a position as to be easily disturbed by an intruder. A teapoy, with an empty glass or two, at one door; a chair at another, and so forth; but as every one who has resided in India knows that a routee tent has generally four doors, there were consequently four chances in favour of any thief who might enter escaping; but as each door was at the head of an occupied bed, the same number of chances existed of detection. In case of accidents to friends, no firearms or cutting weapons could be permitted, as an excitable man, of Fitzflarcup's calibre, might have shaved off the head of a friend in the dark. There was no such objection to a twig of bamboo or a sapling of jow-tree, and one of these, in a position easily got at, added decidedly to the comfort of the feelings.

We were soon drawing largely upon that "balmy sleep" that good King Harry would have given his ears for, and which no doubt he might have enjoyed, despite the cares of state, had he ridden, previous to his breakfast of that day in which he complained, eighteen miles over the old road of Munde-ke-Serai. I had gone through the first two hours or so in a manner shewing me possessed of a sensorium resembling a pound or two of lead; at the end of which time my slumber became lighter. I awoke, feeling chilled, and no wonder, for the keen air of midnight through an open end of the purdah poured down my back, and the stars twinkled brightly as I turned towards it. Some light-fingered gentleman had been inside! and forgot to be so civil as to shut the purdah after him. It would have done no good to alarm my companions, and I doubted not the thief would return, as my blankets were still over me, and I knew he would like to have them. I felt no inclination to sleep, and if I had I could not have accomplished it, for Andrew and the cornet kept up a nasal duet, wonderfully correct in time,—the former doing the bassoon, and the latter a French horn, cracked. The domestics who slept outside were strenuously assisting Andrew and the cornet; but Jack Opie slept like a gentleman, I could not even hear him breathe. Having again satisfied myself that the bamboo sapling was conveniently near, I kept my eye upon the purdah, and joined Andrew and his band, but only in a pretended snore.

Snoring in reality is not accompanied with any inconvenience to the performer, but imitating the same when one is broad awake is highly fatiguing to continue for a space, and I found it so. Not more than ten minutes had elapsed after I had joined Andrew in his pastime, when the purdah, upon which my eye rested, was raised aside, and a human head poked within it, which, ere the body ventured to follow, took a survey of the surrounding darkness, and not in the hope of seeing any thing, but of shewing himself to any one awake within the routee, for he judged, and his judgment was one likely in many cases to prove correct, that any one awake would immediately challenge him, when he had only to close the purdah and run. Whilst only his head was inside I snored on, and Andrew snored, and the cornet snored; and the

thief, satisfied that all were asleep, entered, and closed the purdah behind him so effectually, that I could not see the grey streak of the sky as before.

With indescribable impatience I tried gradually to modify my own snoring, without giving the intruder a knowledge that I was awake, and he must have had a wonderful professional tact to have avoided teapoy, chairs, and chrystal. I would have given much had any noise on his part given me an idea of the exact spot where he was, for I knew that without a sudden blow, and one by him unexpected, there was no chance of arresting him, besmeared with oil and most probably armed with a knife or cudgel. I began to suspect he had made good his exit by the opposite purdah, when I felt some tendency of the blankets covering me to slip off, but so gentle, and so like the effects of accident, as could not possibly awake even an indifferent sleeper. I snored on, and the blankets slid off me a little more; and at length I became satisfied, from the sensation of there being drawn to a centre, that he who drew them was in a certain position, when I let fly a "polthogue," as Pat would say, tolerably calculated to bring down any one it might hit; but the bamboo struck nothing, and I rolled out of bed with the force of my own blow. A similar favour, better aimed, followed instantaneously. "Take that, you midnight thieving blackamoor," said Jack; and a man of no ordinary stature was completely doubled up thereby. Jack's hazel had caught him right behind the ear as he was issuing on all-fours through the opposite doorway. Jack had been watching as well as I, and being a far cooler hand, had bagged the game. Andrew and the cornet were awake in a moment, and whilst yet stunned, Jack twisted his braces through the arms of the delinquent, and secured them behind his back, then giving him a mimic kick, exclaimed, "Timothy, get up the galvanic; he belongs to you now." He to whom Jack had given this quietus was the most powerful Asiatic I have ever seen. Far from being fat, he had still muscles of great strength, a stature of six feet one inch, and was about twenty-two years of age. He looked the midnight ruffian; nor was his sinister look detracted from by the short, smooth, iron-bound club that, dropping from his hand on being struck, was now found upon the ground. "Well, Jack, if you had got a tip with this instrument, you'd have made a step of promotion in the corps." "Aye, Tim, and had my hazel twig been a light dragoon's regulation blade, that scoundrel would not be coming to himself quite so fast as he appears to be doing."

A noise, bearing a strange similitude to hysterical, interrupted Jack's remark, and that noise was the creation of Cornet Fitzflareup. It was an "Io pean" on discovering the abstraction of the long thin box marked with the coat-of-arms of the Jermyn Street builder. The cornet could have joyfully knocked out the linch-pin of the drop, had the prisoner been about to be hanged; he was not hanged, however, but put upon the roads for a term of years, and poor Fitz had seen the last of his baubles.

CHAPTER V.—TRAITS OF PRACTICE.

It had been a sickly season ; May, June, and July had passed over with their flaming hot winds ; the crowds of bathers at the ghauts were constantly interrupted by the corpse-bearers, who brought their loathsome burthens to their watery graves ; the moqias of the Jumma Musjid were hourly busied in the last rites due to the faithful ; the hospitals were filling apace ; disease was rife, and death was sudden. I had for days almost resided in my buggy, and at night had to make my rounds as well, for the often disguised danger of remittent fever rendered such care necessary. Aye, it is at night that the fever of the jungle puts on its most appalling dress, when the unbearable sense of congestion weighs down the poor wretched victim who writhes beneath his potent touch.

A deputy assistant sawbones had been ordered to do duty under me ; he had been posted off at the expense of Government from Calcutta ere he had been ten days at the presidency, and having, at the risk of his life, completed the nine hundred miles in a palanquin, found himself at last in safety at ——. In order to initiate him into the routine of duty, and until he was able to provide his own establishment, he took up his quarters with me, and accompanied me in my rounds. Strong, fresh from Europe, and blooming in complexion, he appeared as able to go through the daily work we had, as most people ; but he did not hold out long. It was strange to see the moral effect upon the newcomer, caused by the sudden and severe cases he was hourly obliged to see. He was with me the morning after his arrival ; I had been up more than once on the previous night, and was anxious even more than common about one or two cases, and I drove rapidly down to a little bungalow, occupied by a staff sergeant. It was a small room, and hot as a furnace, for the walls of it were exposed to the hot winds ; the verandah was open, and the kuskus tatties at the door were dry, and no coolie in attendance upon it. Within that little room, even at six in the morning, the heat was intense ; no wonder, then, that the miserable inmate was uneasy. The young medico gasped for breath, and he turned pale indeed when the sick sergeant started up from the recumbent position, and, with his eyes suddenly lit up with a fire almost demoniacal, asked who the stranger was ? The visit had disturbed him, evidently ; and I felt much annoyed at the inattention of those I had ordered to be constantly with him. The sergeant, poor fellow, presented a miserable appearance, his intellect being much affected, and, unable to remain for any time on the couch, he would start up, as he did upon our entrance, and pace the apartment like a panther in his cage. "Well, doctor, this fever—will it never go away ? Why won't you bleed me, doctor ? You know you bled me last time." And then, without interval, "Doctor, what death would you like to die ? Ah, ah ! I know a mode of dying far better than yours : would you like me to tell you, doctor ? Well, listen ;" and he drew near, and whispered, "Clarence, Clarence, drowned in a Malmsey butt ! Wasn't that a glorious death ?"

So soon as the European attendant returned, I made my inquiries and issued my orders, and pouring out a full glass of brandy, and dropping therein some thirty drops of Batley's Sed. solution, I gave it to the patient, who clutched it as if it had been life. I observed the look of astonishment with which my young friend watched me administering this dose, and as we stepped into the buggy, he remarked, "I was not aware you treated ardent fever with brandy." "Nor do we," was the answer, for the present case was one of *delirium tremens*.

From the staff sergeant's bungalow I took my deputy to see another case; it was justice to him to give him sudden views of striking cases; it was justice to the public also, for who knew but a case similar to the last, or similar to that we were going to see, might at a moment's notice come under the young practitioner's immediate care? This was a good reason for taking a stranger into a sick chamber; but I had also another motive, for the effect of such upon a young medical practitioner, just arrived from Europe, is frequently the cause of valuable information being afforded in the peculiar and sudden idea which is often called into existence in his mind by the professional novelty, which, in the older practitioner, accustomed to such diseases, escapes notice altogether. We drove along to the house where my patient resided for the time, entered a spacious portico, and soon found ourselves within the doorway of the sick room. A lady knelt at a low bed, placed in the centre, on which lay her whom we had come to see. The kneeling one scarce moved on our entrance, but remained in the same attitude in which she had been praying. The patient, delicate and beautiful, with hands placed like a Madonna, and her long fair tresses hanging back and down upon the floor, was singing some verses of a childish song, but with a clearness and melody singularly affecting; her china-like and tapering fingers would now and then wander from one side to another, as if in search of something, and occasionally, as she did so, the fillet, that had bound up her arm after venesection on the previous day, shewed itself, and here and there a tiny reddened spot upon the snowiest bed-linen almost made one shudder at the practitioner's temerity in bleeding one so fragile. I read all this in the countenance of my friend. I was most anxious about this interesting patient; she had but lately lost her only child, and her husband was far absent from her, and she was the guest of strangers.

As we wheeled down the aloe-skirted avenue that led from the house, the young doctor said, "Good God! did you venture to bleed that lady?" "Oh, yes, and with benefit; but were I to do so a fortnight hence, when the rains have set in, it would kill her." I felt my companion shudder as I said this; but I could well appreciate his sensations, for I had gone through the same ordeal, and felt the same distrust of myself; yet, like the hack that metes his daily circle in the mill, I had lost through time the overwhelming sense of responsibility that often weighs down the young medical man upon his first introduction to an Indian epidemic, and had now learned to judge more at ease, and happily more successfully. Both cases did well.

Yes, that was an awful season. I was awoke at midnight by my bearer, who, with a note in one hand and a lamp in the other, was hanging over my couch, on which I had thrown myself without undressing, and, with horror depicted on his countenance, urged me to bestir myself. I opened the note, which was from an officer of my own regiment :—"My dear S., hasten over as quickly as possible; a friend of mine has unexpectedly arrived by dak, and under circumstances requiring both your aid and mine." The distance not being great, I did not wait for a conveyance, but hurried over. (On entering the compound, two palanquins were still in front of the house, and I found Captain Si walking to and fro in the verandah, in considerable agitation. I soon learnt the cause of all this: his friend had arrived without any warning, bringing in with him the body of his wife, who had died on the journey, and her infant of four months, sick of the same disease that had proved fatal to its mother. Immediately seeing the child, and ordering what I thought necessary to be done for the moment, I could not but feel shocked at the lamentable case before me: it was a lovely child, but its little hands were dry and hot, and the burning forehead and hurried respiration bespoke the danger urgent. The little lips possessed no cherry hue, as they had when last kissed by its dying parent, but they were now dry, and brown, and scaly; and no wonder, for their latest nourishment had been drawn from a polluted fountain. "Come hither; this is not all;" and my friend led me out towards the palanquins. I anticipated the sight, for the odour of rapid decomposition of animal matter was so strong, I could scarcely bear it. I drew aside the sliding door of one of the palanquins, and the lamp which the bearer carried glared brightly into it; the ghastly remains of a young female there lay stretched,—another of England's daughters had come to lay her bones in a soil far distant from her home. The green bronzing of putridity had stamped with the horrors of corruption features that in life had been beautiful; but where the garments had rested, decomposition had frightfully advanced: the body could not be taken into a dwelling of the living.

But a few months arrived from England with his young wife, Captain C—— had anxiously pursued his way from the presidency to the station where his regiment was; but, unfortunately, the season had so far advanced ere they reached Allyghur, that the hot winds of Upper India had overtaken them. They were marching, and two days after leaving Allyghur, Mrs. C—— found herself indisposed, and a violent exacerbation of fever followed. Her husband, in great dismay, mounted his horse, and after spending the greater part of the day in going from one zemindar to another, he succeeded in hiring a couple of palanquins, and the required number of bearers, to carry them. Leaving his establishment to follow, he placed his sick wife within one of these; and as she entered it, the fragile one, who had deemed in the moment of affection she was equal to the trials and duties of a soldier's wife, shuddered as she did so. It was the first time she had entered that strange conveyance, and having, from the first moment she beheld it, a disgust

thereto, generated by the similitude it had to a coffin, now that she was sick, and felt so even to the grave, she scarcely could enter it; and her husband, weighed down to the earth with anxiety, asked her, as she did so, why it was so unwelcome. "Oh! I shall never leave it alive," she replied; "it is like the dead man's home!"

Nor did she leave it alive. A second exacerbation came on soon after starting; the heat of the evening, closeness of the conveyance, and motion of the bearers, all tended to aggravate a disease which, at that season, is peculiarly ardent. She became more urgently ill, and at length became insensible, the cerebral system having from the first been primarily affected; and C——, her husband, made the hired menials of the road, who bore her, place the palanquin upon the ground. He sat beside her who had only been a year his wife; he recalled to his memory the injunctions of an aged mother, and her sisters' parting tears arose up before him to upbraid him; he watched the quivering lips, and marked the sigh, although she knew it not, with which her spirit winged its way on high; and close to her while dying, he, the rough soldier, failed not to acknowledge the decree,—“A man shall leave father and mother, and cleave unto his wife.”

The infant of the dead mother had travelled in the palanquin of its other parent, who took his child up when he found that his wife was dead. Poor thing! it was hot, and breathed heavily for infantile slumber. He placed it for a moment within the arms of its yet warm mother, and gazed upon them both. By means of bribing the bearers enormously, he continued his dāk with both palanquins, and arrived as I have already narrated. But there was no time in which to decently perform the rites which, according to our customs, it is an aggravation to see omitted, and we set some artisans to work to construct a shell for the dead; all that we could hope to accomplish was such as we are wont to see in England inclosing the remains of a village pauper. These orders given, I returned with S—— into the bungalow, and he was in the act of explaining to me, in a whispering tone, previous to my departure, that he would require assistance at daybreak, for the interment could not be delayed longer; and when the low gaunt bungalow looked dark and gloomy, as the occasion warranted, a most uproarious fit of laughter rang from room to room of the house of mourning, petrifying us both. “Hah! hah! hah! Good—very good! By Jove, you are a good fellow. Come along, S——, another bottle—and as good as the last.” This proceeded from the room in which Captain C—— had been with his sick child and the native female who had been appointed to attend it, and whilst yet in some uncertainty as to the cause of this unseasonable outbreak, C—— himself entered the dimly-lighted verandah in which we were conversing; his eyes sparkled, and strong excitement seemed to have command over him. “Come, I say, is dinner ready? Another bottle of that champagne is the thing; for walking march after march in this d——d climate,” and that with a fever on, is not quite bearable for any length of time.” Then, seeing a stranger, he caught himself, as if suddenly sensible that

something was wrong; and he gazed at me for a minute or two, and then taking my hand in silence, and without knowing, save by intuition, who I was, he led me from the house. "Come to the dead man's home." The expression chilled, even in such a temperature; but I went with him. He drew the slide of the palanquin, and pointing to his wife's body, he said, "Doctor, you must bury the dead." I at once comprehended his meaning, for he was aware that, his present excitement once off, he would be unable to perform the office of chief mourner, and I grasped his hand in token of my assent.

We re-entered the bungalow. The strange manner and language made use of by the bereaved was easily accounted for, when his host remembered he had persuaded him to take a glass of beer on arriving; and, on a frame that had had no food for two days, the effect, though horrifying, was not improbable. After persuading him to take a mere mouthful of solid food, I administered a powerful sedative draught, and having seen him to his couch, I promised to be with him in the morning. Before sunrise, S—— and I were in the churchyard; the real "dead man's home" yawned before us, and the impressive burial-service of our church was spoken by a layman. The two strangers, and who had never seen her in life, placed within that narrow grave, in a foreign land, the daughter of a mother whose heart could scarcely yield her to another, even though that other was her husband; and that done, and the parched turf placed over her, we slowly and full of grief regained the bungalow, and entered the verandah. There, before us, was he who ought to have carried his wife's head to the grave, playing at "pitch and toss" with S——'s children. "Heads or tails? tails it is"—"come, better luck next time," and such like expressions, came momentarily from his lips. But no sooner did his eye rest upon S—— and myself, with the black crape upon our arms, than the morbid excitement once more gave way. Before I could induce sleep in Captain C——, the quantity of opium administered would have poisoned a dozen people in health. By unremitting care, the infant recovered; its mother sleeps tranquilly in the little churchyard of ——: the bones of its father are among the buried few who fell in the "terrible retreat."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LATE JAMES GILBERT GERARD,

BENGAL MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE subject of the present memoir was a traveller from the earliest period of his service in India, and one of a family whose name is intimately connected with all the knowledge we possess regarding the Himalaya mountains.

Aberdeen was the birth-place of James Gilbert Gerard; he was the third son of Gilbert Gerard, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University and King's College, as well as Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majesty for Scotland. As a boy, he was distinguished chiefly for his careless and intrepid disposition; he was always the leader in any enterprise undertaken by his schoolfellows; and, when mischief was committed, Gerard was always blamed, whether guilty or otherwise. From school he was removed to the University at the early age of thirteen, and after remaining for the usual period of four years, he prosecuted his medical studies, which he had commenced before leaving College; with this view, he first proceeded to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London, where he obtained his surgeon's diploma. Neither at school nor at College did Gerard evince any particular talent, except that of great quickness in mastering any subject, while a considerable portion of his time was spent in idleness.

Having completed his medical studies, he came to India as an assistant-surgeon on the Bengal establishment, in 1814; and, shortly after his arrival in Calcutta, was sent, at the expense of Government, to Meerut, where he was attached, for a short time, to the horse artillery. He was then directed to join Sir David Ochterlony's division, in the North Western Hills, which was employed against the Goorkhas; but his brother Alexander, belonging to the 1st battalion 13th regt. N.I., which formed a part of another force, young Gerard wished to see him before joining Sir David, and with this view proceeded to Nahun, where the force was commanded by Sir Gabriel Martindell. At that time there was a great paucity of medical officers, and Gerard was unexpectedly detained for a short time, but eventually ordered to proceed and join Sir David Ochterlony's force, with which he remained until the termination of the first campaign. He then got medical charge of the light infantry battalion, where he saw a good deal of service; and at the conclusion of the war, he was appointed to the 1st Nusseeree battalion, which was first cantoned at Asmeergurh, about twenty-two miles from Subathoo, and afterwards removed to the latter place, where it remained until 1843, when it left Subathoo to make room for her Majesty's 9th regiment, and the Company's 1st European Light Infantry.

Gerard's vigorous and active frame of body, united to a mind bent on the acquisition of knowledge, had thus an opportunity of developing its powers to the full extent, instead of being exposed to the heat of the plains of India, where both mind and body become often, after the lapse of a few years, weak and feeble; he enjoyed the cool bracing air of the mountains, and its effects were speedily witnessed. He became a traveller, and could perform journeys on foot at an extraordinary pace over any kind of path; and from his strength and activity of body he was enabled to keep up the same rate of travelling, day after day, for a long distance. As an example of his pedestrianism, it may be here mentioned, that he walked in one day from Nahun to Subathoo, much to

the surprise and astonishment of the officers residing at the latter place; and in after-life, while making journeys into the interior, he made Whantoo or Huttoo, a mountain upwards of ten thousand feet in altitude, his starting-post, and reached it from Subathoo, walking and riding, on the first day, though the distance is sixty-six miles. Subathoo is forty-five miles from Nahan, and both exploits are worthy of mention. Not only on foot, but on horseback, did Gerard travel with great speed, and on one occasion he rode a pony from Syree to Subathoo in the short space of one hour and ten minutes, though the distance is thirteen miles, and the road not so good as it now is. He was thus, in every respect, well fitted for the journeys which he early meditated into the interior of Kunawur, beyond the snowy range, on the top of which he often passed the night during the coldest weather. In one of his tours, he and his brother, Capt. Alexander Gerard, attained the extraordinary elevation of 19,411 feet above the level of the sea, as determined by the best and most correct barometrical observations; and in a subsequent journey, he alone reached an altitude of 20,400 feet: the former elevation was 411 feet higher than the celebrated Baron Humboldt ever attained on the Andes, and both were the greatest altitudes ever reached by any human being on earth. Both heights were attained on the Pargeool mountain, on the right bank of the Sutledge, not far from Shipke, the nearest village in Tibet or Chinese Tartary, and which mountain rises to the height of upwards of 22,000 feet.

Gerard made many observations and remarks on the climate of the interior at all altitudes, and his voluminous papers on the limit of congelation in the Himalayan mountains were published in the *Calcutta Journal*. The account of his journeys was generally given in the leading newspaper of the day; and it is to be regretted that he did not give the world a complete history of his various interesting journeys among the Himalayas.* In describing the scenery, his language was, in some measure, regulated by the vivid impressions of the moment, and if generally flowery, he had ample excuse in the grandeur of nature as displayed at the height of 20,000 feet. People who have never visited the Himalayan range of mountains can have no conception of their nature from any thing they may have witnessed in Europe; for even Mount Blanc, with its snow-clad summits, rising to a height of 15,000 feet, must sink to insignificance when compared with Dewalgeeree, which attains the altitude of 27,000 feet! The view of these stupendous mountains from some places on the north-west frontier of India is one of the grandest in nature, particularly after a heavy fall of rain, and when their distant summits are lighted up by the rays of a setting sun. If the distant view of such objects be so magnificent, what must it be when treading on them, and seated at an elevation of 20,000 feet, looking down, as it were, on the lower world, and contemplating, with awe and wonder, the mighty works around, coeval with the universe itself.

During one of his journeys, Gerard discovered that the use of the lithographic stone, as well as printing, had been known and practised, from time immemorial, either in some part of Kunawur, Speetee, or the territory of Ludakh. On this occasion, he arrived within three days' journey of Leh, the capital. He brought back specimens of the stone, some of which were forwarded to Sir C. Metcalfe, at that time Vice-President in Council; but unfortunately no notice was taken of either them or their discoverer.

He proceeded twice into the Ladakh territory, by way of the hill state of

* An able digest of some of his narratives was made by the late Mr. Colebrooke, by whom it was read before the Royal Asiatic Society. It is published in its *Transactions*.

Kooloo, and passed through part of the Speetee valley; but sickness, in one instance, detained him for a long time at one place, and eventually compelled him to return, much to his regret. On another occasion, obstacles obliged him to come back from the banks of the Chundeen Ruga river; in the latter tour, he surveyed the whole of his former routes, and passed near the lake Mantalae, the source of the Beah. He frequently travelled on foot from the interior of the Himalayan mountains to Subathoo in six days, which, of itself, was no mean pedestrian feat. In one of his journeys, about the 19th of September, and while returning, he lost one man, from the intensity of cold, at the limit of the forest on the Kunawur, or northern, face of the Shatool, or Rol pass; and another of his followers perished the same day, on the very crest of the same mountain, from excessive fatigue, cold, and the drifting snow. On reaching the top of the pass, Gerard was in a most miserable plight, and called to his other servants, who were some way behind him, to come up as quickly as they could, or the consequences would be most serious; but, on his crossing alone, and disappearing from them, they became so alarmed, that they, one and all, deserted him, and fled down the mountain, reaching the different villages in Kunawur they knew not how. In this lonely and deserted state, Gerard arrived at the brink of a fearful chasm in the snow. By means of a small pocket compass, which he always carried with him, he directed his steps until he reached a natural bridge of snow stretching across the chasm; over this he passed to the opposite side; had he not providentially met with this bridge, he would have shared the fate of his servant, who perished. Through the aid of the little instrument alluded to, he knew, perfectly, his situation, and the bearing of the nearest village, which was upwards of twelve miles off, and he proceeded towards it, through snow and sleet driven along by a furious wind, and ultimately reached Rainoo-Shatee. In two or three days afterwards, though five ordinary stages, over rough, and in many places dangerous, foot-paths, he arrived at a village on the right bank of the Pubeen or Pubna river, without either shoes or stockings! In this disastrous trip he lost all his papers relating to it, as well as the whole of his instruments, and the greater part of his baggage. About nine months afterwards, in search for his papers, he and his brother, Capt. A. Gerard, found the body of his servant, who had perished on the crest of the pass, in a state of perfect preservation. Portions of his instruments were discovered, but all broken and useless; fragments of papers and some of his clothes were also found, but all so much destroyed as to be perfectly useless; so that his labours, on this occasion, were entirely lost.

In the Speetee valley, Gerard discovered fossil shells of a variety of kinds, and some entirely new; he found, likewise, rocks composed solely of these shells, as well as ridges and masses of mountain rising to an altitude of from 14,000 to 16,000 feet. A set of the specimens was forwarded to Professor Buckland, and another presented to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta; many others were given to private individuals, as the quantity collected was very extensive.

Had Gerard's travels among the Himalayan mountains never done more than made us acquainted with the existence of marine shells at such elevations, not only science, but mankind in general, would owe him a debt of gratitude; the shells which this indefatigable traveller discovered in the valley of Speetee, prove that the waters of the ocean had, at some former period, covered these mountains; and the very idea of such an occurrence gives a sublimity to these scenes, such as we can easily imagine; and the sight of shells, whose formation

extends to the earlier ages of the world, and left behind at such altitudes, must be a subject of interest to every contemplative being. We look on a hundred years as a long period; and so it is; but when the time extends, not to hundreds, but thousands, we are unable to do more than wonder at the existence of objects which have, for so many centuries, remained attached to the earth.

An interesting paper was published in the 33rd number of the *Gleanings of Science*, by Capt. J. D. Herbert, regarding the fossil shells discovered by Gerard; and the author's endeavour to confer on his friend the honour of being the first discoverer is a praiseworthy one; that he was so, there can exist no doubt; for, neither before nor since his trip to the Spættas valley, has any other traveller been able to reach the difficult localities where these shells are found. An attempt was made, at the expense of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, by Capt. Thomas Hutton, who used his best endeavours to overcome the difficulties opposed to his progress, but without effect; it is to be regretted that this gentleman did not succeed, since his intimate knowledge of conchology would, no doubt, have enabled him to identify many of the shells. Professor Buckland, who received a set of the shells, has cursorily alluded to them as the discovery of Gerard at high altitudes. Along with the paper alluded to, there is a plate of some of the shells, which are of the bivalve and univalve kinds; in this plate is also given a figure of a portion of the blocks of grey siliceous limestone (or calcareous tufa, containing fifty per cent. of reddish sand), filled with shells, and there is also a figure of the fragment of the back of a testudinous animal. Among the univalve shells, the ammonites predominate. Capt. Herbert remarks:—"The tertiary strata in Europe have been fully studied, owing to the abundance and variety of organic remains found in them; but we have as yet few notices of these strata in other parts of the globe. These tertiary strata have, hitherto, been found in countries of moderate elevation; it is not unlikely, then, should the conjecture which traces them in the Himalaya mountains prove to be well founded, that the examination of them at such enormous elevations may be attended with the discovery of various particulars of interest, and it is much to be desired that the subject could be prosecuted with that energy which its importance warrants." Again: "With the exception of these particulars, all that we know or have heard of organic remains in the Himalayas we owe to the spirit and persevering enterprise of Dr. Gerard. His repeated visits to the different places where these remains are to be found must have made him fully acquainted with all the circumstances." Further, "I may, however, state, if it be only to connect these collections with the others, that they consist of ammonites and belemnites, like the others, and in addition, of orthoceratites; that, like them, they come from beyond the region of the schists which succeed to the Himalaya gneiss in going northward, and that, in addition to the above, there are, what I have seen in no other collection, rocks apparently formed entirely of shells, and containing several species in the most perfect preservation." "I may conclude this meagre notice with the expression of a hope, in which I am sure the class will join with me, that Dr. Gerard will shortly be able to communicate to us the particulars of his discoveries as to locality, &c., and thus, by this means, there may be assured to him the honour of being the first discoverer, which, considering his indefatigable zeal in the examination of the tract in question, and the many years of his life he has devoted to it, we should be sorry to see snatched from him by a late observer," who was indebted for his knowledge of the phenomena, and his examination of

* The late M. Jacquemont, we believe.

them, to the liberal and communicative spirit which Dr. Gerard has always manifested."

Subsequent to the unfortunate fate of the enterprising travellers, Moorcroft and Trebeck, Gerard addressed a long letter report to Government, offering his services to proceed to Afghanistan in quest of the papers of both these gentlemen, and also to ascertain, by personal inquiries, the cause of their untimely end. This philanthropic offer was, unfortunately, and greatly to his disappointment, taken no notice of, the receipt of his letter being never even acknowledged. This apparent neglect may, however, have arisen from a wish on the part of Government not to risk the lives of others in such a dangerous and hazardous undertaking, though such a consideration never entered into Gerard's calculation. He was, we believe, accessory to the obtaining from Government a pardon for Mr. Masson, who has since done so much in making us acquainted with Afghanistan and other countries across the Indus.

Gerard, on one occasion, drew up a long and able report for Government on the state of education amongst all classes of the natives in the protected hill states between the Sutledge and Jumna, and for which he received the thanks of Government, though it was never acted upon. He likewise wrote an account of a visit, in 1827, to the court of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, of Lahore, in company with Captain (now Sir C. M.) Wade; but the document has been lost. He exerted himself greatly in the attempt at introducing vaccination among the hill states, but his success in this undertaking was by no means so satisfactory as he could have wished, in consequence of the prejudices of the people. For the purpose of enabling him to introduce vaccination among the hill people, he received, for some time, a certain allowance; but the latter was stopped by Lord William Bentinck, though afterwards granted to the medical officer in charge of the Nusseeree battalion, who continues to draw it.

Constantly bent on exploring new scenes and unknown regions in the Himalayas, Gerard had no sooner finished one journey than he was anxiously contemplating another into some place that had never previously been trodden by a European; he had thus but little time for revising and enlarging his notes, and his papers on a variety of subjects connected with his travels in the mountains were in a sadly mutilated state, and few or none of them completed, from want of leisure. But even the Himalayas were not sufficient for the enterprising spirit of Gerard, and after visiting them in different directions, he descended to the plains of India, in order to accompany the late Sir Alexander Burnes in his hazardous journey into Bokhara. This was proposed to Lord Wm. Bentinck at Roopur, in 1831. Sir Alexander, then Lieut. Burnes, had just joined his lordship after the completion of a somewhat hazardous trip from Bombay up the Indus, in charge of horses sent from England as a present to the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh. This gentleman was, in every respect, fitted for the dangerous journey into Bokhara, and readily undertook the performance of what he himself so warmly recommended. Both as a physician and companion, he selected Gerard, on Lieut. Mackie leaving him to return to his military duties at Bombay. Gerard started from Subathoo, on the 25th December, 1831, though then in a weakly state of health from severe illness; but his zeal for the advancement of science and new discoveries, in a comparatively unknown quarter of Asia, overcame all private considerations. The journey about to be undertaken by these two eminent travellers was considered by every one capable of forming a correct judgment in the matter, as highly perilous, and among others, Sir Chas. Metcalfe.

In company with Burnes, Gerard traversed the Punjab, crossed the Indus, and reached Kabul, at that time but little known to Europeans, except from the admirable work of Elphinstone. This was merely the commencement of his labours, and the inhospitable country into which he was about to penetrate had already proved the grave of poor Moorcroft. Unlike his fellow-traveller, Gerard possessed but a limited knowledge of the Persian language; and, perhaps, wanted the tact so conspicuous in Burnes; still these very deficiencies would render Gerard's observations on every subject falling under his own immediate eye even more valuable than those of Burnes, who, in possession of the ready means of communicating with the people among whom he was sojourning, was, no doubt, indebted to them for much of his information; whereas Gerard was obliged to glean for himself, and while Burnes was enabled to give a detailed and highly interesting account of his travels, poor Gerard's remarks were of a desultory nature, and such as his time and inclination gave him no opportunity of arranging in such a manner as would please the generality of readers. The scope of Gerard's observations was too extensive for the mind of any one individual to compass with success: and the want of arrangement rendered them of little use to himself, and almost equally so to others. Gerard and his companion penetrated into Bokhara, and reached Meshed in Persia, from which he returned alone, taking the route by Herat, Kaghahar, and Kabul; while Burnes proceeded to Bombay. His appearance in Hindoostan, on his return, was hailed with joy, and he became a welcome guest everywhere: he was fond of society, and related, without any reserve, his adventures, appearing to consider the successful completion of his journey, so fraught with danger and difficulty, as an every-day occurrence. He preserved the Afghan costume in which he had travelled, and being of a fine, hale, ruddy complexion, and possessing the necessary beard, he well became the large turban. On his return to India, from the dangerous state of the roads, he was detained, much against his will, at Herat, for seven months. He surveyed the routes by which he travelled, as well as he could, by means of a patent compass, and after reaching Subathoo, which he did on the 24th April, 1834, the line of his journey was protracted, and formed into a large and beautiful map by his brother, Capt. A. Gerard, who presented it to Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1836. The information contained in this map was considered so valuable, that the late Sir Henry Fane, when commander-in-chief, requested Sir Charles to send it to him; and it was copied by Colonel Garden, then deputy quarter-master general.

Gerard, on his return, did every thing in his power to conciliate the people of the wild countries through which he passed to a friendly feeling towards the British, and even expended large sums for this purpose. He had suffered much from fatigue and exposure, and his constitution, originally strong, sank under them; his sufferings were, no doubt, aggravated by the little notice taken of his labours, and the vexation he experienced in being obliged to refund those sums which he had borrowed, particularly from General Allard. All these causes weighed heavily on his mind, and he became unhappy and miserable at Subathoo; his feelings were keen, and could ill brook the cold reception which his appeals met with; and though affable on all occasions, and at times even cheerful, the cankerworm of care had taken deep root. With the buoyant spirits of youth, he might have borne up against the oppression of mind which weighed him down; but after the early and best part of his life spent in travels, and amidst dangers and fatigue, he saw no recompense but poverty and a broken

constitution. To bear up against these requires greater fortitude of mind than a sickly frame of body can bestow, and his spirit, at length, sank, and he became seriously ill. Every attention was paid him by his medical attendant, Mr. Laughton, and he had the great consolation of having near him two brothers, Captains Alexander and Patrick Gerard. It was, however, only during the few last days of his existence, that poor Gerard was confined to his bed. He died at Subathoo, on the 31st March, 1835, aged forty-three years. A neat tomb marks the place of repose of the weary traveller in the churchyard of Subathoo; and thus, far from his native land, but in those mountains which he loved, lie interred the earthly remains of this enterprising and useful man.

Poor Gerard's death was deeply lamented by his friends and acquaintances; of the latter he possessed many, since it required but a short intercourse with him to render his society extremely agreeable and interesting; his heart and hand were open to the stranger, and his purse to the helpless. He was hospitable, kind, and benevolent to all classes of Europeans who required his aid; his house at Subathoo was the home of every traveller, where the welcome of a brother was always afforded, and no toil, trouble, or fatigue would have prevented his affording aid to the poorest native. Thoroughly disinterested himself, he was led to expect the like in others, and his removal from the Nusseeree battalion, to which he had been so many years attached, was a heavy blow to him, as was also the melancholy murder of his friend Mr. W. Fraser, the resident at Delhi; in fact, he never recovered the shock occasioned by the latter. Added to these were the retrenchments made by Government for repaying the money he had borrowed to enable him to reach India in a manner consistent with the character of a British officer, and one employed by his own Government in a hazardous and perilous journey among tribes whom he wished to reconcile to his countrymen, and to insure to the latter a kind reception when traversing the same paths as he himself had done. That he succeeded in gaining the esteem of the authorities in every place through which he had passed is evident from the friendly letters which he afterwards received from such a man as Moorad Beg.

Gerard's aim, from the time he left Subathoo until his return, was to conciliate the people of the countries through which he journeyed; and though he injudiciously adopted expensive measures to fulfil such a praiseworthy end, he cannot surely be blamed, for his views were thoroughly disinterested, and self was never considered, being satisfied when his object was attained, even at the risk of a ruinous loss to himself in a pecuniary point of view. It is true, when in company with Burnes, he might have confined himself to his strictly medical duties; but in doing so, he would have but partially fulfilled his intentions; and seeing that his journey was not one of an every-day occurrence, but such as few men could have accomplished, it was incumbent on him to make every effort to render it of service to his employers, and which he could not have done without a considerable outlay of money on his return. His journey into Bokhara and Persia was a disastrous one for him; and to the fatigue and suffering, both in mind and body, may be fairly attributed his premature death, though it appears that some organic disease of the heart existed, which must have caused his death in a few years. His memory failed him during his last illness; but if the attachment of friends, and of two brothers long associated with each other in arduous and perilous journeys among the Himalayas, could afford him solace in his last moments, he possessed this comfort in a remarkable degree. The three brothers were under the same roof, living in the utmost harmony with

one another, and two of them giving their mutual aid in rendering the labours of their dying brother useful to the world. Of the three brothers who once lived so happily in the mountains, and travelled side by side among the heights of the Himalayas, only one now survives, our worthy friend Capt. Patrick Gerard, to whom we are indebted for the materials of this biographical sketch, as well as information on many other important subjects connected with the Himalayan mountains.*

* From the Quarterly Medical and Surgical Journal for the North-West Provinces of India, No. II. April, 1844. A new and very able scientific work.

EASTERN WIVES.

THE daughter of a king of Persia, having conceived an aversion to-wards her father's vizir, said one day to her mother, "If I could destroy that vizir, I would do it with pleasure, for he is a man whose inauspicious presence disturbs me." "Be composed, my dear child," said her mother; "I will manage the matter." Having said this, she wrote a letter, in the king's name, to the wife of the vizir, to the following effect: "Kill your husband, for I have an affection for you, and wish that you should be mine; but as you have an attachment to your husband, who is my vizir, it would be rather a disgraceful thing if I were to tear you from his arms, and make you my wife whilst he is alive." When the vizir's spouse read this letter, ambitious thoughts took possession of her heart, and she became intent upon finding some stratagem to rid herself of the obstacle. One night, her husband being in a state of inebriation, she seized the happy occasion, killed him without compunction, and sent his head to the king by the hands of a young damsel. "Whose head is this?" inquired the king, with great anxiety. "It is the head of your vizir," replied the damsel; "his wife has sent it; you know why." The king instituted inquiries into the matter, and discovering the truth, took off the heads of the vizir's wife, his own wife, his daughter, and the young damsel. He then summoned the principal officers of his army, and said to them: "I want you all to give me your wives;" but they unanimously refused. "We will surrender to you our property, nay, sacrifice our lives for you," said they, "but we cannot part with our dear wives." After this, the king went secretly to the wives of those officers, and said to each of them apart, "I wish to make you my wife, if you can contrive to get rid of your husband." That very night, each of the ladies, by some stratagem, succeeded in cutting off the head of her husband, and in the morning, the king saw his generals' heads in his possession, sent by their wives. He was horror-struck at the spectacle. "What!" exclaimed he; "I asked these men to give me their wives, and with one accord they refused; yet when I propose to their wives to commit a barbarous act of infidelity, they all consent, and kill their husbands!" His majesty, after this ejaculation, ordered all the expectant widows to be put to death without mercy.*

* *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, Mai, 1836.

VISITS OF FOREIGN PRINCES TO ENGLAND.

AMONGST the political novelties of the present day may be reckoned the interchange of personal visits, which now so frequently takes place, between the Queen of England and the sovereigns of other countries. The time is not distant when such visits would have been deemed both derogatory and dangerous; when emperors and kings could not trust each other, and when they were like so many Japanese Dairis, or Tibetan Grand Lamas, who must be seen occasionally only, or by favoured eyes alone, lest they should become too common, and the vulgar should discover that they are men as well as themselves. The events of the late war did much towards robbing royalty of that false divinity that was supposed to "hedge" a king, for deposed and expatriated monarchs used to jostle each other and us in the streets of this metropolis; and since then, many of the potentates of Europe have had the wisdom, or at least the good sense, to comport themselves like mortals, and resign all pretensions to godlike attributes. Nothing is really lost by this apparent sacrifice, and something is gained by the exchange of that undefined or slavish sentiment—a mixture of fear and reverence—which kings in past times inspired, for the cordial personal esteem and affection, which never fail to reward the prince who makes himself, as far as he can consistently with his rank and station, one of the people. The paying occasional visits by crowned heads to each other, instead of keeping up their acquaintance by the transmission of complimentary cards, or by proxies in the persons of their ministers, is another step in the same right direction; it tends not only to maintain a personal friendship between the sovereign and ourselves, but to establish a similar feeling in their subjects, and to keep at a greater distance that horrid scourge, international war.

It may have arisen, perhaps, from the circumstance that our sovereign is a lady, that so many visits of foreign potentates have been paid to this country, which, within a comparatively short space of time, has seen the rulers of Russia, Prussia, France, and Belgium, guests at the court of its Queen, who, on her part, has made a friendly call upon the King of France. None but generous and cordial feelings have sprung out of these reciprocations of friendly courtesy in France or England; national jealousies and old enmities were forgotten by both nations when they saw their sovereigns riding together in the same *char-à-banc*, lodging in the same house, partaking of the same meals, and appearing, in fact, as if they were not merely friends, but relations.

Why should not the success of the experiment reinforce the reasons which recommend these mutual visits on the score of policy, and make them general throughout the whole civilized world? The dangers, as well as the inconveniences, of travelling diminish daily; this consideration removes an objection which might possibly be urged, when it is well known that a change of ruler often produces a change of policy in the state, which might affect that of others. A sovereign may now, indeed, slip out of an evening, take his seat in a carriage on a continental railroad, whisk over the sea in a steam-packet, be whirled up another railroad to London, lunch with her Majesty, give a peep at the royal nursery, and be back to his own court before even the courtiers had missed him, unless a place had become vacant.

It is inconceivable how much misapprehension and prejudice is got rid of by these personal exhibitions. We have lately seen too many kings of France to be much frightened at one; but a certain degree of mysterious awe did hang about our idea of the Emperor of Russia. All this nonsensical feeling vanished, however, when we saw the Emperor Nicholas, with as little of the terrible in his aspect as could well be expected in a prince who has some Tartar blood in his veins. If the Emperor had fortunately been minded to pay his visit a few years earlier, when so much was said about his political voracity, and of his preparing to devour the whole world, many thousands of good pounds might have been saved to England which went to reward agents employed to discover the "designs of Russia;" and perhaps many millions wasted in Afghanistan for no purpose whatever. There is still, in spite of his low estate, a good deal of the alarming in our notion of his Holiness the Pope. Let but the practice of paying visits among crowned heads become general, and no doubt the Pope will fall into it; his omitting to do so, indeed, will seem to exclude him from the class of sovereigns. If he should think it objectionable to appear here as Pope, he might travel *incog.* and be received by her Majesty as "the Rev. such a one." All the absurd prejudices against this personage would disappear the moment he was seen, and we are seriously of opinion that such a visit would be beneficial, by abating ill and uncharitable feelings on both sides.

If such are likely to be the results of the practice in Europe, they must be equally, if not more, salutary when oriental princes shall think fit to adopt it, for many mutual prejudices and errors require to be got rid of in the intercourse between the East and the West, which could not be so effectually or so expeditiously

extinguished as by reciprocal visits between the sovereigns of the respective hemispheres. Hitherto, none of the Asiatics who have travelled to Europe have been of the highest rank. Nothing inferior to a Great Mogul, or a Runjeet Singh, or an Emperor of China would answer the purpose of reconciling the Western nations to those of the East; and there is little reason to doubt that, if a sovereign of the rank of either would brave the petty perils of an overland trip to England, he would not only make us wiser than he found us, but go back himself wiser than he came.

Take an Emperor of China for example. The present is, perhaps, too old; but let us suppose his successor, a young mercurial man, declared his celestial will and pleasure to see with his own eyes what kind of a country England was, and what sort of a person was his sister, its queen. All the presidents of all the tribunals would probably stare at each other, shake their tails and moustaches, and mumble forth many monosyllabic protests against the project; but as Confucius has not forbidden an Emperor of China to perform a journey to England, it must be assumed that he approved of it, and that argument would be quite enough to satisfy the scruples of the most pertinacious mandarin, if backed by the will of the son of Heaven. Away then he goes, through Tibet—his own country—and soon reaches Calcutta. Here he will meet with great attention, and probably the Governor-General (whoever he may be) will pick out a few balls of the prime Company's opium for his majesty's private solace, which will compose his stomach during the journey by sea or by *dak* to Bombay, where the emperor will find himself at home amongst Chinese merchants, who will probably be able to replenish his stock of shark-fins, birds' nests, sea-slugs, and other delicacies, and in a month he lands in England. The time occupied since his departure from Pekin, we may fairly conclude, will be sufficient to enable him to learn the English language, for a person who has conquered such a tongue as the Chinese will find English mere child's play. The mayor of the port at which his majesty disembarks reads an address to him in English, to which the emperor makes a suitable reply in the same language, but the interpreter supposing it to be Chinese in a peculiar dialect (as he does not understand it), petitions for a copy, but his majesty places his hand upon his stomach (which the Chinese believe to be the seat of the affections), intimating that he has no copy, as he spoke from his heart. The mayor, mistaking the action of the emperor to denote hunger, immediately orders refreshment, consisting of various soups, but, unfortunately, spoons being provided

instead of chop-sticks, his majesty can get none of the liquid into his mouth. Now here were mistakes on both sides, the subsequent explanation of the causes of which very much enlarges the sphere of the knowledge of all parties.

His majesty now takes his departure for London in a royal carriage, sent down expressly by the command of the Queen, who had been informed by one of the ministers, who had consulted an excellent Chinese scholar, who had told him, that the emperor could not travel by rail-road, as there was a text in the *Le-ke*, or ancient Book of Rights (the Chinese *Magna Charta*), which distinctly prohibited an emperor of China from riding in a coach without horses; a minister having once (from economical motives) harnessed a set of donkeys to the imperial carriage, which the vicious animals had kicked to pieces. This was another blunder, at which the emperor laughed heartily when informed of it. The royal carriage is brought to the door of the inn occupied by the emperor and suite; his mandarins are helping him up to the box, when they are told that his place is inside, below the very seat of the coachman; whereat the mandarins shrug their shoulders, shudder, and looking unutterable expressions of horror, declare it to be impossible that the exalted Shang-wang, with all his courtesy, can submit to such a degradation. "The highest place for the highest person," says the imperial minister who had it in charge to watch over the details of etiquette, citing *Shoo-king*, ch. 2, sec. 5. This being spoken in pure Chinese, is understood by the interpreter, who promptly and acutely quotes a well-known saying of Confucius, to the effect that, "When you visit a Tartar, you should not be so uncivil as to refuse to eat horseflesh," which is understood in the sense of our proverb, "When at Rome, do as they do at Rome;" and the mandarins bundle the emperor inside the carriage at once. His majesty is highly delighted with his journey and the enthusiasm manifested by the people, mistaking the turnpike-gates through which he passed for so many triumphal arches erected to his honour. The rectification of this misapprehension discovers to his imperial majesty a new and equitable mode of taxing his subjects.

The party arrives in London, the name of which his imperial majesty pronounces *Lun-tun*, and *lun* signifying "hell," and *tun*, "destructive" or "fraudulent," he conceives that it means (for all names in the Chinese language are significant) "a place of fraudulent hells," and his majesty is not altogether wrong in his conjecture. The interview between the queen and the emperor we forbear to

describe (by anticipation), since the description might to vulgar minds appear ludicrous. There are, undoubtedly, at first, many whimsical mistakes and *contretemps*, arising from a mutual forgetfulness on both sides that both were but varieties of the same human nature—the English courtiers having a kind of notion that their visitors were but animated and locomotive pieces of Chinaware, and the Chinese being still possessed with an uncontrollable belief that the English are really devils. In a few weeks, however, these mutual mistakes vanish, as the parties become respectively known to each other, and especially when the emperor's pronunciation of the English language becomes more intelligible. His majesty is soon reconciled to our manners; finds our eating and drinking by no means barbarous, and conceives a high opinion of the intellectual character of the people from their universal practice of smoking tobacco, every one from the nobleman to the lacquey, from the merchant to his errand-boy, having a pipe or cigar in his mouth. On the other hand, the deportment of his majesty wins all hearts; he is voted a gentleman at the west-end of the town, and a jolly fellow in the east; the ladies perceive, after all, something expressive in small eyes, and something manly in high cheek bones, whilst the hair of our men of fashion gradually deserts the brows and ears, and, lengthening behind, creeps serpent-like down the back in an elegant queue.

In short, both nations are the better for this visit. We cease to regard the Chinese, as we have hitherto done, as barbarians, who may be exterminated with impunity; they awake from a sort of dream, and find that the English are nearly as great a people as themselves. The effect produced upon the emperor himself, and upon the Government of China when he returns home,—but this is too large a subject to be treated speculatively.

ON THE CREED, CUSTOMS, AND LITERATURE OF THE JANGAMS.

BY C. P. BROWN, ESQ.

THE various Braminical creeds prevailing among the Hindus, as well as those of the Jainas and Buddhists, have been amply illustrated by Colebrooke, Wilson, and other learned writers. It remains to inquire regarding the anti-braminical worshippers of Siva, who are called Jangams, Vira-saivas, or Lingadharies, who are easily recognized by their wearing a small idol, either hung on the breast or bound on the arm. These are the disciples of Basava, whom they regard as a form of the god Siva. They are widely spread throughout the South of India, among the Canarese, the Telugus, and the Tamils.

Dr. Francis Buchanan, the Abbé Dubois, and Colonel Wilks, have given short notices regarding the Jangams, which are summed up in Professor Wilson's Essay on Sects, in the seventeenth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. But the information collected regarding the Saivites being far from sufficient, the learned professor did me the honour (when I was his guest at Oxford, in 1836) to desire me to obtain further information on points which remained very uncertain for want of sufficient inquiries made in the peninsula of India. On returning to Madras, I accordingly resumed an inquiry regarding the Jangamas, the only Saivite sect who deviate from Braminical usages.

Among Bramins, the Smartas (followers of Sancar Achari) are generally called Saivites, but are, in fact, free-thinkers, equally willing to adore Siva and Vishnu. Their creed may be found in the *Mahābhārat*, the *Bhagavat*, and the *Rāmāyan*, all of which are entirely rejected by the disciples of Basava. There are, indeed, some few Siva Bramins who officiate as priests in the Siva temples, but I have not heard of any peculiarities prevalent among them. They certainly are different from the Smartas, who refuse to receive the holy water and rice (*tirtha prasād*) from their hands.

The Vira-Saivas are divided into two sects: one is semi-braminical, or high-church, called A'ra'dhyas; the other is anti-braminical, and is called Jangams. The Aradhyas claim to be descendants of Saivite bramins, and between them and the Smartas there is a certain degree of reluctant intercourse, founded upon the rites of initiation (*upanayanam*) which both parties use. A brief outline of its history will enable us to understand the present state of the Vira-Saiva sect: this is amply narrated in their poetical chronicles, written in Canarese and Telugu. When divested of fabulous decoration, it seems that their creed was founded by Basava, whom they adore as their one deity, looking upon him as an *avatar* or incarnation of Siva, the god of this creed.

Basava was the son of a Saivite* bramin, named Mandenga Mada-

* The Aradhyas bramins pretend that his father was an Aradhyas. This the Jangams deny, asserting that the title Aradhyas was assumed only when the bramin rites were renounced, and we nowhere find Basava denominated as an Aradhyas.

mantri, at Hinguleswaram, a village near Bagwari, in Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta Country. When he was a boy, he refused (they allege) to wear the braminical thread, because the rites that confer this mark of initiation require the adoration of the sun in the manner prescribed by the *Vedas*. Perhaps in truth he did assume it, but if so, he subsequently renounced it. Shortly after this time, he escaped from his parents, and accompanied by his sister, Acca Nagamma, he fled to Calianam, or Kulyan,* the capital of the Carnataca country, where the reigning prince (A.D. 1155 circ.) was Bizzala, or Vijjala, a Jaina by religion, whose minister, a bramin, was Bassava's maternal uncle: he bestowed employment on Basava, and ultimately gave him his daughter in marriage.† At his death, Basava succeeded to his office, and gradually usurped great power. It would seem that, at this time, he began to compare the opposed statements of Jainas and Bramins, and perceived that both creeds were idolatrous. It is also possible that an observation of the Christian faith, in the neighbouring country of Malayala, may have led to his seeking a better creed. At all events, he determined on getting rid of the braminical priestcraft, and accordingly refused to worship any deity but Siva, whose image, the lingam, is the most ancient idol known among the Hindus. This symbol is as separate from indecency in the Hindu mind as circumcision is in the Mahomedan mind. The Bramins, with their usual love of filth, have connected a variety of obscenities with the linga worship; but these are wholly unknown to the Jangams, who look upon this idol just as the Catholics do upon a reliquary, with deep veneration,

Hanging a golden stamp before their necks
Put on with holy prayers.

Macbeth, iv. 3.

The images erected in the Saiva temples being denominated *Sthavara Lingam*, or the stable image, he denominated this reliquary the *Jangama Lingam*, or locomotive image,—a phrase borrowed from the *Vedas*, where it is used for living being. Hence, he and his followers are denominated *Jangams*, or living images of the deity.

Before we proceed to describe his doctrines, we will give, in a few words, the rest of the history of Basava, still referring our readers to Mr. Elliot's Essay (which gives the Jaina account), and to the *Basava Puran*,‡ which relates the story as told by the Jangams.

Basava's determined opposition to the Saivite Bramins and to the Jai-

* See Mr. Walter Elliot's Essay in the Madras Journal for 1838, page 212, or in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1837, No. VII. p. 22, wherein it appears that some of the names herein mentioned are differently written in different Telugu and Canarese authors. Compare also the statements made by that zealous and intelligent antiquary, Lieut. Newbold, in his report upon the Southern Mahratta Country, printed in Pharos's Madras Almanac for 1840, page 352. Calyanam is in the Nizam's country, 35 miles W. by S. from Beder. For this and a few other notes I am indebted to Lieut. Newbold, who did me the favour to peruse these pages.

† This proves, in my opinion, though opposed to that of his followers, that he did not lay aside the braminical thread in childhood; for had he done so, no bramin could have given him his daughter in marriage.

‡ See *Asiat. Journ.*, Second Series, vol. xxviii. p. 190.

nas raised him many enemies, while his bounty to the poor gained him friends equally numerous. At last, the prince's jealousy was roused, and a civil war ensued, wherein Bizzala was slain, A.D. 1168,* and this event was soon succeeded by the death of Basava, who, according to his followers, was "absorbed into the image," or vanished; while the Jaina account declares that he fled to Capila Sangam, where the Malparba and Krishna rivers meet, about 104 miles west of Bellary.† This event was coeval with the murder of St. Thomas à Becket.

The name *Basava* is a very common one among Hindus; the Jangams have taken occasion, from their teacher having borne it, to feign that he was an incarnation of Nandi, or Basava (the Apis or bull appertaining to Siva or Osiris), and this has been the source of numerous idle legends on the subject.

At his death, his nephew, Chenna Basava, became the principal teacher of this sect, which has in the following six centuries spread very widely among the Canarese, Telugus, Tamils, and Mahrattas. The books concerning this sect were originally written in Canarese, but have been translated into the language now named. Those which I consulted are written in very elegant Telugu verse.

By perusing their books and observing their customs, we may plainly see the grounds of that hatred in which Bramins hold the Jangams. Their leader, Basava, was the resolute opponent of every braminical principle. The Bramins inculcate the adoration of many gods; he declared that there is one sole Deity. They venerate goddesses and subordinate beings; they reverence cows, hawks, monkeys, rats, and snakes; they use fasts and feasts, penance and pilgrimage, rosaries and holy water: all these he renounced. He set aside the *Vedas*, which they venerate. They declare Bramins to be literally gods upon earth, women to be vastly inferior to men in all things, and Parias to be utterly abominable. Basava abolished these distinctions. He taught that all men are holy in proportion as they are temples of the Great Spirit; that by birth all are equal; and among those whom the Jangam books describe as saints, we find not a single Bramin, but many Parias and many women. In the braminical writings, the gentle sex are usually treated in a manner abhorrent to European feelings; but in the Jangama books we find a very different temper. Here we find woman raised to her proper station in society, such as she holds among Christians, being treated honourably, with a respect and delicacy which form a strong contrast to the modes of expression we find in the braminical volumes. Indeed, the considerate and decent behaviour of the Jangams toward the female sex is a very pleasing peculiarity, which entirely divides them from other classes of Hindus. A Jangam once pointed out to me that the manners of the native Christians towards women exactly resemble those of the Jangams. In the eighth chapter of his work, the Abbé Dubois has spoken with indignation of the impure customs, as he calls them, of

* For this date I am indebted to Mr. Elliot, who ascertained it since the publication of his Essay. It corresponds with the Saca year 1000.

† See Almanack, as above, page 304.

this sect; but, strongly as he speaks against Bramins, he evidently wrote under their influence; and in thus condemning the Jangam customs regarding women, he omits to observe that in these very respects Christians are equally reviled by Bramins, who certainly are much more scrupulous in their pharisaical precision regarding the outside of the cup and the platter than are either Christians or Jangams.

The following particulars regarding marriage may give some insight into the social state of the Jangams.

The forms of contracting marriage are the same as those which are used among other Hindus. Certain prayers (*mantram*) are read, and the *tali*, or bit of gold, is attached to the bride's neck as usual. But it is not imperative to betroth the parties in childhood, as is the rule in other castes. The Aradhyas adhere to the braminical rule, but the other castes of Lingadharis often let the wedding or betrothment take place after the bride is grown up. Like other Hindus, they permit polygamy, if the first wife be childless; but the second nuptials cannot take place without her consent. Marriage is imperative among Bramins; it is merely voluntary among the Jangams. A widow is treated with every sort of kindness and respect; her head is not shaven, and she is permitted to marry again. The Bramins exclude a widow from society; there is no such prohibition among the Jangams, who, however, agreeing with others of their fellow-countrymen, do not permit her to wear the jacket, perfumes, paints, black glass bracelets, the nose-ring, and the silver toe-rings: for these form the specific garb of a wedded woman. But in various tribes of Lingadharis some of these rules are laid aside. A woman of piety is just as fit as a man to confer instruction in the creed. The Jangams always receive and return the bow or salutation of every woman, just as happens between man and man. For, they observe, were we to offer her any insult, it would be an insult to the image of the god which she wears. Nothing but a breach of chastity can lose her the title she possesses to gentle and honourable treatment.

On Sects in this Creed: and Rules in regard to Eating.

Though the Vira Saivas declare themselves entirely free from the bonds of caste, we shall perceive that their liberation is but partial. They cannot eat with any one who refuses to bless the food in the name of Basava; for they look upon others as heathens. And they refuse to eat with an Aradhya, because, being a Bramin, he is an idolater in their eyes, by reason of his prayer (*gayatri*) addressed to the sun; for the solar worship is an essential part of the braminical creed; and the Aradhya, as he refuses to lay aside his caste, cannot of course eat with men who eat with Parias. Thus each sect is equally unwilling to admit the other to equality.

In other sects of Hindus, the Bramin takes precedency, and is allowed every honour; in this one he is looked upon as an inferior, and as only a pretender to being in the faith. To this subject we must return when speaking of the Aradhyas:—meantime, it is requisite to

point out that the Jangama, who totally reject the Bramins, class themselves as Sāmānyas and Viśēshas.

1. The Sāmānya, or ordinary Jangam, is bound by no vow. He or she can eat flesh^{*} and drink wine: they use betel-nut, and can eat in any one's house. Only they are obliged to marry in their own caste.

2. The higher grade, opposed to this, is the Viśēsha, or extraordinary: being the guru or teacher, commonly called Matadhipati, or spiritual guide. All the rest are his disciples. He or she acquires this rank by taking a vow, the greater vow; which will be afterwards described. Any man or woman who is moral and devout is admissible to this rank; which entirely releases them from caste.

Further, there are two classes of (*bhacta*) "worthies," who are devotees, but do not as yet aspire to the higher grades.

1. Those (*Sāmānya bhactas*) who retain caste, and in other respects are the same as Sāmānya Jangams.

2. The (*Viśēsha bhactas*) confirmed worshippers: these are under the lesser vow, which binds them to honour the "Guru, the Lingam, and the Jangam"—three phrases which they use as a summary of their opinions. For they ordain that every honour must be paid to "the teacher, the image, and the brother in the faith," and their bitter foes, the Bramins, acknowledge that the Jangams treat each other as brethren. These Viśēshas are entirely free from caste: and as they are found chiefly among the Cannadis, they are generally styled Cannadilu.

Now as to eating:—the Viśēsha bhacta will not eat in the houses of the lower sect. The Guru can eat in the houses of Viśēshas alone, who are entitled to sit with him at dinner; the rest cannot; they, therefore, sit a little way off. The distinction is, that the Viśēsha Jangams are teachers, and the Viśēsha Bhactas are disciples. All can eat in the house of the Viśēsha, but not in each other's houses. These rules apply to both sexes; for men and women dine together.

Though the Aradhyas are bound to attend funerals, even those of Parias, the Jangams (even Parias) cannot eat with them even at the funeral dinner.

I have mentioned that they bless their meals in the name of their god. The food is polluted if "a heathen" casts his eye upon it *before* it is blessed; but *after* the benediction is uttered, they consider the food holy, and are bound to eat it: it cannot be defiled by the glance or the touch of any person. Dining is termed *Sias paja*, or worship; for they think, with Jeremy Taylor, that "God esteems it a part of his service if we eat or drink: so it be temperately and as may best preserve health."

On the Pandarams.

The Saiva worshippers among the Tamils are called *Pandarams*: these are not Vira Saivas, nor do they wear the lingam, or adore Basava. I name them here chiefly because they are often mentioned as being Vira Saivas, whereas in truth they are (like the Smartas) Purva-

^{*} Excepting of course that of the cow, which all Hindus look upon as we do upon hares.

Saivas, and worship the image of Siva in their houses. In his Essay, Professor Wilson has regarded this sect as Jangams, and has also included under that title the "*gangeddu-vandlu*," or mendicants, who rove about, leading a bull gaily tricked out. But these are mere Dasaria, or mendicant friars, of the Vishnu sect, and have no connection with the Jangams. These may always be known by the bell and the fan they bear, as well as by their elegant dresses and gay appearance. Another Vishnavite sect, who, equally opposed to the Jangams, are sometimes mistaken for them, are the *çâtânîs* or Sartarnees, who call themselves *Vira Vaishnavas*. These men lay aside caste, but are earnest devotees of Krishna, and accordingly are the firm allies of Bramins.

On "Guru, Linga, Jangam."

These three words comprise the creed of the sect, and evidently were intended to disavow every part of the braminical priestly tyranny.

This mystic phrase is thus expounded :—The image (*lingam*) is the deity ; the Jangam is the wearer, or fellow-worshipper ; and he who breathes the sacred spell in the ear is the Guru. Thus, he supplies the link between the god and the worshipper, and ever after is looked upon with affection as the true parent, even more respected than the father according to the flesh ; for, says the Jangam, I am one with the deity, and he alone is my father who conferred this unity on me. Among *Aradhyas*, the father himself usually confers this spell ; in other castes, it is thought improper to be the disciple of one's own father or mother.

The Gurus, being devout persons, usually separate from secular employment, subsist on alms or free gifts. But it does not seem to be a duty to support the guru, or to consult him, and own his authority in ordinary affairs. It is the duty of the Jangam to support and be a son to the guru, or father-confessor ; but the guru never asks alms of those who are not in the creed. Several gurus are employed as paid tutors or clerks among the English, and of course receive wages, which would be unlawful were the employer a Jangam.

These rules regarding initiation are analogous to those used among Musulmans, wherein the teacher is called *Moorshud*, and the disciple (man or woman) is a *Mooreed*. The ceremonies used on that occasion are fully described in Dr. Herklots's "*Customs of Musulmans*," p. 282. In each, faith, love of God, and benevolence towards brethren in the faith, are the proposed objects.

Regarding the Aradhyas.

In other sects of Hindus, the Bramin uniformly takes precedence of other castes ; but among the *Vira-Saivas*, he is degraded beneath all others. Hence there is a perpetual feud between the *Aradhyas* and the Jangams, who (unless at funerals, where all are bound to assist) treat those Bramins with contempt. And, as a reason for such behaviour, they allege that the *Aradhya* is an idolater, because, in assuming the sacred thread, he is obliged, in common with all Bramins, to offer adoration to the sun, whereas Basava ordained the worship of God alone.

The Aradhyas also give great offence by affecting a superiority over other castes. The Jangam is bound to be courteous to all, especially to fellow-worshippers, and return a woman's salutation or bow just as heedfully as that of a man. But the Aradhya calls himself a Bramin; he salutes none but Bramins, and looks upon none else to be Jangams, or brothers in the faith. He will not pay more honour to women than other Bramins do. In fact, women are not much better off among Aradhyas than among other Bramins. If her husband dies, a woman cannot marry again. Certainly, her head is not shaved, nor is she expected to die with her husband; but even this rite has been very reluctantly laid aside, and some Aradhyas have honestly confessed to me that they much regret the prohibition. The rites of *prayaschittam*, and other sorts of purification and fasting, are as severely binding on the Aradhyas as on other Bramins. They assert that they religiously adhere to the *carma canda*, or ceremonial law; but they fail to establish this to the satisfaction of a Bramin.

Another point in which the Aradhyas widely differ from Jangams is their refusal to admit proselytes into their creed.

In the points now described, it is evident that the Aradhyas have very reluctantly and imperfectly obeyed the laws given by Basava, who seems to have treated them leniently, admitting them into his creed, in the hope that, after a while, they would be prevailed upon to lay aside the sacred thread, and the worship of the sun, which is connected with it. In course of time many of them have done so, and a guru, who is one of my principal informants, is the son of a Bramin (an Aradhya), who saw the folly of caste, laid aside the thread, and became a Jangam, wherein his instructor seems to have been originally a Paria. But, being a Viseshia Jangam, of course he now is wholly independent of caste. In Sanscrit scholarship, and particularly in a ready acquaintance with the *Vedas*, he is decidedly superior to an old Aradhya, whom I also employed; who, however, is well acquainted both with the *Vedas* and the *Agamas*. In the midst of a discussion one day on caste, the old man laid his hand on that of the Jangam guru, and said to me, "Sir, if I could only lay aside this thread, I could go to this good man's house, eat with him, and marry my son into his family!"

In all these discussions, I observed that the Jangam treated the Aradhya with kindness, and perhaps pity, but certainly with no respectful deference. A learned Vaishnavite Bramin was present at these discussions, and observed to me that the Aradhya, being half-Bramin half-Jangam, was completely placed between two fires; and every concession which, in the course of argument, he might make to one party, enabled the other to disown him. Indeed, so great is the antipathy between Aradhyas and Jangams, that they cannot even write to one another: as the ceremonious civility of Hindus would oblige each to use expressions of regard which his judgment or his antipathies would forbid.

According to the *Basava Puran* and other leading books, the Aradhyas manifestly are unsupported in their claims to superiority. For all the various (*bhacta*) "worthies," or saints, whose faith and deeds are

extolled, are Parias, or shoemakers, hunters, or weavers: not one of them is a Bramin. And if they claim rank in consequence of Basava's having been the son of a Bramin, this avails them nothing: as he laid aside his caste and became the willing servant of Parias. In fact, the Aradhyas, being only half-converts, resemble the "Christian Bramins" we meet with at Madras, who are baptized, but continue to wear the brahminical thread, and are as much bound by caste as other Hindus are; yet they are sincere believers in Christianity, and express a horror of idolatry.

Lastly, it remains to speak of "the four Aradhyas," visionary personages of very great importance in the creed, but regarding whom I have not succeeded in obtaining any definite information. Among Jangams, as well as among Aradhyas, at all their various solemnities, whether marriage, birth, initiation, or funerals, four vases of water are solemnly placed in the name of "the four Aradhyas," or prophets. These four sages are named R'evan Aradhya, Marul Aradhya, E'co' Rama Aradhya, and Pandit Aradhya. In four ages, it is said, these four successively appeared as precursors of the divine Basava. And to this slender information only one point is added, which is the source of perpetual contention. The Aradhya claim these sages as being Bramins, which the Jangams deny, saying, these were our original teachers, and could not have disobeyed Basava, who abolished caste.

The Aradhyas and Jangams who answered my queries, however frank in other respects, are evidently in total ignorance about these venerated characters, who are spoken of in no book that I have met with. The *Pandit Aradhya Charitra* is named after the fourth prophet, but is merely written in his name, and is acknowledged to be a modern compilation. The *Siddhanta Sikhamani*, written in Sanscrit verse, on the Aradhya system, contains a wild mythological tale, tending to represent Revan Aradhya as a human appearance of one of the Pramathas, or ministers of Siva. But this book is not considered good authority, and the legend is not current. I am also assured that the details are given in a book (supposed to be written in Canarese), named *Chatur matha Stala nirayam*, but I have not met with this book, and my informants know of it only by report.

Perhaps we may reasonably entertain a suspicion that these "four sages" are analogous to the four *peers* of the Musulmans, who are described by Dr. Herklots, in page 287 of his volume already quoted. These *peers*, or canonized spiritual guides, certainly bear Musulman names, but they play the same part in the ceremony of making a Musulman *moored* that the four Aradhyas do in that of making a Jangam. They, too, are described in an apostolical succession, and, to crown the analogy, nothing satisfactory can be ascertained regarding them, notwithstanding the high veneration in which they are held. *De non entibus et non apparentibus eadem est ratio*, and if these personages ever existed among the Jangams, how does it happen that these four alone, of all the saints, are designated as Aradhyas? I confess that neither the Jangams nor the Aradhyas approve the solution I have here

offered, and a decision more satisfactory may perhaps be elicited by further inquiry.

Regarding the Vedas.

It has been stated that the Aradhyas found their pretensions on the *Vedas*, which, as they assert, prove their authority as Bramins. To perceive the true value of these claims, it may be as well to state the present practice regarding the *Vedas*; and the following statements are the result of many inquiries as to the rules prevailing in the Telugu and Tamil countries.

Only a small portion of the *Vedas* is generally read among Bramins; it is read without the meaning being explained, and is in obsolete Sanscrit. The great rite or sacrifice, called *yajna*, is occasionally celebrated among the Smárta Bramins: but this is so rare that my informant never heard of but two instances. The few Bramins who live by the *Vedas* commit twenty or thirty chapters to memory, which are recited at certain ceremonies in weddings, funerals, and *yajnas*. They never pretend to know the meaning. Ordinary Bramins, though taught a few pages of the *Vedas* at school, are not expected to retain this knowledge. From the best information, it would seem that not ten Bramins might be found throughout the peninsula who are really skilled in the *Vedas*. Those recluses who study divinity read various commentaries called *Bhāshyam*: the Smartas read the *Sancara Bhāshyam*; the Vaishnavas read the *Rāmānuja Bhāshyam*; and the Madhavas read the *Madhva Bhāshyam*: each man reading the commentator approved by his sect. Such readers are very few indeed. No man concerned with secular affairs troubles himself with either the *Vedas* or the comments. So great is the veneration shewn to Sancar Achari, that the other commentators, even when they oppose his explanations, do not venture to name him. Thus we see that the Bramins themselves know just as little about the *Vedas* as the Musulmans do about the *Koran*.

Among the Jangams and Aradhyas certain portions of the *Vedas* with the explanation are much dwelt on. But these are selected for sectarian purposes; to demonstrate that Bramins are in error, and, on their own tenets, ought to embrace the creed of Basava. By insisting on allegorical interpretations, they pervert the meaning, and cannot very seriously believe what they allege. In fact, this device resembles that of the commentator Hardouin, who attempted to interpret all the Odes of Horace so as to give them a Christian import.

The Aradhyas assert that they are followers of the *Vedas*, and the Jangams are (*Veda-bahya*) excluded from that code. The Jangam replies that all have an equal right to read the *Vedas*; but that Aradhyas have, like other Bramins, perverted the meaning of the text. In fact, the Aradhyas merely take refuge in the *Vedas* from the dilemma in which they are placed by their tenets. Their pretensions to superiority are confuted by the very books that teach their creed; by the *Lila* as well as by the *Puran* and the *Charitra*.

On loss of Caste.

Caste is lost in two ways: by sin and by accident. A full Jangam,

who breaks his vow by tasting wine or betel-nut, is excluded from society; but on expressing due repentance, his friends can agree to eat with him, and this completes his restoration; which, however, is not granted unless there is the strongest reason to believe he will hereafter be cautious. Instances of such loss of caste are extremely rare. Even if caste be lost, the image is not taken away; for it is always looked upon as a part of the body, and they can no more remove the image than they can cut off the man's hand. No case is known of the image having been voluntarily laid aside. Accordingly, the Jangams declare that no one of their brotherhood has ever embraced the Christian or the Mahomedan faith.

If caste is accidentally lost, prayer and solitude, they say, will restore it. But they look with horror on the chance of any one accidentally losing the image hung on the neck or arm. They affirm that this has sometimes happened, and of course the loser is instantly devoid of caste. Now when a person accidentally loses caste among Bramins, or other Hindus, the rest immediately turn upon him as fish or savage beasts do on a wounded member of their communities. Their cruel treatment of the sufferer is remarkably opposed to the gentle temper of the Jangam rule; for the Jangam custom obliges them to commiserate the sufferer, to fast and pray with him, until the lost image re-appears in his hand, "descending through the air like a bee." An Englishman refuses his belief to the stated recurrence of such a miracle, but both Aradhyas and Jangams unite in assuring us in the strongest terms of this miracle having repeatedly occurred; and they go so far as to declare, that their faith rests on this marvel, and were it ever known to fail, their faith would perish.

On being asked how they would treat the corpse of one who died in such a deserted state, they answer that it is a case that never happened, and they cannot say what must be done. As for his soul, they suppose, but very doubtingly, that it has forfeited immortality, and must undergo the Hindu metamorphosis. The same also they say regarding the soul of an infant, were it possible that it should be buried or lost in the sea without the performance of this solemn initiation.

Whether the person who has lost the image be an Aradhya, a Guru, or a common Paria, all castes, including Bramins, are bound to unite in the rite of restoration, just as all must unite at a funeral.

Regarding their Books.

The books read in this sect were originally written in Canarese, and are of two descriptions: those universally popular, as the *Basava Puran*, and the *Prabhu Linga Lila*; and those peculiarly intended for Aradhyas, as the *Pandit Aradhya Charitra*. They generally speak of these three books as "the *Puran*, the *Lila*, and the *Charitra*."

The Aradhyas are very fond of Sanscrit reading: the *Vedas*, the *Gita* (or *Bhagavad Gita*), the *Nilacantha Bhāshyam*, the various *Agamas* and the writings of the celebrated theologian Sanchar Achari, regarding whom the reader is referred to Professor Wilson's *Essay on Religions*

Sects, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 17, under the head "Dandis." These are eagerly studied, but are not locked up from the people at large; for we shall find excellent Sanscrit scholars among the Jangam gurus, and many who are competent even to convey instruction in the *Vedas*.

They pretend to found their creed on the venerated Sanscrit treatises now named. But after long inquiry, I find that their reliance on these is fictitious. It is easy enough for them to adduce certain texts from these books and the *Vedas*, on behalf of their creed,* and in particular in justification of their assuming the name Jangama Lingam, or locomotive image of the deity. Orthodox Bramins laugh at their pretended proofs; especially at their claiming a right to give a secondary or spiritual sense to particular commands. For instance, the *Yajna*, or burnt-offering ordained in the *Vedas*, is by them explained as alluding to "our passions, which must be sacrificed."

Another step which gives Bramins no small offence is the plea set up by the Vira Saivas to superior orthodoxy. For these heretics assert that they merely revert to the primæval faith, which the Bramins have perverted; and they very benevolently try to recall the Bramins to the right way from which they have erred. In the *Pandit Aradhya Charithra*, the author has laboured to convince Bramins from their own *Puranas* that they are in error, and that they ought to embrace the Vira Saiva creed. Such ratiocination is absurd enough, when we consider that Basava set out by entirely setting aside braminiical authorities.

The *Purana* and the *Lila* were originally written in Canarese, and have been translated into Telugu and Tamil. It has also, I hear, been written in Mahratta, in prose, as a *catha* or story. The *Purana* is an

* We sometimes find a similar mode of argument in Christian writers. For instance, in the *Vedanta Rasayanam*, a well-known Telugu poem (in padya metre, in four books), written by Ananda, son of Mangala giri Timmaya, which is a little more than a century old. The beauty and poetical vigour of style exhibited in this work render it very attractive, but in the first book the learned author labours (as does the author of the *Charitra*) to confute Bramins and other idolaters on their own ground, adducing arguments from the *Vedas* and *Puranas* in support of his doctrine. Having omitted to mention this poem in a former essay, I will take the present opportunity to describe it. The second book brings the history only as far as the birth of our Lord: having commenced with the Fall. The third gives a brief selection from the Gospels, describing the baptism, the descent of the Holy Spirit (whom the poet, using Latin words, denominates *Soneto Spiritu*), the temptation, some miracles, particularly the raising of Lazarus; the last supper: the departure to the Mount of Olives (which the author calls *Nandana Panam*, as he names Peter *Rayappa*, from *Ravi*, 'a stone.' He calls James *Yagappa*, and John *Aruleppa*. For martyrdom he uses *martyara*). The betrayal of our Lord to the Jews concludes this book.

The fourth book describes the crucifixion and subsequent events. The author now takes occasion to teach the doctrine of purgatory, for which he uses the Hindu phrase *pitr-lokam*. This, and a few other passages, particularly the salutations to the Virgin at the opening of the poem, shew that the poet was of the Romish faith. Then are described the Saviour's Resurrection and appearance to the Marys. The journey to Emmaus. Then follow brief accounts of the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Then the beatification of the Virgin—Peter being left on earth as head of the Church. On the wrath of God and the intercession of the Redeemer. The Last Judgment—Conclusion, containing a summary of the points in the creed, with poetical version of the "ten" commandments. The writer has nowhere inculcated either the worship of Saints or the other peculiarities of the Church of Rome: at the same time he has courted the attention of Bramins by dwelling as little as possible on the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity.

This poem is written in a beautiful style, and though somewhat too learned for beginners, will afford most valuable aid to the advanced student of Telugu poetry, and will spare him the tedium of learning the language through the medium of braminiical books. He should first read the third *nta*.

amusing composition, and particularly pleasing to one who has read *usque ad nauseam* in the braminical books. The *Lila* is in quite a different vein, and vastly superior. It is an allegorical poem of considerable beauty, and is particularly attractive from the pleasing manner in which it describes the female sex: neither as goddesses (as they are described in the braminical poems), nor as brutes, which is too often the style of the braminical *Puranas*. It is not only amusing, but written with such delicacy that any Hindu female might read it with gratification. The tendency of these two books is thus discriminated. The *Puranam* is the *Bhacti cānda*, or attributes every gift to the force of faith. The *Lila* is the *jñāna cānda*, or assigns wisdom to be the means of attaining future happiness.

The *Chenna Basava Puran*, the *Mari Basava Puran*, and many more Jangama legends, found under various names in Telugu and Canarese (nearly all of which are to be found in the Mackenzie Library), do not merit much notice. They are free from the pride, cruelty, and abominations that disgust the English reader in the braminical *Puranas*, but are merely wild vagaries, of which more than enough may be seen in the *Basava Puran*. With slight variations, they all run in one strain: that a certain saint, out of love to Siva, vows to earn money in some particular mode, and he then bestows it on Jangams, and becomes their servant. Accordingly, Siva appears to him, and carries him to Cailāsa. On other occasions, a "worthy" cuts off his wife's hands or nose, because she presumed to touch or smell flowers which he was about to offer to the lingam in adoration: Siva, as usual, appears, heals her, and carries the pious pair to Cailas. There are miracles in abundance, and some of them very entertaining.

There are other volumes inculcating the yoga system (*tatwa bodha*), which, to our ideas, is strange bewildering nonsense. Herein there is but one system, common to all, whether Bramins or their opponents; for this unmeaning mysticism pervades every sect of the Hindus, and is analogous to the Súfi reveries known among Musulmans,* and to the mysticism promulgated in France and Germany by the followers of Bourignon and Swedenborg. To lose one's senses (*cum ratione insanire*, as Terence says) seems to be its highest aim. Hindus who pretend to learning are fond of dealing in these idle topics, for the purpose of astonishing their hearers, but we shall find that their stock of phrases is soon acquired, and their fund of ideas is yet more slender.

The great theme perpetually reiterated by the Jangams, as well as by all the other followers of the reformer Sancar Achari, is the resolving our body and mind into spirit. That the *ātma* (soul) is to be the linga,

* Vide Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. 2, chap. xxii., and Sir William Jones's Essay on Mystical Poetry. See also Extracts, by Sir William Jones, from Baxter in the *Madras Journal*, for October, 1836, p. 446. In Telugu, the favourite work on the Yoga Sastram is the *Vāsa Deva Mantram*. It does not appear that Basava encouraged such reveries.

This mystic science is, indeed, an unfathomable profundity of nonsense, such as we may find in the Rabbinical *Targum*. (Vide Schoettgen and Adam Clarke on 1 Cor. xv. 46.) In the *Siddhanta Sastram* (lately printed in Telugu), and other volumes of devotion, the soul as a female addresses the deity as her lover and husband: as is often the mode of address used among the Persian Sufis (vide *Madras Journal*, vol. v., p. 129).

and thus to become one with the deity. This favourite theory is, in its ulterior consequences, destructive of moral responsibility, for, if men become the deity, he of course is sinless, and they are accordingly absolved from sin. It must be acknowledged that we nowhere find Basava inculcating this doctrine. It certainly forms the concluding lecture of the *Lila*; but that is a work not pretending to authority, but recording the opinions received in the national philosophy. This shews what pitiable ignorance Hinduism is in its highest flights; for they all acknowledge the *yoga sâstram* to be the great means of obtaining oneness with God.

It is clear that the Jangams are inconsistent enough in their belief; for while they condemn the Bramins as misrepresenting the truth, they are fond of perusing the various Saiva legends, wherein of course Siva and Pârvati are the deities, and there is no mention of Basava or his disciples the Jangams. The most popular of these poems are the *Calahasti mahatmyam*, or legend concerning the pagoda at Calahasti; the *Bhallana Charitra*, wherein a king gains a blessing by making a present of his wife to Siva, who visits him in the guise of a Jangam! and who thereupon, as usual, carries both of them to Caillasa! the *Vira Bhadra Vijayam*, the *Bhanumad Vijayam*, the *Madhura Puran*, also called *Halasya Mahatmyam* or *Socca Natha Lila* (a high-flying Aradhya work), and a few more Saivite legends.

They sometimes claim the poet Vemana as preaching their creed, but though he evidently held the Bramins in detestation, and shews a partiality to the tenets of Basava, he does not embrace the Vira Saiva tenets. The insulting manner in which he speaks of the female sex furnishes another proof that he could not be a Vira Saiva. He also speaks of future transmigrations; but the Jangams believe transmigration to have terminated.

But these remarks on their literature cannot be concluded without a few observations on

The Tantras.

Bramins frequently allege that the Jangams are a depraved sect, who are guided by the *Tantras* or heretical books. But we should not incautiously believe this. The Jangams are in all respects opposed to licentiousness, which is the main-spring of the *Tantras*. The Jangams came from the west; the Tantricas from the north. The Jangams adore the linga and abhor Maia, the goddess of Delusion (Venus or Cali, as Devi), who is expressly the goddess (Yoni, or Bhaga Mâlini) of the Tantricas. The Tantricas take no notice of the lingam: they adore Betala (the devil), and other malevolent powers. The Jangams honour Siva as Daxina Murti, or the beneficent and loving deity. The Tantricas say they aim at a perfect release from fleshly lusts; the Jangams do the same. But the former, being hypocrites, pretend to yield to their passions as the path to freedom; whereas the Vira Saivas call on their votaries to deny themselves in all respects. They attend especially to the rules concerning funerals, marriage, and placing infants in the creed. On all these points, the *Tantras* are silent. The *Tantras* incul-

cate the use of flesh, wine, magic, and debauchery ; the Jangam creed abhors these. The Jangams are an avowed sect ; the Tantricas assume the guise of Smartas. The Jangams train up their children in their creed ; the Tantricas (like the Arreoyoys in older times in Tahiti) merely admit proselytes. The Jangams are sober, devout, and humble ; the Tantricas are debauched, atheistical, and proud. The Jangams are rigid puritans ; the Tantricas are licentious atheists. Herein their depravity resembles that of the worshippers of Isis in Rome, the Socialists of modern days in England, the St. Simonians in France, the Illuminati and other philosophers of Germany, the followers of Cagliostro in Italy, and the Nussereahs at Kerrund in Persia.*

With a few touches of his felicitous pencil, Shakspeare has given a view of their system, or philosophy, which is the *Sacti Puja*, or worship of Power.

" Thus every thing includes itself in Power :
Power into will :—will into Appetite :
And Appetite an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with Will and Power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And, last, eat up himself."

Troilus, I. 3.

Again, (*Anthony and Cleopatra*, II. 1.)

" Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both :
Tie up the libertine in a field of sweets :
Keep his brain fuming," &c.

Indeed, the sottish aspirations of Gonzala (*Tempest*, act II. scene 1) give a summary of the bacchanalian rites taught in the *Tantras*. And if the reader has any curiosity regarding their system of magic, he will find it in Dr. Herklots's English translation of the *Canoon-e-Islam*, or Customs of the Moosulmans of India.

Knowing the deserved odium that attaches to the *Tantras*, Bramins assert that these constitute the Jangam system. But were this the case, how does it happen that the *Tantra* volumes are found only in the possession of Bramins? The fact is, that both parties read the *Tantras* from motives of curiosity, just as a Protestant might read the *Koran*, without in any point adopting the Mahomedan faith. The Jangams honestly avow and vindicate all they do ; they have no motive for concealment. The Bramin acts on an opposite principle, and assures us that the Jangams are a depraved and senseless set of heretics, who obey the levelling principles of the *Tantras*, and pay honour to the vilest castes. But two widely different principles govern them. The licentious Tantrica rejects caste, because it is an ordained rule of society ; he degrades all men to the brutish level. The Jangam is no leveller ; he, indeed, desires to abolish caste ; but by raising from the lowest grade those whose faith shews them to be good men. Indeed, the imputations made against

* Regarding the Nussereahs, see Buckingham's Travels : cited in *New Monthly Magazine*, 1830, p. 232.

them are very similar to the infamous stories circulated among ourselves in older days, against the Puritans, the Quakers, and Moravians,* and investigation has shewn them to be equally false.

* See Southey's *Life of Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 262.

[*The conclusion next month.*]

Critical Notices.

The Portfolio. London. Maynard.

THIS is a monthly publication which seems to be growing into notice. It is justly characterized as a work "which criticises, with manly honesty and genuine patriotism, the opinions of public men, the measures of governments, domestic and foreign, and the character and results of institutions affecting the welfare of mankind." The style in which these subjects are overhauled, and which often reminds us of Cobbett's, is of the sturdy and homely character, suited to the fearless and unflinching criticism of the writers. Eastern topics are included, and Lord Ellenborough experiences as little mercy as Lord Palmerston.

The Wars of Jehovah, in Heaven, Earth, and Hell. In Nine Books. By THOMAS HAWKINS, Esq. With Eleven highly-finished Engravings. London, 1844. Baister.

THIS book is beautifully printed, elegantly illustrated by the pencil of Martin, and luxuriously bound; but we acknowledge our inability to give a critical opinion of the contents.

Waghorn's Overland Guide to India, by three Routes to Egypt. London, 1844. Smith, Elder, and Co. Richardson.

THIS is a concise collection of necessary facts, given, as the author says, "off-hand," to enable passengers proceeding to India through Egypt to choose the route most convenient to them to the latter country.

The Counting-House Guide to the Higher Branches of Calculations. Part I., forming an Appendix to the Elements of Commercial Arithmetic. Part II., forming a Supplement and Key to the New and Enlarged Edition of the Appendix. By WILLIAM TATE. London, 1844. E. Wilson.

THESE works form a new and improved edition of very useful counting-house books, full, concise, and cheap.

The Union-Jack of Great Britain: Dedicated to the Nation. By M. H. BARKER, the Old Sailor. London. Ackermann.

THIS is an ingenious analysis of the union-jack into its various flags (the history of which is given), the various combinations of which are shewn by a very simple contrivance.

ENTERTAINMENT TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH AT CALCUTTA.

A FAREWELL entertainment was given by the officers of the corps belonging to the presidency division of the Bengal army, on the 29th July, at the Town Hall. It was not intended to be a public dinner; consequently, neither the Governor-General, nor any of the Members of Council, nor the judges were present. "The entertainment," says the *Englishman*, "was, in all points of view, a private one, and in no respect bore more of a military character than those outward forms of compliment usual at mess dinners, which nobody dreams of calling public parties." The decorations of the Town Hall, both external and internal (judging from the graphic representations now before us) were splendid. The grand entrance steps were inclosed with a profusion of foliage; the steps all the way up were lined with the Grenadiers of her Majesty's 10th regiment. The dinner-room, brilliantly lighted up, was lined and oiled with tri-coloured cloth, blue, pink, and yellow, according to the pattern of the military ribbon of India, and at the end, opposite to where his lordship sat, was a transparency of a town in a state of siege, whilst round the apartment were arranged flags and medallion representations of the various medals which his lordship had conferred on the army. The upper hall was arranged in the form of a pavilion, and at the head of the table rose a rich canopy. On the top of the stair leading to the pavilion was a canopy over the bust of the Duke of Wellington, surrounded by the light company of the 10th. The effect is represented to have been unusually rich and tasteful.

Between 200 and 300 officers, from Calcutta, Barrackpore, and Dum Dum, assembled to meet his lordship, who was received with a cordiality and unrestrained exhibition of feeling which must have made a lasting impression upon him. The troops were drawn up at the portico to receive him, and upon his reaching the entrance, the whole body of officers descended to meet and welcome him—the soldiers cheered him, and the welcome was re-echoed by the crowds of native spectators who had assembled round the building. No Company's soldiers were to be seen, but the whole wing of her Majesty's 10th was present.

After the usual loyal toasts, General Cooper, the president, proposed the toast of the evening, "Lord Ellenborough," which he prefaced by a few words much to the point, and without any allusion to the public question connected with his lordship's return to England, expressing the feelings of the company towards him, in his private capacity. The toast was received with a burst of applause which was continued for many minutes, without any cessation, and renewed, with augmented vigour, for several rounds.

Lord Ellenborough rose and addressed the Company as follows :—

"Gentlemen: I thank you most cordially for this last testimony of your kindness, which is, I assure you, only the more gratifying to me because offered altogether on grounds personal to myself, and having no reference to any political or military measures of my government. I thank all the officers of the united army of India for the uniform cordiality and kindness with which they have at all times everywhere received me. I thank them for the confidence they from the first reposed in me, and which no circumstances have, I believe, ever led them to withdraw. They fairly appreciated the difficulties of

my position, and they gave me credit for having at least the national honour. I thank you all for the invariable zeal and devotedness with which every instruction I have ever given to a military man has been executed, and, above all, for that spirit of enterprise and that noble ardour in the field, which, emulated by the troops of both services, have led in these latter times to achievements never surpassed in the most splendid periods of our military history.

"Gentlemen: I congratulate you on the high testimony borne to these later achievements by the great man who can best appreciate military services, and who is himself connected with the brightest glories of past times. Let it not be supposed that the glories so obtained are barren glories, obtained only at a great public cost, and productive of no benefit to the people. In India, the continued reputation of our arms is an indispensable condition of our existence; and if at this moment the revenue and the commerce of this country, and the condition of the people, be, as they are, changed indeed from the state in which I found them, to a state of unexampled prosperity, it is to the peace dictated by our arms to China under the walls of Nankin; it is to the general sense that our rule will always be exercised in a spirit of liberality as well as of justice and of kind consideration and favour towards the troops of both services that this result is to be attributed.

"Gentlemen: The only regret I feel in leaving India, is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life has been that which I have passed here, in cantonments and in camp. I have learnt to estimate the high qualities of the officers of the united armies. Amongst them I now leave the friends I most respect and regard. I have learnt to estimate the admirable character of the native sepoy, elevated as it is by his confidence in the British officer, and by European example in the field. Amongst them are some of the noblest of soldiers, deeply attached to those by whom they are led, and full of enthusiastic devotion to military honour. Cherish that confidence, cherish that attachment and that devotion by every act of kindness, of consideration, and regard. Be assured that it is to the zealous obedience of a contented native army that the security in India, which has been re-established by two years of victories without a single check, and its unexampled prosperity, are to be directly traced.

"Gentlemen: I sincerely congratulate you on the appointment which has been made of Sir Henry Hardinge, as my successor. A good soldier himself, he will justly appreciate good soldiers. Confiding in the judgment and having the advice and support of the Duke of Wellington, he cannot fail to take a correct view of the real interests of India. His practical acquaintance with service in the field, and with all the details of military finance, and of the internal economy of regiments, must necessarily render him much more competent than I could ever have become, even with the best intentions and my utmost industry, to deal with all questions connected with the comfort of the troops, and with the efficiency of the army; and our past experience of his conduct in office in England affords the most satisfactory assurance that his power is the magic charm by which in India a few govern millions, by which this empire has been won, and by which alone it can be preserved. These are the last words of earnest advice I shall address to you in India. I now bid you all most sincerely and cordially farewell. I shall soon be far from you; but my heart remains with this army, and wherever I may be, and as long as I live I shall be its friend."

Loud cheering repeatedly interrupted his lordship, and when he sat down, the huzzas became tremendous.

Colonel Burlton next proposed the health of the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge. He said:—

"Gentlemen,—Complimentary speech-making formed no part of my education, neither does it form part of the profession of a soldier, and I must, therefore, bespeak your favourable indulgence to my deficiencies on the present occasion. I should be sorry, gentlemen, to make any remarks that could lay us open to the imputation of paying unbecoming court or adulation to a rising sun; but it is most gratifying to all our feelings, and strictly compatible with a legitimate and honest independence, to hail the departing glories of that which is now setting, as well as to express our grateful sense of the benefits he has diffused amongst us, whether in his morning, his meridian, or his evening splendour, and for this purpose it is that we are assembled here to-night. We have met here to do honour, or rather to attempt to do honour, as far as our humble means will admit, to our noble guest (who has been justly termed, who has openly avowed himself, and has most emphatically proved himself to be, our friend), and, at the same time, to mark our regret at his approaching departure from amongst us. Gentlemen, we should be cold and insensate, indeed, if we did not feel that regret. During the highly eventful period of our noble friend's administration, the armies of India have marched on from victory to victory, unclouded by failure, unchecked by defeat; and, under his auspices, they have retrieved the disasters which, for a time, o'ershadowed our national honour; they have effaced the foul blot which also, for a time, had been allowed to sully the purity and brightness of the banners of our country, and they have triumphantly replanted those banners on the citadel of Ghuzni and the Bala Hissar of Cabul. Under his auspices, they have fought and conquered at Meeanee and Hyderabad; at Maharajpore under his own eye, and at Punniar on the same day, almost within his hearing of their cannon. How the services which those armies have performed have been acknowledged, rewarded, and honoured by our distinguished guest, it must be superfluous for me to tell you; and, indeed, you have only to look around, and you will see many here present who bear on their breasts proud and speaking testimonials of their own merit, and, if I may venture to say so, of his gratitude. Gentlemen, we do feel very sincere regret at this approaching departure of our noble friend; but, in the midst of that regret, we find consolation when we turn to the distinguished individual who succeeds him in his high and honourable office, and from whom we may surely calculate on receiving the same kindness and consideration that have shone forth so conspicuously in all the public or private acts of his predecessor, in connection with the army. Eminent in the cabinet as well as in the field, the name of Sir Henry Hardinge has been already recorded in the pages of history, and it will go down to posterity as that of one of the bright galaxy of British chivalry which adorned the nineteenth century, as well as that of the associate, co-adjutor, and friend of the immortal Wellington. It would be presumptuous, and indeed it must be superfluous, for me to say a word respecting that distinguished individual, after the high eulogium which we have just heard pronounced on him by our noble guest; but I may, notwithstanding, congratulate the army of India on the accession of such a person as Sir Henry Hardinge to the office of Governor-General of this vast empire. As an old soldier, we may cherish a confident assurance that the interests, the

welfare, and the honour of the army, will be dear to him as they have been to his predecessor. If his administration be one of peace, we doubt not that we shall at all times receive at his hands the same courtesy, urbanity, and kindness, which we have ever experienced in all our intercourse with Lord Ellenborough. Should it be our fortune again to take the field, under his auspices, we doubt not that any small services we may be happy enough to perform will be fairly appreciated, acknowledged, and rewarded, in the same liberal spirit that they have ever been by his predecessor; and lastly, when at the close of his administration he retires to his native land to receive, as we hope our noble friend is about to do, some high and distinguishing mark of favour from our beloved sovereign, he may in like manner rest assured that he will carry with him, as Lord Ellenborough now does, the respect, the gratitude, and the affection of the whole army of India. Gentlemen, let us drink, then, to the health of our new Governor-General, the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge."

The speech was loudly cheered throughout, and the toast was received most heartily.

Capt. Champneys, in proposing the health of the Duke of Wellington, observed:—

"I have a toast to propose,—a bumper toast! It is one which needs no lengthened preface, for the illustrious statesman whose health I shall now give is known and revered by every British soldier. He is the acknowledged friend of our noble guest, and of the Indian army. His time-honoured name is already emblazoned in the pages of history. Gentlemen, Great Britain knows and acknowledges the worth of him whose health I am about to propose; but highly as he undoubtedly is estimated, it will only be hereafter, when the difficulty is felt in replacing him, that his full meed of universal admiration, as a soldier and a statesman, will be accorded. Gentlemen, may that day be long distant; and let us drink, with due honours, the health of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, the personal friend of our distinguished guest." (*Great cheering.*)

The health of Sir Hugh Gough was introduced in a few plain, soldierly, and effective words, by Brigadier Frith. This ended the proceedings.

Lord Ellenborough was supported on the right by the artillery officer who proposed the Commander-in-Chief, and on the left by Major-Gen. Cartwright. Between each toast a lady sang—supposed to be Madame Cailly, whose voice was accompanied by a pianoforte, played by a young officer.

The party broke up at about half-past eleven o'clock, when Lord Ellenborough took his departure, accompanied by the officers to the door of his carriage, and cheered as upon his arrival.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(*From the Indian Mail*)

ARRIVALS REPORTED IN ENGLAND.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Nevill H. E. Prowett.

Mr. Henry Brereton.

Madras Estab.—Mr. George P. Monckton.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Surg. Joseph Worrall, 8th N.I.
 Brev. capt. Henry Henchman, 57th N.I.
 Maj. Fred. S. Sptheby, c.s., artillery, retired.
 Brev. capt. Thomas Renny, engineers.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. William Youngson, 14th N.I.
 Lieut. John C. Day, 17th N.I.
 Major-gen. Thomas King, 25th N.I.
 Capt. Edward V. P. Holloway, 42nd N.I.
 Lieut. col. John Laurie, 45th N.I.
 Ens. James Cundy, 49th N.I.
 Assist. surg. Samuel Cox, horse artillery.
 Lieut. John W. Tombs, engineers.

Bombay Estab.—Assist. surg. Edward Sabben.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. George P. Cavendish, Indian Navy.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY IN INDIA.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. John R. Colvin, *viâ* Egypt.
 Mr. John C. Dick.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Lieut. Stamford W. R. Tulloch, 22nd N.I.
 Capt. John A. Barstow, 37th N.I.
 Ens. Thomas E. B. Lees, 43rd N.I., overland, Dec.
 Lieut. Arthur H. C. Sewell, 47th N.I., overland, Oct.
 Capt. Arthur Knyvett, 64th N.I., overland.
 Capt. Fred. Knyvett, 64th N.I., overland, Oct.
 Assist. surg. Henry Sill.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. Charles W. Gordon, 7th Lt. Cav.
 Lieut. Jonathan Fowler, 8th Lt. Cav.
 Lieut. Tom H. Atkinson, 15th N.I.
 Lieut. col. George Grantham, 31st Lt. Inf.
 Ens. Henry R. Smith, 40th N.I.
 Lieut. Thomas Greenaway, 46th N.I.

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. col. George J. Wilson, 1st N.I., overland, Nov.
 Lieut. Hen. Lodwick, 10th N.I., overland, Nov.
 Capt. W. G. Hebbert, engineers, overland, Dec.
 Lieut. Philip L. Hart, engineers, overland, Nov.
 Surg. Andrew Montgomery, overland, Nov.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. Harry N. Garrett, I.N. } By the Sir
 Mr. Walter M. Pengelly, I.N. } *Charles Napier.*

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE AT HOME.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Lieut. col. Henry Hall, c.s., 4th N.I., 6 months.
 Maj. Lawrence N. Hull, 16th N.I., 6 months.

Madras Estab.—Capt. Thomas Fair, 3rd Lt. Inf., 6 months.

Bombay Estab.—Maj. Charles Johnson, 3rd N.I., 6 months.
 Col. William Cavaye, 6th N.I., 6 months.
 Lieut. Charles R. Dent, artillery, 6 months.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. Walter Jardine, I.N., 6 months.
 Lieut. William Selby, I.N., till 1st Jan. 1845.

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Lord Ellenborough, late Governor-General of India, arrived at Portsmouth on the 11th Oct., by the *Locust* steamer, from Malta; and on the 14th her Majesty was pleased to direct letters patent to pass under the great seal, granting to his lordship and heirs the dignities of Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, by the names, styles, and titles, of Viscount Southam, of Southam, in the county of Gloucester, and Earl of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland.

Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., arrived in this country from China, *vid* Bombay, by the last overland mail.

The Episcopal church at Philadelphia, U. S., is about to send forth a body of bishops, ministers, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses for the conversion of the Chinese.

The late Lord Keane has bequeathed his Ghuznee sword to the present baron, the sword given him by the King of Cabul to his son George, and his Cutch sword and Scinde rifle to his son Hussey.

The Envoy Extraordinary, lately sent from Paris to the court of Teheran, is understood to have failed in the objects of his mission.

Circumstances which have been disclosed connected with the recent abdication, or presumed abdication, of the Pasha of Egypt, indicate that, in the event of Mehemet Ali's death, the succession of his son Ibrahim may meet with some opposition.

It is understood that Prince Henry of Holland is to proceed from India to China, charged with the duties of a diplomatic mission.

A new steamer, on the plan of Sir W. Symonds, is ordered to be built for the East-India Company at Portsmouth, to supply the loss of the *Memnon*.

Amount of bills drawn by the East-India Company in the month ending 5th October:—Bengal, 212,231*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*; Madras, 24,221*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*; Bombay, 2,962*l.* Total, 239,414*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

There does not appear to be any truth in the report so generally circulated of the loss of her Majesty's surveying vessels *Fly* and *Bramble* in May last. No disaster had occurred up to 28th July, to which day letters have been received from Capt. F. P. Blackwood dated from Torres Straits.

A monument has been erected in Kensall Green Cemetery to the memory of the late Col. Sir Robert Bartley, K.C.B., of the 49th reg., who served with so much distinction during the Chinese war, and died, on his return to this country, on board the steamer *Great Liverpool*, in the Mediterranean Sea. The monument is of black Galway marble, surmounted by military trophies, and on a tablet of white Tuscan marble are recorded the services of the deceased, who was a native of the county of Monaghan.

There seems to be no doubt that a bi-monthly mail communication between England and India is to come into operation in January next, to be carried on by two lines of steamers—one from Suez to Bombay, the other from Suez to Calcutta, calling at Aden, Ceylon, and Madras. Should the details of the arrangements which will become necessary in the altered state of our intercourse with the East be properly carried out, the present expensive mode of transmission through France may easily be rendered perfectly unnecessary, and an end may be put to the confusion occasioned by two deliveries of letters by the same mail, which are, in some instances, forwarded *vid* Southampton though marked *vid* Marseilles, and *vice versa*.

The combined Court of Demerara, upon the recommendation of Lord Stanley, have agreed to raise 75,000*l.*, to be expended in procuring the importation of 5,000 East-India coolies by March next. This vote is distinct from a general West India loan for immigration purposes, which will probably be brought under consideration early next session. The expediency of encouraging Chinese emigrant labourers to proceed to the West-Indies from the island of Borneo, whither they annually resort in large numbers, has been brought to the notice of her Majesty's government.

Mohun Lal, the faithful and attached moonshee of the late Sir A. Burnes, is, at present in Edinburgh. He was at Cabul when Sir Alexander was murdered, and having succeeded in saving the manuscripts and private papers of that distinguished officer, he has brought them to this country and delivered them to his relatives.

The safe return of the Austrian brigantine *Joachim* to Trieste from Bombay is noticed with satisfaction in the continental papers. Previous to the voyage of this vessel, the Austrian flag had not been seen in the Indian seas, and it is noticed that 120 vessels now sail from Trieste in the Brazilian trade, though a very few years since there was but one vessel so employed.

The London indigo sales just concluded shew a reduction of 4*d.* per lb. in prices of all qualities as compared with the July sales.

It appears from a comparative statement of British shipping entered inwards and cleared outwards from and to places within the limits of the East-India Company's Charter, from 1st January to 30th September, in the years 1843 and 1844, that in the latter year the entries have increased as follows, viz.:—In London, from 417 vessels, of 173,461 tons, to 425 vessels, of 175,714 tons; in Liverpool, from 126 vessels, of 56,175 tons, to 142 vessels, of 60,496 tons; and in Bristol and Hull, from 11 vessels, 3,956 tons, to 14 vessels, 4,897 tons. The Scotch ports shew a decrease, from 38 vessels, of 13,864 tons, to 37 vessels, of 12,955 tons; leaving, however, a total increase of 26 vessels, of 6,603 tons, arising from an extension of trade with China, Manilla, New South Wales, Bombay, the Cape, and Mauritius. The clearances shew an increase, during the same period, out of London, from 303 vessels, of 128,867 tons, to 371 vessels, of 154,878 tons; out of Liverpool, from 190 vessels, of 72,724 tons, to 252 vessels, of 95,943 tons; out of Bristol and Hull, from 3 vessels, of 707 tons, to 24 vessels, of 7,014 tons; out of Scotch ports, from 118 vessels, 43,492 tons, to 134 vessels, of 51,247 tons; giving a total increase of 167 vessels, of 56,794 tons, principally to Calcutta, Bombay, the Cape, and Mauritius. Besides the foregoing, 90 vessels, of 31,145 tons, have, during the present year, cleared out professedly in the guana trade.

The accounts received from Dr. Wolff are of a somewhat mixed character, being calculated, on the one hand, to encourage a hope of speedy release, on the other to impress the belief that his captivity may still be a protracted one. On the 27th June, the reverend gentleman writes from Bokhara to the effect that, though the King had frequently promised to send him with an ambassador to England, he was in great danger, and could not stir out of his house. By Dil Hassan Khan, his professed friend, he had been deceived and robbed, so that his sole dependence was on the Persian Ambassador. He says—"The Ameet is now at Samarcand, and I am here awaiting the most fatal orders from the King daily to reach me. It is true that poor Stoddart professed openly Christianity, after he had made a forced profession of Mahomedanism. Do for me what you can, as far as the honour of England is not compromised. All the

inhabitants wish that either Russia or England should take the country. Do not believe any former reports of my speedy departure, for I am in great danger." Simultaneously with the foregoing, or nearly so, was received the following, dated Bokhara, 1st August:—

"To all the Monarchs of Europe.—Sires,—I set out for Bokhara to ransom the lives of two officers, Stoddart and Conolly; but both of them were murdered many months previous to my departure, and I do not know whether or not this blood of mine will be spilt. I do not supplicate for my own safety; but, monarchs, 200,000 Persian slaves, many of them people of high talent, sigh in the kingdom of Bokhara. Endeavour to effect their liberation, and I shall rejoice in the grave, that my blood has been the cause of the ransom of so many human beings. I am too much agitated, and watched besides, to be able to write more.

"JOSEPH WOLFF."

Other accounts have since been received of a more encouraging character; but as some of them bear date rather prior to the foregoing, they are not of so much importance, unless we can presume that the letter purporting to bear date 1st August was in fact written on 1st July, or subsequently in the same month, but prior to the 25th, upon which day Dr. Wolff writes:—"The Ameer has returned from Bokhara, and presented me with a dress of honour, a horse, and 130 tomanas, and I hope to set out in a few days for Persia." This is confirmed by a letter from the Persian Ambassador at Bokhara, dated 23rd July, forwarded through Col. Shiel, in which he says he expects to bring Dr. Wolff away in about eight days; and there are also letters from the Doctor to Lady Georgiana Wolff, dated 29th July, and August (no day specified), to the effect that he had received a present from the Ameer of a horse, a silver bridle, a robe of honour, and ninety ducats, and expected to set out in a few days, but had not had his audience of leave.

A correspondent of the *Times*, October 11th, states the following strange occurrence:—"The ship *Moffatt* arrived from Bombay on Saturday, and the passengers landed in almost a dying state. It appears from a statement made by two of the sufferers, who are officers in the army, and are come home on sick leave, that they were all tolerably well up to their arrival at St. Helena, where, as is customary, they took on board fresh water, and in a few days after leaving that island, they were all seized with violent pains and vomiting, which continued daily up to their arrival in England. Their gums became black, and the under part of the tongue black. No one, not even the doctor, who equally suffered with the captain and his wife, could account for it; but there is no doubt that their illness was caused by the water, and it appears the water is run into a copper tank at St. Helena, from which the casks are filled alongside. There is no doubt, therefore, that the poison is imbibed from this copper tank, and it behoves the authorities immediately to order its removal, and replace it with an iron one. I saw the two young officers this day, suffering the most dreadful agony. I should be glad to hear from the passengers of other ships from India, whether they have been like sufferers by the St. Helena water, in order that a proper representation may be laid before government, which there is no doubt the captain and the owners of the *Moffatt* will feel it necessary to do." An analysis of the water has since taken place, but no appearance of copper is detected.

On the 10th of November, the Act passed in July last, to alter the duty on sugars, will come into operation. The several duties to be paid are set forth in the statute with the enactments respecting the importations of sugar from

China, Java, or Manila, or from the British possessions. By the third section, her Majesty, by an order in Council, may declare, with respect to any foreign country or countries, that it having appeared to her Majesty, from sufficient evidence, that the sugars of such countries are not the produce of slave labour, such sugars shall (from and after a day to be named in such order) be deemed and taken not to be the produce of slave labour, and from and after the day named the brown Muscovado or clayed sugar (not being refined) of the countries mentioned in such order shall be admissible to entry for home consumption at the duty of 1*l*. 1*s*. the cwt., with 3 per cent. additional. Certificates and declarations from masters of ships are to be required respecting the growth of sugars.

The Dutch are nettled at the attempts made to depreciate the Java tea. "If," says a Dutch paper of October 9th, "as appears by letters from Calcutta, the competition with Java indigo, which, on account of its good quality compared with other indigos, begins to alarm the indigo merchants at Calcutta, our trade in Java tea begins, in like manner, to alarm the Chinese tea merchants; and they can find no better means to disparage it in the opinion of the consumer, than to deny it the good qualities which are acknowledged in Europe. Thus the *Singapore Free Press*, of the 2nd of May last, says—'In 1842, Java tea was sold at such a low price, that it seems to be hardly worth while to cultivate it,' and concludes with affirming that the cultivation of Java tea has completely disappointed the expectations that had been conceived of it. The spirit of rivalry is but too manifest in this article; and accordingly M. Jurobron, inspector-general of the tea plantation in Java, has victoriously refuted the assertion of the *Singapore Free Press*. So long as the Chinese tea had no rival, people were obliged to make use of it: thus congo has been sold for souchong, the latter for pekoe, and teas have been found to be injurious to health. Not long ago, specimens of Chinese teas, having been chemically analyzed, were found to contain deleterious ingredients, and this is the case with almost all the green teas of China."

A new "outrage" has occurred at Tahiti. Her Majesty's ketch *Basilisk*, a very small and lightly armed craft, is the only ship of war that has for some months past been present in the waters of Tahiti for the protection of British interests. France in the meanwhile has had there no less than three frigates, a steamer, and a corvette. On the 4th of April, an English corvette, the *Hazard*, arrived off Tahiti, with despatches, and sent in her boat a four-oared cutter, with an officer, Lieutenant Rose, and crew, to convey them to the shore. The boat was boarded, on her return, by a large armed galley, containing a crew of twenty-four men, from one of the French frigates in the bay. The English officer was made prisoner, detained three hours, and then liberated. An apology was afterwards sent by the French admiral to the commander of the *Basilisk*, the *Hazard* having previously proceeded on her voyage.

Military.—Her Majesty has been pleased to permit Col. Shelton, of the 44th reg., to accept and bear the insignia of the second class of the Order of the Douranee Empire, conferred upon him by his late Majesty, Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, for distinguished services in Afghanistan.

The 16th Lancers, which have served in India since 1822, are to be relieved in the course of next year by the 10th Hussars. The 2nd and 40th regts. have been ordered to re-commence recruiting. The following have sailed, viz.—Ena. Hood, 3rd reg., on board the *Windsor*, for Calcutta; Capt. Bell, 4th

reg., on board the *Lady Flora*, for Madras; Lieut. Blackall,* 22nd reg., Lieut. Coventry, 29th reg., 35 men 58th reg., and 15 men 99th reg., on board the *Hyderabad*, convict ship, for Norfolk Island; Capt. Thompson, 58th reg., Lieut. Drought, 68nd reg., and 32 men 58th reg., on board the *Sir John Seymour*, convict ship, for Van Diemen's Land.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

War Office, Sept. 27. 22nd Foot.—Capt. T. White, from 42nd Foot, capt., v. Goldie, exc.

30th.—Lieut. Æ. W. Fraser, capt., v. J. Blackall, ret. on f.-p.; Ens. H. D. Gaynor, lieut., v. Fraser; G. Wolfe, ens., v. Gaynor.

51st.—Brev.-lieut.-col. C. Pepper, h.-p., 27th Foot, capt., v. H. C. C. Somerset, exc.; Lieut. A. J. W. Northey, capt., prom., v. Pepper; Ens. D. Stephenson, lieut., prom., v. Northey; G. W. Drought, ens., prom., v. Stephenson.

Ceylon Rifle Reg.—Sec.-lieut. J. A. Layard, first-lieut., prom., v. Kelson, whose promotion has been cancelled; Lieut. R. Hartman, h.-p., 96th Foot, first-lieut., v. Stewart, prom.; Sec.-lieut. W. H. Kelson, first-lieut., prom., v. Hartman; L. A. Forbes, sec.-lieut., prom., v. Kelson.

Oct. 4. 17th Foot.—Ens. H. P. Onslow, from 38th Foot, ens., v. Belton, whose app. has been cancelled.

31st.—Lieut. F. Spence, capt., v. Brev.-major Urmston, dec.; Ens. J. S. Gould, lieut., v. Spence; Ens. C. T. Cormick, lieut., v. Gould, whose promotion on 23rd July has been cancelled; E. W. Kingsley, ens., v. Cormick.

57th.—Ens. J. H. Chads, lieut., prom., v. Morphett, app. to 53rd Foot; Ens. R. T. S. Boughton, lieut., v. Pitt, app. to 80th Foot; J. Hassard, ens., v. Chads; E. J. B. Brown, ens., v. Boughton.

Oct. 8. 3rd Foot.—Ens. W. Howard, from 43rd Foot, lieut., prom., v. Handfield.

31st.—Maj. John Byrne, lieut.-col., p., v. Van Cortlandt; Brev.-maj. G. Baldwin, maj. p., v. Byrne; Lieut. R. J. Eager, capt., p., v. Baldwin; Ens. J. Brenchley, Neut., p., v. Eager; H. C. Smith, ens. p., v. Brenchley.

63rd.—Lieut. J. Thorp, paym. v. R. Lane, who retires on h.-p.

Oct. 11. 4th Foot.—Capt. G. T. Hume, from h.-p., capt., v. C. S. Teale, exch. rec. dif.; Lieut. R. Hawkes, capt., p., v. Hume; Ens. J. Hallows, lieut., p., v. Hawkes; G. H. Twenlow, ens., p., v. Hallows.

22nd.—Brev. Lieut.-Col. R. Croker, from h.-p., capt., v. W. B. Kelly; Lieut. E. Dunbar, capt., p., v. Croker; Ens. W. H. Budd, lieut., p., v. Dunbar; W. T. De Wilton, ens., p., v. Budd.

63rd.—Lieut. W. Howard, from 3rd foot, lieut., v. Thorp, app. paymaster.

Brevet.—Capt. G. T. Hume, 4th foot, major in the army.

Oct. 22nd. 11th Reg. Foot.—Maj. J. C. Harold, from 74th foot, major v. Fordyce, exc.

29th.—Lieut. B. M'Kenzie, from 40th foot, capt., v. Durbin, dec.

39th.—Lieut. E. Croker, adj., v. Munro, prom. in 96th foot. To be lieuts.: Ens. S. G. Newport, v. Croker, app. adj.; Ens. H. D. Gaynor, v. Newport, whose prom. on 2nd August has been cancelled; Ens. L. Farrington, v. Gaynor, whose prom. on 27th Sept. has been cancelled. To be ensign: J. Agnew, gent., v. Farrington.

40th.—Ens. W. C. O'Brien, lieut., v. M'Kenzie, prom. in 29th foot; Serg. H. Baxter, ens., v. O'Brien.

45th.—Lieut. D. W. Tench, capt., v. Lewis, dec.; Ens. G. A. C. Kippen, lieut., v. Tench; Serg.-Major J. Morley, ens., v. Kippen.

86th.—Lieut. W. Munro, from 39th foot, capt., v. Halliday, dec.

Ceylon Rifle Regiment.—Lieut. J. Bradley, from 44th foot, first lieut., v. B. Fenwick, exc.

Memorandum.—The commission of Lieut. Thackwell, as adjutant to the 22nd foot, has been antedated to the 23rd February, 1844.

OBITUARY.

Mr. William Huttman.—The death of this very able Chinese scholar, and the consequent loss of the stores of philological knowledge which he had accumulated during thirty years' application to the Chinese, Japanese, Mandchoo, and Mongolian languages, may be regarded as a public calamity. His history affords an example of the success with which patient industry and perseverance may oppose adverse circumstances.

Mr. Huttman was born in London on the 9th March, 1792. He was destined to be a missionary, and this was the original cause of his studying the language of China, intended to be the scene of his labours. So successful was his application to this difficult tongue (for which at that time there were few helps, Dr. Morrison's Dictionary being yet unpublished), that, with the assistance of a native, at the early age of twenty-two, he could translate from it into English. The death of his father, in straitened circumstances, induced him to relinquish his intention of entering upon the career of a missionary, and, with a very commendable feeling, to employ his energies in contributing to the support of the younger branches of his family. He gradually extended his knowledge of languages till it embraced the following:—Chinese, Japanese, Mandchoo, Mongolian, Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindustani, Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, and Dutch. With the first three of these tongues he was especially familiar; and during the time he was acquiring them, and reading Chinese and Japanese works, he was struggling with narrow means, and emerging from those encumbrances under which the progress of merit is proverbially slow. He found time, however, for writing, and in 1820 he was instrumental in bringing out the *Annals of Oriental Literature*, the repository of many valuable papers, several of which were contributed by him, particularly a curious account of the Chinese army. When the *Asiatic Journal* commenced, he became a contributor to it; and amongst other articles furnished by him in its early numbers is one on the cultivation of tea, which was found useful in the experiments made to introduce the plant into the British territories in India. About the year 1828, his acquirements in Oriental philology recommended him to the Royal Asiatic Society, which appointed him assistant secretary; and on the formation of the Oriental Translation Fund, he was nominated its secretary. He retained both these situations till 1830 or 1831. About this time, unhappily, he became connected, as a part proprietor, with a newspaper called the *World*, which was the organ of a class of dissenters to which Mr. Huttman himself (we believe) belonged, called the Congregational Dissenters, and shortly after he became its sole proprietor and editor. This speculation absorbed not only his time but his money, and plunged him into pecuniary embarrassments, from which he never entirely extricated himself. Amongst its evil consequences was the dissolution of his connection with the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mr. Huttman had now to recommence life, at the age of forty, with a young family. His skill as an oriental linguist, which was great, and his acquirements in Chinese and Japanese literature, which were extensive, unfortunately yielded him few pecuniary resources: he gave instruction in these tongues, and he was employed occasionally by the East-India Company and by missionary institutions in the translation of documents. He still continued his contributions to periodical works; and he may, perhaps, claim the merit of having, in a letter published in the *Literary Gazette*, made suggestions which led to the institution of the Royal Geographical Society. During the letter

months of his life he was employed in translating the New Testament into Chinese for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Mr. Huttman was twice married; he lost his second wife but a few months ago. He has left seven children, three of whom, under eight years of age, without father or mother, are totally unprovided for. He died on the 5th October, of inflammation of the lungs, occasioned by a severe cold.

Mr. William Sprott Boyd.—William Sprott Boyd, Esq., late political commissioner in Guzerat and resident at Baroda, died at Surat, on the 13th August. He had for some time previous been unwell, and had stopped at Surat, on his way down to Bombay. Had he lived, it was his intention to have proceeded to England by the steamer which was to leave on the 27th. The intellectual powers of the late Mr. Boyd were of a superior order, and his acquirements very extensive. He was well read, and intimately acquainted with the political state of India; and his knowledge of the habits and customs of the natives generally so excellent, that he frequently brought it to bear with much facility and effect. In his public character he was prompt and decisive; in whatever capacity he was serving the Government, whether as collector, commissioner, secretary, or resident, he was beloved by all his inferiors, and the name of Boyd was never spoken of by them but with respect and admiration. In his private character, he was frank, upright, full of honourable feeling, generous, affable and unostentatious, and was universally esteemed by all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His memory will be held in veneration while Bombay is in existence. In him, we may most truly say, the Government have lost an able and zealous servant, the native community a kind and considerate protector, and society a bright and distinguished ornament. We append a slight notice of the different grades through which the deceased gentleman passed during his residence in India:—Assistant to the chief secretary and to the sub-treasurer, 1819; acting under the commissioner in the Deccan, 1820; 2nd-assistant to the collector and magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 1822; 1st-assistant to the same, 1827; officiating collector and magistrate in the Northern Conkan, 1829; collector and magistrate of Candeish, 1830; collector and magistrate of Belgaum, 1838; acting secretary to Government in the Persian department, 1839; political commissioner in Guzerat and resident at Baroda, 1840.—*Bombay Gentleman's Gazette.*

Dr. James Jephson.—Dr. James Jephson, assistant-surgeon Bombay army, died, August 12th, of inflammation of the bowels, at the Lunatic Asylum, Colabah, of which he was surgeon. Dr. Jephson arrived in India in the year 1835, and had only very lately been appointed to succeed Dr. Barrington, as surgeon of the Lunatic Asylum. He was previously civil surgeon at Broach. After a visit to his friends in England, he returned to Bombay in the beginning of 1840. Wherever he went—at home or abroad—James Jephson was a general favourite. Long and intimately have we known him, and never have we heard a syllable of malignity or ill-will towards living creature breathed by our departed friend. He was superior to professional jealousy; envied no man his reputation, and left not an enemy behind him. Dr. Jephson, in obtaining the appointment of surgeon to the Lunatic Asylum, had attained an object of (to him) great ambition. He had long theorized on the various phases of insanity, and thought he could, if opportunities offered, have practically benefited the unhappy afflicted inmates of the Asylum. His mind,

up to the time of his death, was filled with projects for ameliorating the condition of his patients, and trying the gentlest systems and means for their recovery.—*Bombay Courier*.

Rev. G. M. Valentine.—This respected clergyman, whose death took place from cholera, on the 23rd July, was much esteemed, especially by the pupils in the Money School, whose education he superintended. He was the son of the Rev. Mr. Valentine, chaplain of Ilchester gaol, and curate of a respectable living in Somersetshire, not far from the gaol. He had two sons; one is still living in the exercise of his profession (a surgeon), eight miles from Ilchester; the other, who was at an early period destined for the church, received the elements of his education in the village grammar school where his father resided, and in the beginning of 1838 quitted England to labour amongst the heathen in connection with the Church Missionary Society. In this good work Mr. Valentine continued until summoned to appear before the Author of his being. He will doubtless be long and deeply remembered by all who regarded the humble and sincere Christian labourer.—*Ibid.*

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

SEP. 27.—*Thetis*, Bengal, Penzance.—**30.** *Minerva*, China, Cork; *Anne Jane*, China, Falmouth.—**OCT. 2.** *Penyard Park*, Sydney, Dartmouth; *Carnatic*, Madras, Downs; *Prince of Waterloo*, and *Courier*, Bengal, Corea, Bombay, Liverpool.—**3.** *Gannet*, New South Wales, Falmouth.—**4.** *Planet*, Ceylon, Portsmouth; *Ann Martin*, *Panthea*, *Lucy Wright*, *Nina*, Bombay; *Duncan*, *Baboo*, *Laidmans*, *Robert Henderson*, *Tigres*, Bengal; *Sir Robert Sale*, Bengal; *Canopus*, China; *Ophelia* and *Anne*, Ceylon; *Seringapatam*, Madras; *Platina*, Port Philip, Downs; *H.M.S. Clio*, Bombay, Portsmouth; *Kinnear*, Hobart Town, Portsmouth; *Mary*, Bombay; *Nautilus*, China; *John Hullett*, Mauritius; *Buteshire* and *Vanguard*, Bengal, Downs; *Tyne*, Port Philip, Torbay; *Agnes Ewing* and *Hops*, Bombay; *Sabina*, Singapore; *Manilla*, Bengal; *Flowers of Ugie*, Madras, Liverpool; *Cape Packet*, Madras; *John Knor*, Batavia, Hastings.—**5.** *Adelaide*, Bombay; *Warlock*, Bengal.—**7.** *Arachne*, Sydney; *Maria*, Bengal; *Richmond*, Algoa Bay; *Wasdale*, Mauritius; *Birman*, *Brahmin*, and *Pearl*, Bengal; *Moffat* and *Lady Kennaway*, Bombay; *Arachne*, Sydney, Downs; *Maria*, Bengal, Downs; *Richmond*, Algoa Bay, Gravesend; *Wasdale*, Mauritius, Brixham; *Birman* and *Pearl*, Bengal; *Brahmin*, China; *Moffatt* and *Lady Kennaway*, Bombay, Downs; *Bolivar*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Lord Lyndoch*, Bombay, Portland; *Onyx*, South Seas, Downs; *Waterloo* and *William*, Batavia, Downs, Lowe; *Van Nyenstern*, Batavia, Portland; *Cheverell*, Bombay, Torr Roads.—**8.** *Patriot King*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Chimera*, Coast of Africa, Liverpool; *Grafton*, Ceylon, Falmouth.—**10.** *Schiller*, Batavia, Salcombe.—**11.** *Jane Catherine*, Ceylon, Downs; *Candahar*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Royal Consort*, Batavia, Cowes.—**12.** *Agri-cola*, Bengal, Downs; *Ocean Queen*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Northumberland*, Bombay, Downs; *General Chasse*, Batavia, Portsmouth.—**14.** *Zemindar*, Bengal, Downs; *Morning Star*, Ceylon, Falmouth; *Nersid*, Batavia, Downs; *William Abrams*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Bucephalus*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Duchess of Leinster*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**15.** *Cecelia*, Port Philip, Downs; *Jane Geary*, Mauritius, Downs; *Frances Ann*, Singapore, Margate; *Monarch*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Kent*, South Seas, Downs.—**16.** *Symmetry*, Ceylon, Downs; *Hindoo*, China, Downs; *Curlew*, Algoa Bay, Scilly.—**17.** *Bangalore*, China, Downs; *Vigilant*, Singapore, Downs; *Circassian*, Batavia, Portsmouth; *Buenos Ayrien*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**18.** *Berkshire*, Bombay; *John Catrin*, Bombay; *Duchess of Argyll* and *Hong Kong*, Bengal; *Caroline*, Madras; *Brothers*, South Seas, Downs.—**19.** *Letitia*, Bengal, Downs, Falmouth; *Cre-*

mons, New South Wales, Downs.—21. *Isabella Watson*, Bengal, Downs; *W.L. Stoveld*, New South Wales, Gravesend; *Philopontas*, Bombay; *Edward*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Dalmarnock*, Singapore, Downs, Falmouth.—24. *John Fleming*, Bengal, Start.

DEPARTURES.

From Liverpool.—SEPT. 28. *Litherland*, Shanghai; *Swithamley*, Hong Kong.—29. *Reliance*, Bombay; *John Moore*, Bombay; *Richard*, Mauritius.—OCT. 8. *Archer*, Earl Grey, and *Malabar*, Bengal.—10. *Norfolk*, Batavia; *Petaline*, Calcutta; *Competitor*, Bombay; *Hamilton Ross*, Cape.—12. *William Campbell*, Ceylon.—16. *Sarah Louisa*, Shanghai.—20. *Pearl*, Otaheite; *Eliak*, New South Wales; *Scotia* and *The Duke*, Bengal; *Isabella* and *Amy*, Madras.—21. *Royalist*, Cape; *Valere*, Shanghai; *Medina* and *Isabella*, Singapore.—22. *Thomas Worthington*, Shanghai; *Carib*, Singapore.—OCT. 9. *Matthew King*, Cape.—17. *Romeo*, Bengal; *Glasgow*, Madras and Moulmein.—18. *Persian*, Ceylon and Madras.—19. *Mount Stewart Elphinstone*, Bombay; *Lucinda*, Bombay.—20. *Herald*, Cork and Sydney.

From the Downs.—SEPT. 27. *Apame*, Algoa Bay; *Lady Flora*, Madras.—28. *Paragon*, Moulmein.—29. *Thomas Blyth*, Mauritius.—30. *Salem*, Bombay.—OCT. 4. *Janet*, Mauritius; *Salem*, Bombay; *Midlothian*, Sydney.—9. *Oriental*, China; *Sir Charles Napier*, Bombay; *Parkfield*, Port Philip.—Remain. *Colombus*, Bombay; *Persia*, Ceylon; *Salem*, Bombay.—7. *Tallentire*, Bordeaux and Bombay.—13. *Kezia*, Ichaboe.—17. *Jim Crow*, Algoa Bay; *Tyrian*, Swansea and Ceylon; *Duchess of Northumberland*, Bombay; *Countess of Minto*, Cape.—21. *Thomas Henry*, Bengal; *Hydrabad*, Norfolk Island; *Invincible*, Bengal.—23. *Indemnity*, Cape.

From Portsmouth.—OCT. 4. *Windsor*, Bengal.—*Oriental*, China.—21. *Staines Castle*, New Zealand.—24. *General Hewitt*, Sydney.

From off Hastings.—OCT. 8. *Duke of Wellington* (of Dundee), *Duncan*, from Frith of Forth, to Calcutta.

From Cowes.—OCT. 22. *Salem*, Bombay; *Lady of the Lake*, Colombo and Kurrachee.

From Torbay.—OCT. 5. *Emily*, Madras.

From Falmouth.—OCT. 16. *Jannet*, Mauritius.—17. *Columbus*, Bombay; *Persia*, Ceylon.

From Portland.—OCT. 23. *Sir Charles Napier*, Bombay.

From Milford.—OCT. 20. *Princess Royal*, Cape and China.

From Bristol.—SEPT. 25. *Anna*, Mauritius.—28. *Clifton*, Bengal.—OCT. 17. *Gambia*, Africa.

From Newport.—OCT. 18. *Bombay*, Ceylon.

From Gloucester.—OCT. 21. *Indian*, Cape.

From Cork.—OCT. 21. *Richard Cobden*, China.

From the Clyde.—SEPT. 26. *Potentate*, Singapore; *Commodore*, Bengal; *John Gray*, Bombay.

From Leith.—OCT. 14. *Catherine Jamieson*, New South Wales.

From Bordeaux.—OCT. 11. *Melville*, Mauritius; *Prince Albert*, Bengal.—12. *Psyche*, Mauritius.

From Hamburg, OCT. 11. *Rachel*, Bombay.

From Newcastle.—OCT. 4. *Oliver Branch*, Aden.

From Newport.—SEPT. 25. *Palmurus*, Aden.

PASSENGERS TO THE EAST.

Per *Oriental*, from Southampton to Alexandria. For Calcutta—Mrs. Scal-

lan, two ladies, one gentleman, 15 years; Mrs. Dickens and sister, Mrs. Millett and servant, Miss Thompson, Mrs. Frith, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Beale, Mrs. Panting, Mrs. Greenaway, servant, and child; Miss Lloyd, niece, and nephew, from Suez; Mrs. Goodwyn and friend, Mr. and Mrs. Weitbrech and servant, Col. Hawks, Mr. and Mrs. Cawie, Lieut.-col. Taylor, Mrs. Fulton, Ens. Hewett, Mr. Law, from Suez; Lieut. Sewell, from Gibraltar; Mr. and Mrs. Stroud, Mr. and Mrs. Macarthur, Gen. Considine, Col. Burroughs, Mrs. Bellairs, Mr. Owen, from Suez; Mr. Burgess, from Suez; Messrs. Walker, Mackenzie, J. A. Dorn, W. H. Frith, Paton, Ogilvy, Forbes, Princep, Turnbull, Richardson, Wedderburn, Boyle, J. Smith, Paull, Geidt, Greathed, Hutchinson, Fulton, Matheson, Congreve, Fraser, P. Johnson, H. Jenkins, Church, Mackinlay, Ilbery, Spence, W. Peel, Heming, Kershaw, Altares, C. Mackintosh, Stephen, Ballard, Bardelio, Cohen, Smoult. For Ceylon—Mr. and Mrs. Wright, Maj. Macpherson, Messrs. Llewellyn, H. Peel, Forrby, J. A. Ker. For Madras—Capt. and Mrs. Hill, Mr. and Mrs. Strachan, Miss Home and servant, Capt. Biddle, Messrs. Murray, Corbet, T. Blane, Biggs, Key, R. Ellis, Louzada. For Alexandria—Miss Dunsterville, Mr. and Mrs. Dennis, Capt. A. Knyvett, Capt. F. Knyvett, Meer Jafur Ali Khan, secretary, and four servants; Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Allen, Miss Worthington, Messrs. Scott, F. Blane, Roberts, Hart, A. Forbes, Macqueen. For Malta and Madras—Capt. and Mrs. Shaw. For Malta—Mr. Warner, Mr. Storer, from Gibraltar. For Aden—Mr. and Mrs. Scott.

Per Queen, to Bengal.—Capt. and Mrs. Hull, Miss Stacy, Mrs. Howe, Miss Evershed, Miss Robertson, Mrs. Cope, Miss Robinson, Miss Graham, Capt. and Mrs. Burroughs, Mr. Best, Capt. and Mrs. Baker, Misses Hurd, Miss Smith, Misses Parker, Capt. Barstow, Lieut. H. Bartley, Lieut. Tulloch, Drs. Mackey and Middleton, Officers of Troops, Messrs. White, Clifford, Ballard, Twisden, Haydon, T. Alexander, Limond, Parker, Harrison, Miller, Griffiths, Stewart, and Johnson.

Per Trus Briton, to Cape and Madras.—Mrs. Gen. Riddell, Capt. and Mrs. Fowler, Misses Fullerton and Ross, Lieuts. Atkinson and Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Nesbit, Mrs. Oakes and child, Capt. Evans and Lady, Cape; Mr. Proctor two Queen's officers, to the Cape; Mr. Gregory, Mr. McIntire, Cape; Mr. J. W. Butcher, Cape; Mrs. Lawrence, Cape; Mrs. McBean.

Per Carnatic, from Cork to Bombay.—Lieut. and Mrs. Goodwin, Mrs. and Miss Luard, Lieut. Christie, Col. Nisbett, Mrs. Hockin, Capt. Treasure, Major and Mrs. Murray, Mr. and Mrs. Ibrahim, Lieut. and Mrs. Hook, Mrs. Hyne, Miss Langton, and officers with troops.

Per Mohawk, to China.—Mr. Meadows.

Per Scotia, to Madras and Bengal.—Lieut. Balingall, Capt. Fisher, Capt. Mage, Ens. Pratt, Ens. Dayley, Mr. T. Hoppe.

Per Diana, to Madras.—Lieut. Ahmuty, Capt. Higginbotham, Ens. Harris, Ens. D. G. Gamble, 4th K. O. reg.

Per John Line, to Madras.—Col. Green and lady, Miss Harper, Messrs. Roberts, Harper, and Ford.

Per Lady Flora, to Madras.—Capt. Wm. Bell, Mrs. Bell, two children, Mr. and Mrs. Greenway.

Per Persia, to Ceylon.—Lieuts. Tattersall and Graham, Mr. and Mrs. Gavan, Miss Fitzmaurice, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and two children, Messrs. Manby, Turner, Turner, jun., John Carey, Hutchinson, and Frazer.

Per Windsor, to Bengal, sailed from Portsmouth 4th Oct.—Mrs. Furnell, Capt. and Mrs. Carter, H. M. S.; Mr. C. R. Lindsay, writer; Dr. Davies, H. C. S.; Cornet Clifton, drgs.; Dr. and Mrs. Sill, Dr. Anderson, Thos. Tardrew, Ens. Hood, Mr. Boldero, W. W. Foord, volunteer H. C. marine; Mr. David Kay, free mariner; Mr. Jas. Kay, Mr. Smith, Mr. Taylor.

Per Parkfield, to Cape and Port Philip.—Mr. and Miss Highbett, Mr. Henry Sewell, Mr. Burchett, Mr. and Mrs. Corder, two daughters and two sons; Mr.

and Mrs. Edwards, three children and servant; Mr. Palmer, Mr. H. von Ronn, Messrs. Sedgley, Taylor, Seldon, and Scott.

Per *Duchess of Northumberland*, to Bombay.—Lieut. Wallace, lady, and child; Lieut. and Mrs. Ducat, Lieut. and Mrs. Const, Miss Green, Dr. J. E. Stocks.

Per *Sir Charles Napier*, to Bombay.—Ens. G. P. Morrison, Stuart, and Barclay; H. M. Pengelley, W. R. Garnet, Mr. Parry, Mr. Jall.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Sept. 22. At Lauriston, Kincardineshire, the lady of R. Lyall, Esq., daughter.

23. At Notting-hill, the lady of F. W. Medley, Esq., daughter.

— At Greenwich, Mrs. G. Busk, daughter.

24. At Grosvenor-square, the Hon. Mrs. C. Stanley, daughter.

— At Leicester, the lady of Capt. J. D. Hallett, D.A.C.G., Bombay army, son.

26. At St. James's-place, the lady of W. Cripps, Esq., M.P., son.

27. At Maida Vale, the lady of J. Lamb, Esq., son.

Oct. 2. At Liverpool, the lady of H. C. Chapman, Esq., son.

3. At Hyde Park, the lady of Capt. W. S. Moorsom, daughter.

— At Louth Hall, Lady Louth, daughter.

— At Montreal, Seven Oaks, Viscountess Holmesdale, son.

5. At East Brent, the Hon. Mrs. Wm. Towry Law, daughter.

7. At Glevring, the Lady Huntingfield, daughter.

8. At Clifton-place, the lady of Frederick Trower, Esq., daughter.

9. At Bowdell, Sussex, the lady of Capt. Chester, 90th light infantry, daughter.

12. At Portland-place, the Countess of March, daughter.

14. At Chatham, the lady of George Bridge, Esq., capt. 3rd bufs, son.

21. At Brighton, the lady of Allan Maclean Skinner, daughter.

22. At Feltham Hill, Middlesex, the lady of Wm. Sheffield, Esq., late Madras civil service, son.

24. At Hatton, Lady Pollock, son.

Lately, at Glenburnie, Mowile, the lady of G. Gough, Esq., Bengal civil service, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 2. At Marylebone, W. Brodie, Esq., Bart., to Maria, daughter of Capt. the Hon. William Waldegrave, R.N.C.B.

— At Broadwater, C. Lushington, Esq., to Julia, widow of late T. Teed, Esq., of the Hurst-house, Moulsey.

— At Inverernan House, Aberdeenshire, Capt. G. F. Stevenson, Col. 18th Royal Irish, to Charles, daughter of late George Forbes, D.D., of Blelack.

3. At Pinner, the Rev. C. A. Fowler, M.A., to Emily Matilda, daughter of Sir W. Milman, Bart., of Pinner-grove.

8. At Edinburgh, W. E. Shearman, 91st Argyleshire Reg., to Agnes Crawford, daughter of the Hon. James Wilson, chief judge of the Mauritius.

10. At Wichnor-park, Hugh Montgomery Campbell, Esq., Royal Scots Greys, to Isabella Matilda, daughter of the Hon. Robert Kennedy, and niece of the Marquess of Ailsa.

— At Taunton, Isaac Bicknell, Esq., of the Hon. East-India Veterinary Service, Bengal, to Helen, eldest daughter of Robert Parsons, Esq., Taunton.

14. At St George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. Frederick Paul Methuen, to Anna Horatio Caroline, daughter of the Rev. John Sandford.

Oct. 22. At Leominster, N. T. Coote, Esq., H.M.'s 22nd Reg., to Rhoda Carleton, daughter of William Holmes, Esq., of Brookfield.

23. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Capt. the Hon. Robert Edward Boyle, Coldstream Guards, son of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, to Georgina, daughter of A. W. Roberts, Esq., of Hill-street, Berkeley-square.

Lately, at Clifton, Capt. William Ashmead Tate, E.I.C.'s Bombay Engineers, to Miss Isabella Prideaux, of Clevedon.

— At Carrickfergus, Capt. Warner, of E.I.C.'s service, to Margaret Urquhart, daughter of John Bowie, Esq.

— G. Forbes, Esq., 5th Light Dragoons, son of Col. Forbes, to Eliza Joanna, daughter of R. Kelly, Esq., of Cleveland Row and of New Ross.

— At St. James's Church West, T. G. Alder, Esq., Lieut.-col. Bengal army, to Mary Ann, relict of late James Watts, Esq., Aberdeen.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, William Jenkins, Esq., H.M.'s Dockyard, Woolwich, to Louisa Sophia, daughter of late Hon. Sir William Oldnall, Russell, Chief Justice of Bengal.

— At Edinburgh, Francis Newcombe Maltby, Esq., Madras civil service, to Mary Howard, daughter of the late Lieut. Col. James Michael, H.E.I.C.'s service.

24. At Sutton Veney, Edmund Sharpe, Esq., Bengal artillery, to Fanny, daughter of Rev. William D. Thring, D.D., rector of Sutton Veney.

— At Paddington, the Rev. Charles Edward Gray, M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford, to Adeline Geraldine, daughter of Sir Herbert Compton, of Hyde-park Gardens.

26. At St. Pancras Church, Septimus Vander Wyden Hart, captain 2nd grenadier regiment Bombay N.I., son of the late Charles Hart, Esq., of Kensington-gore, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Thomas Joshua Platt, Esq., one of her Majesty's counsel.

DEATHS.

July 2. At sea, near the Cape of Good Hope, Mrs. Louisa Mary Duce, widow of late Mr. John Duce, H.E.I.C.'s Bengal marine.

Sept. 19. At Goderich, Upper Canada, Henry Hyndman, Esq., Sheriff of the Huron District, son of late Col. H. Hyndman, H.E.I.C.'s service.

20. On board the *Buteshire*, near St. Helena, Lieut. Hastings D'Oyly Baillie, Bengal artillery, son of G. Baillie, Esq., late Bengal medical establishment.

21. At Madeira, Lieut. James Gordon Caulfield, son of Major-gen. Caulfield.

26. At Lambeth, Elizabeth, wife of J. Pittar, Esq.

Oct. 1. At Naples, Ellen, daughter of late Capt. A. N. M'Donald, Bengal army.

2. At Southborough, Eliza, widow of the late Major Gavin Young, judge advocate general of the Bengal army.

— At Bedale Hall, Adm. Sir John Poo Beresford, Bart.

4. Lieut. John Lewis, 48th M.N.I., son of late Rear Adm. Lewis.

— At Leamington, Capt. William Manning, H.C.'s service, of Euston-square.

5. At the East-India House, Mr. James Cummins.

— At Ormeau, the Marquess of Donegal.

— At Tonbridge-street, New-road, Mr. William Huttman, the Chinese and Oriental scholar.

6. At Dublin, Lady Heytesbury.

7. At Upminster Hall, Essex, C. E. Branfell, Esq., late capt. 3rd King's Own dragoons.

9. At the Isle of Man, Michael Spencer, Esq., formerly capt. H.M.'s 39th regiment.

Oct. 10. At his house in Finsbury-circus, in his 76th year, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D., vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, and formerly for many years secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

12. At Blenheim, the Duchess of Marlborough.

13. At Pentonville, Mrs. Sarah Thornton, aged 85.

— At Paris, Dr. Wyse, son of late James Wyse, Esq., surgeon Madras establishment.

14. At Chapel-street, Belgrave-square, Col. Sir S. G. Higgins, K.C.H. enquirey to H.R.H. the Duchess of Gloucester.

16. At East Brent, Somersetshire, the Hon. Mrs. William Towry Law.

23. At Ashley House, near Tiverton, Elizabeth Susanna, widow of late Joseph James, esq., H.E.I.C.'s service.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>vid</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (in divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>vid</i> Marseilles.)						
July 6	Aug. 7	(<i>per</i> <i>Sasoeiris</i>) 38	Aug. 18 ..	40	Aug. 18	45
Aug. 5	Sept. 9	(<i>per</i> <i>Atalanta</i>) 35	Sept. 16 ..	42	Sept. 20	47
Sept. 6	Oct. 11	(<i>per</i> <i>Victoria</i>) 35	Oct. 13 ..	37	Oct. 17	41
Oct. 6	Nov. 15	(<i>per</i> <i>Cleopatra</i>) 40	Nov. 21 ..	46	Nov. 24	49
Nov. 4	Dec. 11	(<i>per</i> <i>Berenice</i>) 37	Dec. 17 ..	43	Dec. 20	46
Nov. 15	Dec. 23	(<i>per</i> <i>Akbar</i>) 32	Dec. 30 ..	45	Jan. 1	47
Dec. 6	Jan. 11	(<i>per</i> <i>Atalanta</i>) 36	Jan. 17 ..	42	Jan. 19	44
Jan. 6, 1844 ..	Feb. 11	(<i>per</i> <i>Victoria</i>) 36	Feb. 16 ..	41	Feb. 19	44
Feb. 6	March 13	(<i>per</i> <i>Berenice</i>) 36	March 19 ..	42	March 21	44
March 6	April 8	(<i>per</i> <i>Cleopatra</i>) 33	April 14 ..	42	April 16	41
April 6	May 19	(<i>per</i> <i>Atalanta</i>) 36	May 13* ..	39	May 17*	41
May 6	June 6	(<i>per</i> <i>Victoria</i>) 31	June 14 ..	39	June 15	40
June 7	July 9	(<i>per</i> <i>Sasoeiris</i>) 23	July 16 ..	40	July 17	41
July 8	Aug. 6	(<i>per</i> <i>Akbar</i>) 23	Aug. 12 ..	38		

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *vid* Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and *vid* Marseilles on the evening of the 7th November, if not postponed.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Sept. 7	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Oct. 23	46	Nov. 13 .. (<i>per</i> <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	67
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 .. (<i>per</i> <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	46
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	47
Dec. 1	<i>Sasoeiris</i>	Jan. 5	35	Jan. 13	45
Jan. 1, 1844 ..	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 8	38	Feb. 14	44
Feb. 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	March 8	36	March 13 .. (<i>per</i> <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
March 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	April 5	35	April 9	39
April 1	<i>Victoria</i>	May 5	34	May 11	40
May 1	<i>Berenice</i>	June 5	35	June 11	41
May 20	<i>Cleopatra</i>	July 4	46	July 10	52
June 19	<i>Akbar</i>	Aug. 3	44	Aug. 10 (<i>per</i> <i>Lady Mary Wood</i>)	52
July 31	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Sept. 11	49	Sept. 16	47
Aug. 27	<i>Akbar</i>	Oct. 3	37	Oct. 7	41

* *Per steamer Berenice.*

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Duke of Wellington</i>	560 tons.	Marman ...	W.I. Docks ...	Nov. 2.
<i>Oriental</i>	400	Wardle ...	—	Nov. 10.
<i>Duke of Bronte</i>	423	Payne	—	Nov. 15.
<i>Birman</i>	544	Guthrie ...	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 20.
<i>Ganges</i>	418	Walker ...	E.I. Docks ...	Nov. 25.
<i>Cape Packet</i>	340	Lamb	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 25.
<i>Creasy</i>	756	Moleson ...	E.I. Docks ...	Nov. 26.
<i>Vanguard</i>	347	Garwood...	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 30.
<i>Sir Edward Paget</i>	482	Barclay ...	W.I. Docks ...	Nov. 30.
<i>Zemindar</i>	706	King	—	Nov. 30.
<i>Maria</i>	460	Lonsdale...	—	—
<i>Lady McNaghten</i>	558	Young.....	—	—

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Curraghmore</i>	381	Ball	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 15.
<i>Carnatic</i>	576	Morice.....	E.I. Docks ...	Nov. 25.
<i>John Fleming</i>	600	Clark	W.I. Docks ...	Dec. 14.
<i>Tartar</i>	600	Gregson ...	E.I. Docks ...	Dec. 26.
<i>Hong-Kong</i>	412	Dodds	W.I. Docks ...	—
<i>Letitia</i>	564	Malcolm ...	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 1.
<i>Plantagenet</i>	806	Domett ...	E.I. Docks ...	Jan. 10.
<i>Madagascar</i>	951	Weller.....	—	Feb. 10.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Pearl</i>	517	Burrows ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec.
<i>Easer</i>	850	Brewer ...	E.I. Docks ...	Jan. 20.
<i>Ann</i>	665	Stevenson..	—	Feb. 1.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Roohery</i>	311	Greig	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 10.
<i>Clara</i>	368	Crow	W.I. Docks ...	Nov. 15.
<i>Bombay</i>	1279	Furley	E.I. Docks ...	Nov. 20.
<i>John Calvin</i>	510	Knox	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 30.
<i>Glenelg</i>	868	Luce	E.I. Docks ...	Dec. 15.
<i>Ann</i>	800	Thorne ...	—	—

FOR CHINA.

<i>Ann Jane</i>	351	Rigby	W.I. Docks ...	Nov. 1.
<i>Bangalore</i>	383	Smith	St. Kat. Docks	Dec. 1.

FOR SINGAPORE.

<i>Passenger</i>	300	Watson ...	Lond. Docks...	—
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FOR CEYLON.

<i>Fortitude</i>	640	Christmas..	W.I. Docks ...	Nov. 15.
<i>Symmetry</i>	450	Mackwood .	—	Dec. 20.
<i>Morning Star</i>	300	Harrison ...	—	Jan. 25.
<i>W. & M. Brown</i> ...	297	Bainton ...	St. Kat. Docks	—

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Nautilus</i>	232	Gibson.....	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 9.
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FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Emily</i>	180	Carrew ...	Lond. Docks...	Nov. 10.
<i>Columbian Packet</i> ...	214	Sampson ...	—	Nov. 25.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. XIV.

EACH successive mail has now for some months brought the agreeable intelligence that the affairs of British India are quietly settling down into their former state of tranquillity. Domestic incidents, matters of purely home interest, are now inviting the attention which has been almost absorbed in the excitement of foreign politics, and wars present or prospective. The real or supposed enemies of the British Government in India are at present too much occupied with their own troubles to menace their powerful neighbour, whose most prudent policy it is, to be, as far as consistent with its own safety, a neutral spectator.

Every account leads us to believe that the Punjab is threatened with a civil war. Preparations have been made, and continue to be making, by Heera Sing at Lahore, and by Goolab Sing at Jumboo, for a conflict of some kind. The general opinion is, that they are competitors, not merely for the direction of affairs, but for the sovereignty of the Sikh state. It would, nevertheless, be consistent with probability, and with the former relations of the nephew and the uncle, to suppose that their preparations have a joint, not a separate, object in view. It is, therefore, highly expedient that a sufficient British force should be ready to meet any sudden demand in that quarter. The reported journey of the Governor-General to the Sutlej, to confer with the Commander-in-Chief, may have a connection with this subject. If it be true, as rumoured, that Rajah Goolab Sing has collected a force of 80,000 men, with 100 guns, the risk of neglecting preparation is serious. On the other hand, the young Rajah Sahib is represented to be enlisting troops, casting cannon, storing ammunition, and strengthening fortresses. These precautions may be merely defensive, or have no other aim than to crush his competitor; but, after all, he may be acting his part in a deep-laid scheme for the overthrow of a power, during the existence of which his own authority must be somewhat precarious, if it should ever exceed the just limitations of his present office.

The Indian journals, however, suspect no insincerity in these two rivals, but regard their meditated conflict as the prelude to an intestine war, that will invite foreign interference. The October summary of the *Bombay Times*, upon this head, says:—

Fresh disturbances have broken out in the Punjab—new tumults have arisen—the nephew seeks the destruction of his uncle—and the *Asiat. Journ.* N.S. Vol. IV. No. 20. Q

vassal has reared the standard of revolt against his feudal lord. Active preparations are being made by all parties, and new revolutions and more bloodshed are daily expected. The authorities on the N.W. frontier, it is said, feel, or profess to feel, uneasiness lest the defeated parties, crossing the Sutlej, should create disturbances in the protected Sikh states, thereby compelling us to interfere in the struggle, and to pacify their distracted country by giving it the advantage of British rule. By the last accounts, Goolab Sing, who has already made immense preparations, is reported to be strengthening himself for the coming struggle with increasing assiduity; he, however, professes a reluctance to engage in hostilities, and has made overtures of reconciliation to Heera Sing. Whether they will be accepted, remains to be seen. Even should they be so, we shall have little faith in an amity so concluded. The widow of the late Rajah Suchet Sing is likewise reported to be organizing an army for the purpose of revenging herself on Heera Sing for the death of her husband.

The *Bombay Courier* takes a similar view of Punjabee politics:—

The Punjab still continues to engross public attention. Recent events in that quarter plainly intimate that our interference in its affairs is not far distant. With all our apparent wish to avoid intermeddling with the Lahore state, matters are progressing that must inevitably terminate in our taking no indifferent share in the political affairs of Lahore. The breach caused between Heera Sing and his uncle, by the death of Suchet Sing, has been widened, and these heads of the Punjab are now at open war with each other. Both parties regard the maharajah as a puppet; and, since we have recognized the latter as the sovereign of the Punjab, we shall doubtless take part in the struggle, if it be only to preserve the integrity of the kingdom, which forms our northern frontier. The Rajah Goolab Sing is aided by the interest of the widow of Suchet Sing, and has taken the field with a large army. He has also written to the European officers discharged from the service of the Lahore state by Heera Sing, and Mr. Brown has already joined him. Should Goolab Sing succeed in gaining any European officers, it is pretty certain that Heera Sing will not be able to sustain the conflict with any chance of success. The minister has declared his uncle, Goolab Sing, a traitor, and mutual reprisals are made by the contending parties. Where and how this will end it requires no seer to foretell.

The condition of Gwalior is so little satisfactory, that some writers anticipate a further interference in the affairs of that state, in order to remodel the constitution, which does not appear to work well. The native authorities established by our means, it is said, are guilty of great oppression towards both zemindars and ryots; intrigues are constantly on foot, and British influence is impotent for good. The civil court of justice established by the instrumentality of our resident has failed, according to report, through the corruption of the

officers; and it would appear, that whatever improvement is attempted by the resident is resisted and balked for the very reason that it is introduced by British influence. Another attempt has been made to murder Ram Rao Phalkea, the head of the Council of Regency. As he was returning home from the palace in his palkee, on the evening of the 4th September, a carbine was discharged at him, and although the minister escaped, two men near his palanquin were severely wounded. The attempt is supposed to have been the premature execution of an extensive and deep-laid plot to get rid of the minister, and to produce a complete revolution. A letter from the Gwalior Lushkur says:—

The time appointed for the execution of the plot was midnight; this being the night of the *Junnum Ushtumee*, it was believed that Ram Rao and the other sirdars would return to their respective quarters at the above hour. From the best accounts, I hear that Ram Rao was pre-informed of this, and excused himself from being detained at the palace, although the Maharaja's mother endeavoured to prevail on him to remain. It is given out that some of the Mahratta chiefs, in connivance with some of the females of the palace, had engaged a number of discharged sepoy to commit this act. This is more than probable, as the men now taken up on suspicion have been forced, through vigorous treatment, to name some influential chiefs, and particularly her highness the Tara Baee. Autma Ram, a discharged havildar of the Maharaj Cumpoo, was apprehended, a few minutes after the attempt on Ram Rao, with a blunderbuss and a brace of pistols about him, seated in a shop in the bazaar. He was immediately bound and taken to Ram Rao's, where he still remains a prisoner. - On the evidence of Autma Ram, it appears that a person named Sheikh Futtoo, a discharged sepoy of the Cumpoo, was the assassin, who, after discharging the contents of his blunderbuss at Ram Rao, thinking that he had done the deed, immediately decamped, and no news to this moment has been heard of him, notwithstanding all the vigilance and promises of high rewards to the person that would produce him. Four men were wounded, two very severely; and it is said that Ram Rao has received a slight scratch in the leg. The doors of the palanquin in which Ram Rao was fired at can now be seen in a shattered state. Upwards of fifty poorbees (Hindustanee sepoy) have been taken up and placed in custody. A proclamation has also been issued prohibiting persons out of employ to have any sort of weapon about them; guards have also been placed in all the avenues and bazaars to detect those out of employ, and all suspicious characters.

The following morning, Sir Richmond Shakespear appeared at the durbar, and it is said "explained fully to the sirdars that it was fortunate for the state that nothing serious had happened to Ram Rao," upon whose character and services he enlarged, as well as upon the negligence or inefficiency of the police.

The young rajah is reported to evince talents and capacity, as well as a good disposition, and to be making rapid progress in the study of the English language. The barbarous rite of suttee, though not provided against, as it should have been, in our new treaty with the Gwalior Government, is likely to be extinguished by the deference which the authorities pay to British feelings on this subject :—

A Bunya having died on the 8th September, the widow offered to burn herself along with the dead body of her husband. This intelligence having reached Ram Rao, he ordered that every means should be adopted to dissuade the widow from such a cruel sacrifice, until he had consulted with Sir Richmond on the affair, as until then he could not give his sanction. Till late in the evening, the relatives of the deceased were all impatience to complete the final ceremonies of the deceased, when a messenger came and told them that the widow would not be allowed to burn, as there were no such injunctions given in any of the commentaries on the sacred laws of the Hindoos, and further that it was the *Sahib log ka hookum*. Sir Richmond really deserves the highest encomiums that humanity can bestow—he has been the means of preserving the life of one, who, but for his humane interference, would have been made a cruel sacrifice; and this I may say, too, without a murmur or the slightest ill-feeling among the inhabitants; on the contrary, the Moslems and Seerowghees (the latter a most influential tribe of bankers) appreciated the discreet use of his power. Ram Rao also deserves great credit for his ready compliance in thwarting so barbarous an act. On the final announcement, the deceased was removed from the house, and the ceremonies completed, to the great satisfaction of many. Thus by a little act a great object of humanity has been gained, which will redound to the name of Sir Richmond; and I am almost confident that we shall never hear of another suttee.

The settlement of Bundelkhand seems as remote as ever. Phulwan Sing, the leader of the banditti, it appears, had entered into a negotiation with Colonel Sleeman, on behalf of his chief, the ex-rajah Pareechut, and himself; but being dissatisfied with the terms proposed, betook himself again to the jungles (whence he had come under a safe-conduct), and a renewal of the disturbances in the province is expected in the cold weather. The ex-rajah of Jeitpore is said to be anxious to come in; and it would, perhaps, be the wisest policy to comply with his demands, which cannot be very exorbitant, since he is really a vagabond, and in hourly peril of capture or betrayal.

The Southern Mahratta country, which has been long in a feverish, unquiet state, has at length become the scene of military operations, the object of which is to reduce two strong hill-forts held by the insurgents, which seem to have been occupied in some force, and well defended by the garrison, said to be Arabs. The leaders

appear to be the subjects of the Rajah of Kolapore, and the revolt is nominally against his authority ; but the outbreak is really directed against the British power. The latest accounts from Bombay mention a rumour that our force, under Colonel Wallace, despatched from Belgaum to coerce the insurgents, had suffered some check ; and one of the papers speaks of a general rising in the country being apprehended. Reinforcements had been ordered to join the force from Vingorla, including a detachment of Queen's troops. The latest date from the scene of operations is the 24th September. It had been expected that the appearance of our force before the walls of the forts would have induced the disaffected Sebundies to accept the terms offered them by the Kolapore authorities. This expectation may have made our commander too confident, and the Arabs are known, from previous instances, to be unflinching and even desperate in their defence of the hill-forts. It is, moreover, said that the Mahratta chiefs consider that right and justice are on their side. This affair does not seem to have any connection with the disturbances which broke out about Dharwar some months ago, and which filled the prisons with persons arrested on account of overt acts or suspicion.

Scinde, politically speaking, is tranquil : "the presence of a large force overawes the disaffected, and prevents any thing like organized insurrection." In Northern Scinde, sickness is said to be on the increase amongst the troops, owing to the subsidence of the river, and the exhalations from the marshy lands. An affair took place on the 23rd August, about thirty miles N.E. of Shikarpore, between a party of the 6th irregular cavalry, under Capt. Mackenzie, and a party of Beloochees, double their number, in which the latter were routed with great slaughter, two hundred being left dead. This spirited affair occurred after a long and harassing march, in the heat of the day, and the Beloochees appear to have fought bravely. The following account of the affair, contained in a private letter (for no official details are published), deserves to be recorded :—

Captain Mackenzie, commanding at Khangur, having received certain information that a party of Belooch horse and foot intended making an inroad into the Meerpoor district, ordered the head-quarters of his corps to turn out, mustering about 250 sabres. This party left Khangur about 5 A.M., under a burning sun, and marched direct to Dil Morad-ke-Gurree, eleven miles distant, a fortress lately occupied by a zemindar of the Government, whose name it bears (this rascal, about a fortnight ago deserted his zemindaree, and joined Shere Mahomed's standard at Poolajee with about forty followers). At this gurree Cap-

tain Mackenzie heard that the enemy amounted to 300 cavalry and 400 foot. The Beloochees had attacked a village called Gooriar, killed two zemindars, and carried off about 1,000 head of cattle from that district. The detachment, shortly after leaving Dil Morad-ke-Gurree, came upon the track of the enemy, but Captain Mackenzie very wisely determined not to follow it into Scinde, but skirted the desert in a quarter where the enemy was expected to return with their booty. After advancing ten miles further, firing was heard to the right, which proved to be the sowars of the 6th irregular cavalry, together with thirty of the mounted police (the strength of the Moobarickpore and Meerpore posts, with police, amounted to eighty men) stationed at the posts of Meerpore and Mobarickpore, who had turned out to attack the invaders; they were keeping up a running fight with the enemy's cavalry, who were retiring before them on their infantry. The object of this manœuvre was to entrap these detachments by feigning to retire, and to get them between their cavalry and infantry; and the chances are that, had the enemy succeeded, very few would ever have reached their posts again; but luckily Mackenzie came up with the Khangur detachment at this moment, and no sooner did the rascals hear the sound of his trumpets, than they made off, leaving their infantry to fight by themselves. Two hundred of their infantry took up their position to receive Mackenzie's detachment, or rather about eighty sowars of them, as there was a reserve of a troop under a native officer (who, by-the-by, did good service, cutting off about fifty of the enemy, who appeared on the right of the main body). As soon as the gallant commanding officer had judged his distance, he gave the word, "trot, canter, charge!" and in a few minutes I believe there was hardly a Belooch to be seen alive. The remainder of their infantry are supposed to have moved off on the first alarm, or, by separating, managed to escape.

The moral effect of this exploit, which reflects much credit upon Capt. Mackenzie and his gallant party, will remove all the ill-consequences arising from one or two recent failures in that quarter. The *Bombay Times*, however, on the faith of a letter from a correspondent "intimately acquainted with Scindian warfare," expresses more than a doubt that the Beloochees cut up by Capt. Mackenzie were friends, not enemies. This suggestion derives some weight from an order of the Governor of Scinde (Sir Charles Napier), in which, whilst he highly compliments Capt. Mackenzie for the brilliancy of his exploit, he disapproves of its policy. A mistake of this kind has been before made, and being difficult of explanation to the irritated tribes who have suffered, tends to convert friends into the bitterest foes. Sir Charles Napier was expected at Sukkur, to organize a light brigade, in order to visit in person Poolajee, the scene of a late disaster, and to scour the neighbouring country.

It is next to impossible to put together a consistent and probable account of the transactions in Afghanistan, where important events seem to be on the eve of accomplishment. An extensive combination of Oosbeg and Tartar chiefs, supported by the Khan of Bokhara, and headed by the Wullee of Khoooloom, is stated to have been formed against Dost Mahomed Khan. The Khan of Bokhara, however, was very recently in amicable intercourse with the Dost, and the Wullee was his intimate friend and coadjutor. What has occurred to estrange them is not apparent. The ruler of Cabul, however, is said to be surrounded with enemies, and his capital is the hotbed of conspiracies. There seems no reason to doubt, from the concurrence of various accounts, that an action has taken place between the Oosbeg invading force and that of Dost Mahomed Khan, near Bameean; the result of the battle is, however, differently reported. With regard to this event, the most important of all, we must be content to wait till the next advices. The mere occupation of these restless chiefs is some advantage to our interests.

The domestic incidents of British India include two of a painful character,—the proceedings against the mutineers of the 64th Bengal N.I., and the riots occasioned by the salt-tax. Of the misguided sepoy of the 64th, thirty-eight have been sentenced by a court-martial to various severe punishments, six of the number being selected for execution. The chief cause of this mutiny appears to have been (according to the order of the Commander-in-Chief), the “disappointment of the men at not receiving a much higher rate of pay than they were entitled to by regulation and the orders of Government; and it is shewn in evidence, that they were promised certain specific advantages. This point,” his Excellency adds, “will form the subject of further serious investigations.” A Court of Inquiry has, accordingly, been held upon Colonel Moseley, but its proceedings have not transpired. “That certain promises, not fulfilled, were held out by Colonel Moseley and other officers of the regiment,” observes the *Bombay Times*, “can scarcely be doubted. Should it appear that the instructions communicated to the former by the adjutant-general of the army were such as to justify their being made, the blame, of course, attaches to a higher authority.” But if any promises were held out which were not fulfilled, the fact, in our opinion, very materially mitigates the guilt of the mutineers. It is very true, as laid down by the Commander-in-Chief, that “no hope or expectation of pecuniary advantages, from whatever quarter held out, can for a moment justify the military act of refusing to receive the regulated pay; and most especially that there can be no possible extenuation of open and violent mutiny, whatever may be the

circumstances of the case ;" yet ignorant natives of the East, who are taught to rely implicitly upon a white man's word, cannot be held to that rigid observance of the law of passive submission which is expected from the European soldier.

The other incident, the salt-tax riot, is, perhaps, as much to be deplored. Some details upon the subject of this tax may be required by European readers, in order to make the subject clearly understood.

The manufacture and original sale of salt are held as a Government monopoly, for the purpose of raising a revenue applicable to the public service. This commodity being indispensable to the natives of India, whose simple food would be not only unpalatable but unwholesome without this condiment, it has always been an object of taxation, a small impost raising a large revenue. Under the Mahomedan rulers of India, it was levied by a tax upon the privilege of manufacture, and duties on the transport of salt into the interior. During the earlier part of our connection with the country, the monopoly of salt constituted one of the very objectionable sources of remuneration enjoyed by the Company's senior civil servants. In 1772, the manufacture and wholesale trade of salt were farmed out to individuals by Government, which thus obtained a revenue therefrom. In 1780, Mr. Hastings introduced a plan for supplying salt by means of Government agency, which has continued in operation, with slight modifications, ever since. At first, the salt was sold by Government at fixed prices, but in 1793, Lord Cornwallis adopted the plan of disposing of it by auction at public monthly sales, which continued till 1836, when the old system (which was adhered to at Madras) of selling at fixed rates was reverted to. The revenue derived from this source has fluctuated at different periods, but it has increased from 80½ lacs, in 1793, to 145 lacs, in 1840. It is a branch of the revenue open to much censure upon principle, and has been frequently condemned with great severity; but the Parliamentary Committee, in their Report of 1832, were of opinion that the revenue upon salt (then yielding £1,600,000) was too large to be given up, and they had "no reason to think that it could be commuted for any other tax less onerous to the inhabitants;" trusting, however, that, though "it would be very inexpedient at once to abandon the home manufacture," by encouraging the importation of salt, "a material reduction might be effected in the price, which would prove of the greatest advantage to the native population of India, to whom a cheap supply of this necessary of life is of the utmost importance." Previous to the ill-fated expedition into Afghanistan, the Indian revenue ex-

ceeded the expenditure by about £1,500,000 annually. This was somewhat more than the then net produce of the salt tax, which might consequently have been abandoned altogether! The prodigious charges of the Affghan war converted our excess of income into a large excess of charge, and the abolition of the transit duties at Madras (yielding four lacs per annum) furnished a convenient pretext* for increasing the salt tax at Bombay, and accordingly by an Act passed in July last (No. XVI. of 1844), the excise and import duties payable to Government on salt manufactured within, or imported into, the territories subject to the presidency of Bombay, were raised from half a rupee to one rupee per maund (80 lbs.). This increase of about half a farthing a pound seems insignificant; but when we are told† that it is equal to a capitation-tax which takes one week's earnings of the majority of the tax-payers, or to about two per cent. on the whole annual income of the very poorest class of the community, such an increase of price in a commodity which is described as "a necessary of life," is of great importance, and it, moreover, adds seventeen lacs to the public treasury.

The tax was to come into operation on the 1st September. On the 29th August, a meeting of natives took place at Surat (where the greater part of the inhabitants are weavers, who do not earn more than 8s. a month), at the residence of one of the principal inhabitants, whence they proceeded, accompanied by a large body of the poorer classes, to the Adawlut, to make known their objections to the new imposition. On the following day a serious commotion took place; the populace attacked the gao, and committed other acts of violence; the troops were called out, but the rioters were dispersed without the use of force. The Bombay government, on the receipt of this intelligence, despatched troops and artillery to Surat; but in the meantime Sir Robert Arbuthnot, the collector and agent at that place, took upon himself to suspend the operation of the law till a reference had been made to the Government. This is said to have been a measure of prudence, considering the excited state of the natives and the paucity of the troops; but it is supposed to have been condemned by the Bombay government. At this critical period it appears that the government of India had received the instructions of the Court of Directors‡.

* It is stated as a reason for raising the duty in the preamble to the Act.

† *Bombay Times*.

‡ The Act raising the duty was passed on the 27th July, 1844; the despatch from the Court of Directors is dated 3rd July, 1844, and the orders of the government of India consequent thereon were published on the 14th September. When they were received does not appear.

to reduce the intended tax from one rupee to three-quarters of a rupee (an addition of one-half to the former tax), and the Bombay authorities further suspended the town duties, taxes on trade and professions, and those levied upon fishermen—a boon, it is said, which will not affect 99 per cent. of the salt-tax payers. The consequence of this measure is, that a violent ferment was excited in the native mind, and strong memorials have been prepared, praying for the entire abolition of the tax.

One of the most remarkable, and at the same time agreeable, features in the domestic incidents of British India, is the countenance which appears to be given to the project of establishing railroads throughout the Bengal presidency. A correspondence has been opened with the Government of India, to ascertain how far it would be disposed to assist (not by pecuniary aid, but by legislative encouragement) private capitalists in laying down lines of railway, and the reply was as follows:—

That, in the present state of the law, it would not be in the power of the Bengal Government to authorize a railroad company to treat for the purchase of land, as for a public object, under Reg. 1, of 1824; but he would have no objection, in the event of the formation of a company with sufficient capital to accomplish the object in view, to apply to the legislature to make the provisions of that enactment applicable to such purposes. In regard to a charter, or act of incorporation, his Honour would likewise feel no hesitation in recommending, in favour of a well-constituted company, that the same should be granted, under the usual provisions and conditions; and in respect to the appointment of a superintending committee, Government will, of course, make arrangements, through the medium of its own officers, both for the furtherance of the undertaking as far as may be consistent with a due regard for the rights and interests of the different parties concerned, and for the sake of the community at large. The Deputy-Governor is deeply sensible of the advantages to be gained by the construction of railroads along the principal lines of communication throughout the country, and is anxious to afford to any well-considered project for that purpose his utmost support.

This is the utmost to which the Government of Bengal could pledge itself, and we may, therefore, now expect that some of the superabundant capital which is seeking employment in unnecessary or impracticable enterprises of this nature at home will, *at length*, introduce into India one of the great desiderata, good communications, the want of which has, more than any thing else, delayed the progress of amelioration in India.

"JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL."

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER VI.—A MONTH IN THE HIMALAYAS.

THE season I have just recorded was an especially unhealthy one. The May of another year came round, and the Indian hot winds did not fail. The weary exile from a European climate could not stir abroad scathless from the catalogue of sun diseases; and, anxious to obtain a cheering sight of the hills, previous to the busiest season for the "faculty," a kind friend took my duty between musters. A short palanquin trip carried me to Mussoorie, but, unwilling to devote the few days of my leave to the heartless society of the Sanatorium, I left its falsity and folly behind me, and with impatience urged my longing steps far from these haunts. I dipped into the mountain fastnesses, where all was solitude, if solitude consists in an absence from one's kind; but I thought it not solitude,—it was a change, and such a change, from the arid grassless flats I had for several seasons languished in. Solitude! no; it was far from that, for, from morning's dawn to evening's sunset, nature's most imposing aspects were constantly before me, and in winding up tiny paths, along giddy ledges, and fir-fringed mountain tops, and at times sitting down to rest on arriving at a spot where the prospect was most inviting, the day passed over like an hour.

It was the season when the climate of the Himalayas is peculiarly inviting; the sky is ever blue, the wind from the regions of snow invigorating, the atmosphere so clear, that minute objects can be discerned a thousand feet in the ravines below, and standing on a peak, probably surrounded by that splendid fir, the deodara, and casting the eye downwards, every leaf seems visible upon the mountain side; and from the bottom of each ravine—and there may be many at one time within the vision's scope—a hillock juts up like an oasis, and three or four grey-slatted huts—and oh, so Swiss-like—are clustered together upon it; and over these huts, with their sloping roofs and little gables, the mountain oak thrives, and round the least steep portion of the rising ground the simple hill-men who dwell there have terraced it for rice-growing. Whilst gazing upon this, and not fifty feet below the spectator, unannounced by noisy pinion, the golden eagle of the hills sails silently round the point from the neighbouring ravine, and as the rifle bullet whistles through his outstretched wing, he dips his golden head and scoffs at the erring shot.

On such a promontory I had been sitting; my shikaree, or native hunter, upon the ground beside me, with his long cumbersome matchlock, powder-flask of horn, and deer-skin vest,—a veritable Robinson Crusoe; the splashing sound of a little cascade just reached the ear, although it could not be seen; the sky was bounded in the north and west by the great Himalaya, and here and there their ever-resting snows glistened in the lowered sun-rays. It was time to think of our evening encampment,

and the shikaree had given orders to my followers to meet us at a village already within sight. He led the way, burdened with a few cheeras, or hill pheasants, and we traced our way zigzag round rocky points and broken gullies, gradually seeking the lower ground. As we did so, we lost the sun all the faster, and occasionally passing through a copse of ilex, it was not easy to see our way in these, and as we got to the margin of one, a shrill bark rang through the grove, and the sharp rifle-crack followed it. "What! shoot a dog?" the sportsman of another clime would say. "Well, look here; is this a dog? Say, did you ever see a head finer, or horns more delicate, or legs more slender? But the bark of the animal has misled you: see, it is a kakur, or barking-deer." The sound of the rifle had told the paharees, who had been pitching my tent, of our vicinity, and the peculiar shout of the hill-men reached us from below, and from a peak abruptly hanging over the ilex grove the pale curling smoke of their fire could be seen by us. We sat down beside the fallen kakur, and from time to time the shikaree returned the challenge of the paharees; nor had we to wait long ere two of them found us out, and guided us to the spot fixed upon for a bivouac.

The hill-men are strange fellows, and very far from devoid of a love for the picturesque. They had pitched the tent upon a platform, containing some fifty square yards, surrounded by precipices on every side, a pathway sufficient to let a mule or donkey pass being the only communication between it and the road along the mountain side. These platforms are common in the hills, serving admirably as encamping-places to the numerous bands of grain-carriers who, with their wives and children, mules and grain-bags, huddle up together on these little spots. Two private servants, four paharees or hill-men, and my native hunter, composed the party. The tent and a few cooking-pots, and a petara, or basket of eatables, formed the amount of my supplies, barring what might fall to a double rifle, for which all honour be to J. and C. Smith, of Princes Street. The kakur soon became no kakur under the knives of the paharees, who, possessing but a scanty portion of the religious scruples of the Hindoo of the plains, busied themselves in the making of savoury dishes but partially known to us. Wandering acquires an additional charm if the path is a by-road that the foot of man doth seldom tread upon; the precipice scaled, the mountain torrent forded, both afford a pleasure to him who has surmounted them. Do they not also give a pleasurable feeling to him narrating them many years afterwards?

With the aid of a thorn, culled by a better hand than mine from Gungotri's brow, I day by day found myself deeper in the hills, and with too great enthusiasm for such a trip, I urged the strength I did not feel. My immediate servants, poor Hindostanees, foreigners to a temperature below 85°, and all unaccustomed to such scenes, with judicious encouragement forced the difficulties, and, flattered by their "sahib" dubbing them "paharees," passed cheerfully over what were to them hardships indeed. But we went on in amity, the solitude of a

hilly jungle rendering even the society of a lowly Asiatic desirable. In manner like this, four or five marches among the hills passed over, and a wilderness of hill and defile terminated the prospect from every point of the compass, and, removed from those of my own colour, I began to build castles very much of a Robinson Crusoe complexion. Whilst deep in the construction of one of these airy fabrics, I gained the top of a steep ascent, over which boulder stones were thickly scattered, and from this higher ground the hut of a paharee or hill-man suddenly presented himself. The situation of the hut was most becoming; built upon a point of granite terminating a long ridge of primary formation, that would have gladdened the heart of a geologist, and shooting into a valley singularly beautiful. Around flourished varieties of the hardy fir,—at least, upon every eminence,—and the Indian oak-leaf clothed every ravine; and over shelving rocks and smoothened pebbles, many feet below the hut, forced its way the splashing mountain stream. "What a little paradise this paharee has!" thought I, as I stood lost in astonishment at the world of enjoyment presented by a hut of granite blocks, slated over with the coarse micaceous slate of this region. A hanging garden in front of the cottage was unusual, and it struck me so at once, and that object made me linger about the neighbourhood longer than I might have done; and whilst yet unwilling to depart, my wonder was still more excited by the appearance of a white man, who, dressed in a surcoat fashioned from the hide of a spotted deer, and his head clothed in a shaggy bear-skin covering, approached, and, spite of my astonishment, saluted me with confidence, and invited me to enter his rustic abode. Even under his uncouth garb, and though met with where men of his colour are not to be found, he could not disguise the breeding of a gentleman, and I followed him into his hut, lost in speculation at such a strange meeting. With his own hands he placed the morning meal before me, asking as a favour that I would permit my own servant to remain without, for he who for years had been his own attendant, and a white man too, could not brook being served by another, even though an Asiatic, and the domestic of another. A rude table of unplanned fir was furnished forth with cakes of barley-flour, butter, and milk from the little goats of Bengal, so much valued for its superior flavour; and a European salad of lettuce, radishes, and beet-root, sent a fresh perfume through the scarcely furnished apartment.

It has been my disposition to conciliate the man of misfortune; and with this humble recluse I passed two days, neither unprofitable to myself nor I hope to my entertainer, and most urgent was he in his request that I would prolong my visit. I was unable to concede this; but I had stayed sufficiently long to shew him that I felt for him, and, once satisfied that I did so, he opened his heart, and told his tale, not concealing the self-blame that the world awarded him. Had he been a less honourable man, he had remained in the circle he belonged to; for, although blameable,—and how could an English gentleman be so exiled without a chronicle of blame, misfortune, or misanthropy,—many worse than he have never lost the sanction of the world. His narrative

was a combination of these, and a lesson to the man of hasty temper and uncontrolled desires. He was a man of thirty-five, with a constitution that had scathless borne a sojourn in the plains of fifteen years, and had been considered a man of intellect in a corps where all are intellectual; but alas! for him,—he possessed the frequently abused gift vulgarly called "being good at the pen." This talent, given to him for his weal, was the cause of his fall; for, induced by an irritable temper, and the command of a cutting and pointed vein of satire, he, indited to his superior a letter, however true and just in some respects in others singularly subversive of military authority. Every friend that he had anticipated the result,—*dismissal*; but, on account of certain points ameliorating his offence, it was not confirmed, and he was permitted to retire upon a small pension. But at this period he was in debt, probably only to the trifling amount that he could have paid off at six months' warning, but in his now reduced circumstances this debt was large indeed; he found himself completely involved; but, to extricate himself from this thralldom, and from his own resources alone, he set about with a praiseworthy determination. He had many friends, who would have gladly relieved him from this burden, but he could neither bear their pity nor their aid, and, unable to cope with them as he had done, he disappeared none knew whither, his retreat being only known to the hunter of the hills. Driven thus into exile, he rested not; his gun became his sole support, and the danger of crag and defile his pleasure; and, after wandering for weeks, he at length fixed upon this spot, and with his own hand constructed his paharee dwelling. The walls were of small blocks of old trap, uncemented, but bound together by an occasional beam of fir being introduced; the sloping roof was covered with heavy slabs of grey slate. One story, the lower, served him for a granary, in which he kept his scanty supplies, and the dried produce of his garden; the upper was the apartment in which he lived and slept. In the building itself there was no pretension beyond the cot of a native woodcutter. A few necessary implements of husbandry occupied one corner, a box of carpenter's tools another. A table of unplanned fir, with two clumsily-constructed chairs; a shelf of well-worn volumes on the wall; a rude charpoy or bedstead, covered with a glossy and well-preserved bear-skin: and these were the only articles of furniture. Several skulls of animals that had fallen to his rifle here and there dotted the wall; the elegant antlers of the spotted deer, and the still more beautiful horns of the kakur, gave a rustic and sportsmanlike air to the humble abode, highly agreeable; and the feathery coats of the hill pheasant and the golden eagle hung behind the door. The stone shelf above the fireplace was covered with specimens of gneiss, rock crystal, and iron ore, picked up during his different excursions. There was much to admire in all this; its simple poverty alone claimed consideration. He took me to his garden,—no great horticultural lore was there displayed; it was all devoted to the cultivation of edibles.

The recluse was not long in discovering the sympathy within my

breast; it begat in him confidence, and he unburdened his heart, and talked to one whom he thought would be a friend; and, reserve once aside, he shewed the mind of a person whose destiny ought to have been a better one. "Can I do any thing for you?" I asked, as I was about to depart. "I think I could; I think there are many ways in which I might be of service." "One—only one way in which you can: spare me a little powder and shot."

CHAPTER VII.—THE HILL TEMPLE AND THE SANATORIUM.

The recluse and I parted. I shook hands and bade farewell—aye! and a regretful one—with the only white man in the Himalaya valley. I never saw him again, and only once have met with one who had visited him. I had taken the direction of Simla, by the "pugdunde," or hill path, seldom mounting the sturdy ghoot, or hill pony, that my syce led. Ere the daily sunset, I and my party generally arrived at a Brinjarees encamping-ground, and in the neighbourhood of many of these places of rest a little lake (probably in many cases artificial), for the use of cattle, was welcome to the eye, already half sated with the constant view of nought but rugged ground. Scarcely a more interesting feature in the day's adventure could occur than that of arriving at a "davee," or hill temple. Contrast the pavilion of but twelve feet square, with its coned roof projecting beyond the walls, and from the eaves of which a row of wooden pendants, like gigantic ear-rings rattling in the wind; the primitive carving upon the fir-tree pillars that support the open end of the building; and above all, the silence of the fane, where no priest dwells, but to which the rude mountaineer repairs to offer up to that power he deems supreme his wishes and his thanksgivings. Let him who looks upon the simple edifice contrast all these appliances with the polished freestone and elaborate carving of a Benares ghaut, or a Hurdwar pinnacle, with the hordes of Brahmin ministers of that religion, and hundreds of devotees crowding their steps and gateways, and counting their beads, and dropping at intervals their offered flowers upon the hurrying river, seeking by publicity the estimation of their fellow-men. Look but once at the simple temple of the hills—dedicated, though it be, to an idolatrous worship; every thing about bespeaks a better principle in those who come here; and silent as it is, without a human being near but ourselves, yet upon the footpath that leads thereto, the weed or grass sprig hath not encroached; that path is not a neglected one—it is often trodden. Not a single human being is in sight; no echo among these ravines below of the woodman's axe or the labourer's mattock; but cast a glance into the square of the outer apartment of the "davee," and upon the flooring stone, all symbol-carved, a few half-charred branches are there, and the attenuated and opal-like smoke, spirally ascending from them, shews that the hill-man's offering fire hath not yet expired. These flowers, too—that wild thyme and mountain cistus—are not yet withered; and the petals of the dog-rose and rhododendron, strewed about, seem as if plucked but an hour ago; and upon the platform

around, carpeted with grass and moss of the closest texture, are the recent traces of a horse's picket, and the peculiar shoe-print tells that the animal that made it is the property of a native, for no white man's horse is shod after that fashion.

It is a somewhat melancholy yet pleasing thing, when the day is closing, to hear the prolonged note of the gong from the rana's gurhee on some giddy steep, one wave of sound following another, modified by degrees, and at length rendered tremulous, and feeble, and dying, by many an intervening ridge; but a more cheering sight it is when there is no longer light sufficient whereby to distinguish the surrounding landscape, to discover the rushlight glimmering in the hut upon some far-off slope, and one by one are lit up, here and there, above, below, in deep glen and on prominent peak, the twinkling hearth of the hardy paharee.

It was by a by-road, and towards evening, that the well-known sanatorium of Simla suddenly lay before me. The path led by the best and most frequented rendezvous of the place. Smart riding-habits and single-button cutaways, worthy of being sported on a great St. Leger day, ambled past on quick-paced ghoots; and ere the third such party had passed me, I knew the favourite topic of the day, the cherished piece of scandal of the hour, so dear to a society loving to deal in little niceties. If you would see purity of intention awarded from one neighbour to another, charity of thought, and the real "milk of human kindness," which perhaps you may have read of but not yet personally discovered, you need scarcely go to Simla to look for it. But if you can listen to and enjoy the heartless jest launched at the innocent and unoffending and undefended,—if it would gladden you to hear him scoffed at and termed "hypocrite," and see him remain unsupported who beards the reviler of the absent,—step into the billiard-room at three o'clock p.m., and listen for an hour; you will return gratified.

I slipped, as unobserved as possible, into my friend's bungalow. A savoury joint or two smoked already on the board, and I believe I must have punished the worthy old Colonel's Bass and Allsopp's; but then ~~we~~ were so snug, and the welcome was such a hearty one, and it was so pleasant to hear the bland hostess giving the good old English orders for "well-aired bed-linen," and "warm water to the feet." These attentions are far from romantic, yet few sound better to the ear, or appear more becoming to the mistress of a house, however exalted she may be. A crowd of the female rising generation laughed gleesome around, the rose of health upon their cheeks, and not like the sickly ones with hardened spleens I had known in the plains. I thought of Rosa, and Ella, and Mary, as we ducked for apples by the nursery fire on All-Hallow's eve.

Simla is as sylvan a retreat as can well be imagined; its slopes clad in oaks, and stately pines upon its ridges; picturesque nooks, with the gables of Swiss cottages only partially seen by the passer-by, make one long to live there always; the peaceful English church, and unpretending grave-yard, cause no shudder to come over the beholder, as does

the spacious cemetery of the plains, rank in grass and monuments, with its gaunt black cypress trees, like gigantic mutes, sentinels along the loathsome walls. The bazaar of wooden tenements, with its staircases and balconies, looks as if Aladdin's friend of the lamp had purloined a street from Geneva or Lausanne, and placed it "cheek by jowl" with the cottages of Chota Simla.

I took a hasty survey of these from a rising ground, just as the sun appeared above the Mussoorie hills. Many a rana's fort was visible from the spot I stood upon. In that direction are Belaspoor and Malown; and far below these, winding like a thread of finest silver wire, is a river of the plains,—it is the Sutlej, near Loodiana. In the opposite direction is the pine forest of Mahaseo, over the fringe-like top of which is seen the highest mountain peak known to man. I could not tarry, and commenced the descent of the precipice called the "Simla Ghaut." For upwards of two miles this steep path proceeds without a turning, obliquely along the mountain side, frightfully abrupt to the timid horseman or uncertain-footed ghoot; one false step of man or horse! the idea of such occurring is decidedly unpleasant to him who seeks the valley below. The mountain is composed of micaceous schist and gneiss, with loosened and rounded masses of a granitic nature occasionally interrupting the way, until the point is gained where the ascent once more begins, and where a brawling torrent dashes over enormous boulders. A few huts, called Badharee, are close to the ford. From Badharee, the ascent is more gradual, and of shorter duration; and on to Syree, which is the first stage from Simla, and where there is a bungalow for the convenience of travellers, the hill sides are grassy, and the valleys highly cultivated, the geological features changing into a brown conglomerate, with rounded pebbles of quartz. Though but ten miles from Simla, how altered has the scenery become! no rhododendron, with its crimson petals, bounds the pathway; no dark green ilex, or darker deodara trees.

Leaving Syree, the greater portion of the road is downhill to the village of Hurreepore, where there is also a station bungalow; it is placed upon a lovely spot; an old square tower, the ruined hold of some rana of the hills, occupies a rising ground hard by; below is the alpine village which gives a name to the whole; and deeper still a rapid stream shoots, spanned by a rickety wooden bridge, suspended upon hempen ropes, and only trusted when the rains have rendered the river unfordable. Another fifty yards down the stream, and it passes through a most remarkable cleft in the mountain, which is perpendicularly rent in twain, the result of some tremendous natural convulsion; and through this chasm of two hundred yards the road is in the bed of the river. Turning sharply round the western angle of the riven hill, a few paharee huts are at the landing-place, and from these is a zigzag ascent as steep almost as a ladder—up, up, up—the turnings seem endless, and at every turning there is a miniature glen, with a shalving rock or rounded stone at its mouth, on which the paharee rests

his cone-shaped basket, whilst he drinks of the ice-cold pencil that rip-
ples o'er the withered leaf he has placed to guide it. Go a little deeper,
and further removed from the highway, and search for a rill similar to
this, and mayhap, for it is common, you may find beneath it a slum-
bering infant, the slender line of water sparkling as it falls upon the
sleeper's head,—a strange cradle, in sooth!

Between Hurreepore and where the ascent begins to the fir tree bun-
galow, or first stage from the foot of the hills, the course of a tributary
to the river of the cleft is crossed some five or six times. To the left is
the obliquely flat-topped hill on which the village and cantonment of
Subathoo are built; the huts of the Goorka sepoya, round a cone
rising from the flat surface of the larger one, giving a honeycomb ap-
pearance. Subathoo, although upon a hill, is far overtopped by hills
around, and the range of temperature consequently differs much from
Simla or the Kussowlee range, on the plainward side. An ascent of
three miles, though more gradual than that of the Simla Ghaut, brings
the traveller to "the fir tree hungalow," nestled in a niche of the Kus-
sowlee range, seven thousand feet above the sea, and where for the first
time for many a year, the bilious man, so long imprisoned in the plains,
gains the welcome sight of a tree emblematic of his home. A lovelier
spot than the "fir tree hungalow" cannot be, and, placed a hundred
feet from the ridge, upon the northern face of the hill, the view of the
plains is entirely excluded. Probably it was better to exclude them,
to give a prospect of interminable hills, and if possible drive away from
the health-seeker the recollections of the other; but let him of strength
linger in the niche above, where the short grass is strewn with fir cones,
—he may never see the like again, and he will do wisely to profit by
it. Towards the south-east is the gorge above Barrh. Eighty miles of
plain, studded with trees, rivers, villages, and cities, are within the
eye's range; reaches of rivers in several directions, like little chips of
mother-o'-pearl scattered over a green carpeting; the fine old wood of
Munnymajara and Bussee Dera, the Pinjore range of hills, and the val-
ley of the same name, with hundreds of ruined banian trees, crumbling
grotesquely. Look down! the gorge is rank with growing things; the
huge cactus with its candelabra branches, plantain stems, and clumps
of bamboos.

The descent to Barrh is zigzag and abrupt, and when there, the tra-
veller finds the village and the station bungalow equally hot, moist, and
unwholesome, but withal a busy place, for there are generally a few
tents pitched close by, or a dak starting or arriving. A subaltern, with
leave between musters, is just starting for Simla, intending to ride
there in a single sun; behind him is another of the same degree; but
the ruddy hue of the first is not seen in him, and he lounges in a
"jampan," or Indian sedan, to which eight hill-men are harnessed.
Yes! the church-yard of Simla is preferable to one in the plains, poor
fellow!

CHAPTER VIII.—"THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH."

A clear blue sky is to most people a welcome sight; but when it reaches the admirer by shot-holes in the fly of his tent, he limits his satisfaction according to circumstances. 'Twere folly to expect that the maimed man, pinked by the bit of lead that came through yonder star, would feel the same as he who came off scathless. Once under the resai, and Buxoo gone with the light, gazing upwards, there is a little planetary system correctly worked out by matchlock balls. Hiss again! there is another—ugly things these shot-holes—probably under the charpoy would be full as pleasant as upon it.

A ruin is always interesting, wherever it may be; it signifies little in what country it is found. Mandoo, Gour, Sirhind, or our own Melrose, with its placid Tweed, all have a hold upon the casual beholder. But there is a deeper interest than this excited when plodding amid the ruin made but yesterday,—splintered beams and fractured corner-stones, grazed by cannon-shot and blackened by the exploding charge, in one chaotic mass around. Bluff Mahmoud of Ghuznee look down upon thy riven gate!

* * * *

Purwandurra came,—an unequal conflict, where seven white men charged the sky-blue banner of the Dost,—and the bright side of the picture was then ended. The season rolled round, and the storm gathered and thickened, and there was much distrust. The detached brigade; dangers in the passes; Gilzies on every ledge. Behind every buttress of rock that jutted out in harsh profile was the far-carrying jazail; and far from whence it sped, the bullet of this formidable weapon, whizzing past with unpleasant fidelity, would chip the conglomerate rock overhead. Pooh! what could muskets avail in this warfare? Then, the hasty camp, the ill-pitched tents,—ragged and almost ropeless, for no tent-pin would drive into the solid rock; yet, with a saleeta for a pallet, fatigue brought sleep, with fair visions of home; friends, long unseen, hovered round the holstered pillow, too soon dispelled by the sharp ring of a dozen jazails. Or the night march, with moonlight just sufficient to light up the prominences, rendering stern and sombre the dark cavern and riven cleft; the grim figure of an Affghan, as he stole round some rocky projection to take aim; the sharp pale streak of fire issuing from his covert; the echo and re-echo of his shot, and the exulting yell that followed the fall of man, horse, or camel. The "dour" upon the rear-guard, when the fallen afforded chance of plunder; the bearded native with his fearful knife, eager to sacrifice the maimed, and rushing down, maniac-like; but the murder of the pale-faced drummer-boy hung upon the conscience of the Moslem of the hills not more than the destruction of an insect displeasing to the sight. It was a strife of retribution, and, under the mask of religion, the Faithful lashed themselves into frenzy; but the detached brigade made its way.

The next scene was one of murder and treachery; of fanatical trust and neglect; and many felt, but spoke not the forebodings that arose within them. But there were some whose case was harder than the rest,

for they had wives and children in the city, and these knew what might be their fate; yet the husband went out daily to battle, and returned as oft, wondering that another day's strife had left him alive. He looked upon his wife, whom to-morrow he might leave without a protector; and as he twined his fingers among her disordered hair, and told who lived and who had fallen that day, the little boy at her knee, finding somewhat of pleasure even in that hour, lifted from the ground his father's clattering scabbard, and the blade fell out. "Pah! return it, boy:" it ran with gore,—there were human brains upon it. Lucky was he who fell in any one of these valorous charges; many of those who did not were afterwards picked off, unable to defend themselves, by a skulking marksman.

The force was ordered forth to the sacrifice; discipline remained, so it obeyed. The gates of Cabool closed immediately behind, the passes lay before, and two feet of snow upon the Huft-Kotul. The well-knit sepoy, soon becoming unable to grasp his musket, abandoned it; kept on a little longer, and then gave his throat to be cut, in accordance with his notions of predestination. The camp-follower threw from his tattoo the boxes of supplies and stock in trade, and trusted to the animal for his own life. That night the army occupied the side of the Huft-Kotul; groups crouched in the snow, and grateful for darkness, for that was even a safeguard; but the keen blast of the mountain aided the foe, and many fell asleep who ne'er awoke again. No tents were pitched; lying in heaps upon the ground, the owners slept beneath them. Day by day, and hour by hour, the miseries of all accumulated; it was pitiable. The army was melting away like the snows of the Huft-Kotul in summer; the daughters of a white race were surrendered, and the remnant pushed on to fulfil its fate. Tazeen! Koord Cabool!!! Jugdullock's barrier!!! and Gundamuck's hill, clad with corpses!!!! But many fell worthily at these. Was not he a gallant soldier who, mid a heap of Moslem slain, and when a bullet aimed by one (himself in safety) passed through his neck, could still take three Affghan lives? That was near the last. They fell with uplifted swords. The tragedy was consummated.

* * * *

Funerals are dread ordinances. The humble fisherman's corpse, restored by the repentant sea, is laid in the unmarked nook, all nettlegrown, with decent and simple grief. In towns and cities is ushered along its pompous way, by mourners paid for mourning, the rich man's bier. What! the rich man can buy those who will grieve for him at three and sixpence a-head? Pshaw! the commodity must be a drug, indeed! Far more becoming is the solemn burial service over one who dies at sea, recognized, however humble, by England's naval flag; there is nothing pompous or loathsome in it; but then the service read, and the sullen plunge of the loaded body as it shoots to leeward,—that is what brings tears into the eyes. The morning and evening processions to the grave-yard during an Indian epidemic, the frequent hum of the "Dead March in Saul," are hard to bear; but more so is the

ceremony of placing within his narrow home the prisoner who had sickened and died in bondage. His grave had been hollowed by his fellow-captives; no hearse with nodding plumes, and skulls, and hour-glasses (typical of life's short course), were there; no muffled train of mourning-coaches and empty chariots; no sleek and well-fed and well-paid mutes. Nor did the military pageant guide his last earthly journey; the sword, and cap, and jacket were wanting; the empty-booted charger is not there; no colours of his regiment on a coffin such as is afforded to the humblest dead! His fate was a sad one, indeed; not more so than those who fell unseen, whose last deeds, had they been known, had done somewhat to soothe a father or a mother; and widely differing must be the strain upon the heart of her whose husband, under the assurance of aid, seeking a cottage door, pale and wounded, to receive a cup of water, was basely knocked from his horse with a pebble and murdered, with his whose relative's death is thus most justly recorded: "At the Koord Cabool pass, on January —, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, ever foremost where duty pointed and danger threatened, fell the generous-hearted and gallant John Leigh Doyle Sturt, lieutenant Bengal engineers. Shot through the groin, he was brought on to the encamping-ground at the outlet of the defile by Lieut. Mein, of H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry, where he lingered but a few hours. At the hands of his brave associates in arms his remains received Christian burial; the only one of that death-devoted host whom the earth received into her shelter, and preserved from the insults of a brutal foe."

There was a more melancholy rite than this paid to the relics of mortality. The pass of Koord Cabool, the bridge at Sourkab, are white with bones! they witnessed the annihilation of an army; 15,000 human beings lie in the chain of defiles between Jellalabad and Cabool. Retribution was at hand. Pollock trod the Kyber, that had always been bought over, and joined the gallant Sale, no longer burrowing, for he had soundly thrashed the victorious Ameer; and jointly they pushed on to wreak a fearful vengeance. It was mournful to see; the guns ground into powder the bones around; and many saw it who had fathers and brothers there. Eight short months had passed since the martyrdom of a whole army. In every stunted bush, and lo! a skeleton,—that of a camp-follower or his helpmate, for the sepoy and European died more openly. On this rising ground was the last stand made; there, the battalion of the Queen was cut to pieces. Go on, and number the fallen. Tell how Hamilton fell; Bott, Blair, and the young Hardyman; Nicolls and Stewart, with their bluff rough-riders, their blue jackets crimsoned ere they sunk; "red men," indeed.* Hideous! mummies set up in mockery! preserved by the snow of winter and the summer's sun, to strike with greater awe those who might follow. Set up as objects of hatred and scoffing, the insensible remains had been hooted at for a season, and cursed by the Moslem as he passed along. The bleaching bones at Gundamuck were collected: all—aged and youthful, Hindostanee and white man—were inhumed together.

* The Afghans described Nicolls and his troop as reddened with blood.

HISTORICAL DISCOVERIES IN AFFGHANISTAN.*

No literary discovery of modern times can be compared to that which was made, only ten years ago, by means of the coins and relics found in Affghanistan, of nations and dynasties of which history was either wholly silent, or afforded but dark and dubious glimpses. The discovery is remarkable, not only for its importance in supplying a main link in the chain of authentic historical records, but for the means by which it was effected—the extraordinary sagacity and wonderful perseverance of a single individual, the late Mr. James Prinsep. Unhappily, the discovery relates principally to a class of topics towards which the English public manifest an unconquerable repugnance; it is, consequently, not generally known, and the merits of the discoverer are scarcely yet appreciated, even by scholars and antiquaries. The ardour and application with which Mr. Prinsep devoted himself to this new department of archæology carried him off almost in the flower of his age, before he could complete those revelations which others appear to shrink from attempting. The premature death of M. Jacquet, a young Frenchman, gifted with many of Mr. Prinsep's peculiar qualities, who had entered upon the same path of inquiry, and the recent decease of the Pundit Kamalakanta Vidyalkanka (the fellow-labourer of Mr. Prinsep), with whom, we are told, has expired the accurate knowledge of the ancient Pali and Sanscrit forms of writing, have apparently, for the present, closed the avenues to further discoveries in the history and literature of ancient Bactria, Ariana, and Indo-Scythia.

In the meanwhile, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, having access to all the results of his brother's investigations, including the latest, hitherto unpublished—being himself an accomplished Oriental and Occidental scholar—has compiled the work before us, in order to place, as he says, before the popular reader, in a cheap and commodious form, a compendium of facts which “cannot fail to throw much light on the worse than Cimmerian darkness that still envelopes the age and country” to which the discoveries relate.

The readers of this Journal, which carefully recorded the progressive advances made by the late Mr. James Prinsep in these discoveries, from their commencement, are not ignorant that European travellers in Affghanistan, and in those regions of Central Asia which were the seat of Greek dominion many years after their conquest

* Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent Discoveries in Affghanistan. By H. T. PRINSEP, Esq. London, 1844. Wm. H. Allen and Co.

by Alexander the Great, obtained possession of a great variety of coins belonging to sovereigns of Greek extraction, and their Scythian and Parthian successors, none of whom were mentioned in the extant histories of the East or West. The impulse of scientific curiosity led to the opening and exploring of the *topes*, or *mausolea*, to be found in many parts of the same countries, and those yielded also other relics of antiquity, which, like the coins, bore inscriptions in an unknown character. By the help of the bilingual legends upon the latter, which were in the Greek and the unknown character, Mr. James Prinsep obtained a key, wherewith, aided by his knowledge of Oriental dialects, and extraordinary ingenuity and sagacity, he obtained the knowledge of a new language, a form of Pali, or ancient Sanscrit, which must have been the vernacular dialect of some of the regions in which the Grecian colonies were established. The consequences of this discovery were not confined to Indo-Bactrian history; the language and character thus revealed were detected in inscriptions upon rocks and pillars in India, which, after being regarded for ages, even by the most learned Hindus, as mysterious and impenetrable, yielded their curious contents to the industry and skill of Mr. Prinsep.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep's "Note," as he modestly terms his work, is confined to Bactro-Arian relics; but he states that the late Mr. James Prinsep's cabinet is richer far in coins of India, Buddhist and Brahminical, extending from periods of the most remote antiquity to the date of the Mahomedan conquest. He commences by explaining the localities of Aria, Ariana, and Bactria, of which many have but a faint and imperfect idea. Aria is the territory of which Herat is the capital; Ariana is the general name given to the country east of Persia and Media, as far as the Indus; Bactria is the country watered by the Oxus and its tributaries. He then gives a sketch of the state of those countries. Their history, for 1,000 years after Alexander, was almost a blank. We knew, indeed, that for 200 years the kings of Bactria and of Ariana were of Greek race, and that the language of their coins and official documents was Greek. The whole of Western and Central Asia was the scene of continuous strife and convulsion during the entire period of Greek ascendancy in these regions, and the events in the West at that time diverted attention from the eastern colonies. Nevertheless, the scantiness of the information respecting those colonies is unaccountable. We know little of the means by which Alexander established them, of their number and position, of the arrangements made for their internal government, and of their relations with the

natives. Bactria and Aria, however, that is, the countries lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus rivers, are on the highroad of Asiatic conquest, and, as Professor Lassen observes, have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. "The history of this tract, therefore," Mr. Prinsep continues, "if we had it complete and continuous, would tell more of the history of the world, and of the great revolutions in language, religion, civilization, and government, which have been brought about by conquest, and by the admixture of races resulting from conquest, than that of any other country on the face of the earth."

After noticing the meagre results obtained by Bayer respecting the Greek kings of Bactria, of whom he could give the names of not more than six, Mr. Prinsep refers to the discoveries of the late Sir A. Burnes, in his mission in 1831-32, which, he observes, threw a new light upon this branch of archæology. Mr. Prinsep should not have left out of view the fact that the late Colonel Tod* may be said to have initiated this new study, in 1825, by his valuable paper on Indo-Bactrian coins printed in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which he gave coins of two kings, Apollodotus and Menander, who had "despised the narrow limits of the kingdom usurped by Theodotus," accompanied with some valuable remarks upon Bactrian numismatics. Mr. Prinsep does no more than justice to the zeal with which the European officers in the service of Runjeet Singh, Generals Ventura, Allard, and Court, applied themselves to these investigations; and to the merits of Dr. Hœnigberger, and especially of Mr. Masson, to whom "we are indebted for the most complete and best-directed local researches that have yet been made in these regions." The vast collection of coins and antiquities made by Mr. Masson is deposited in the Museum at the East-India House, where they are open to the inspection of the curious and learned. All these investigations were prosecuted and their results known some time before the British army invaded Afghanistan, and whilst that army was on its march, an illness which terminated in death suddenly withdrew James Prinsep from this field of inquiry: "there wanted, when he was gone, the Promethean spark to kindle into light and life the dust and ashes dug out of these interesting ruins, and to extract language and sense from the rude characters found traced on the venerable remains and relics obtained from them."

* Colonel Tod bequeathed his valuable collection of Bactrian and other coins to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep then briefly traces the march of Alexander, including his two campaigns in Bactria, north of the Hindoo Koosh, the fruit of which was the conquest of the territory lying between that range and the Jaxartes.

After the pursuit of and death of Darius, Alexander returned to the Caspian Sea, to complete the conquest of Hyrcania and of the Mardi, in June and July B.C. 330. The colonies here planted were the nucleus and main strength of the Parthian sovereignty established by Arsaces. In August and September of the same year, Alexander marched into Aria, and established a garrison at Susia, its capital, the locality of which is not settled. The garrison was overpowered as soon as Alexander had crossed the mountains in pursuit of Bessus; on his return, he retook the place, and capturing Artachana, to the East of Susia, continued his operations southward to the inland sea, in which the Helmund terminates. Alexander now subjugated the entire country south of the Paropamisus, and placed governors in Seistan and Arachotia, that is, at Candahar, or in Urghundab. He also placed a colony in a new city, built to control the Arians, which all authorities concur in regarding as the foundation of Herat. He marched to the Cabool valley, his line of march being the upper or hill route from Herat, running close under and amongst the hills of the Paropamisan range. The cantonment in which his army passed the winter of B.C. 330-29 was the Alexandria-apud-Caucasum, the site of which has been traced on the plain of Beghran, near Charikar, about thirty or forty miles north of Cabool. It is here that coins of the Greco-Bactrian kings and of their Scythian successors have been found in much greater profusion than anywhere else.

Early in B.C. 329, Alexander crossed the Hindoo Koosh, and captured Drapsacus, or Indrab. Thence marching down the Oxus, he occupied and established garrisons in the country between that river and the mountains, while Bessus, flying northwards across the Oxus, to Nautaka, or Karshi, was pursued and captured by Ptolemy. Alexander then marched to Markanda (Samarcand), and drove the Scythians before him to the Jaxartes, which he crossed, and gained a great battle on the mountains opposite Khojund. He was establishing colonies on the Jaxartes, for the defence of the passage of that river, when Spitamenes, from the Kuzil Koom desert, attacked Markanda, and overpowered a Grecian force sent to its succour. Alexander, countermarching, took Kuropolis (now Shuhur-Subz), ravaged the valley of the Samarcand river, and wintered his army at Ariaspes, or Zariaspe, supposed to be Hazaraspe.

In the spring of B.C. 328, he took the field in five divisions, to reduce the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes. Spitamenes was defeated and slain, after a vain attempt to surprise Ariaspe. The rest of the season was occupied in reducing the strongholds in the upper part of Soghdiana (the mountains which feed the Jaxartes) and Transoxiana, and in establishing colonies and garrisons in the subdued country. The winter of B.C. 328-27 was passed at Nautakā, or Karshi, and in the spring of B.C. 327 Alexander recrossed the Hindoo Koosh, and from Alexandria-apud-Caucasum commenced operations to reduce the country between that range and the Sofed-koh, that is, in the Kohistan and Cabool valley to the Indus. Alexander commanded to the north of the Cabool river, and Hephæstion, with Taxiles, the Indian king, took the route to the south, building the bridge of boats at Attock by which Alexander's army passed into the Punjab. This entire country was subdued and colonized, like Bactria; Porus was defeated on the banks of the Jelum, and a fleet was built for the descent of the Indus.

The greater part of B.C. 326 was consumed in the passage down that river, and the reduction of the different people on its banks. At the close of the rainy season, Alexander commenced his return march: the first division, under Craterus, by Candahar and Seistan; the second, led by himself, through Beloochistan and Mekran to Karman; the third, under Nearchus, by the sea-route to the Persian Gulf. The three divisions met at Suza at the close of B.C. 325.

The result of these operations was, that the whole tract of country from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Jaxartes and Caspian to the sea, was subdued, garrisoned, and colonized. "The government and armies were Greek; Hellenism was the system upon which the administration was organized and conducted, and society and religion yielded to the ascendancy of this dominant principle." Alexander died in the spring of A.D. 323; but his empire, though of only ten years' growth, was not transient. "His colonies, and their institutions, manners, and language, had struck deep root even in this short period, and the impulse towards Hellenism had a lasting action in Central Asia, the effects of which were felt for at least 500 years after the decease of the conqueror."

Mr. Prinsep proceeds to trace out this action in the regions where it had to maintain a struggle with barbarism, and to shew how it finally sunk and was extinguished.

Alexander left no successor, and consequently the men in power in his Eastern acquisitions became independent. The only system

of government which the conqueror had time to organize was military; the commandant of each district was the satrap, who exercised local authority. While Alexander lived, these satraps were held in check, but this controlling power ceased on his death. The military commandants soon armed against each other. Eumenes, governor of Cappadocia (B.C. 322), defeated and slew Craterus, and was in turn driven out of Asia Minor (B.C. 318-17) by Antigonus, with whom, however, he maintained a struggle for two years till (B.C. 315) he was delivered up to his rival by his own troops, and Antigonus, becoming the sovereign of Asia, assumed the regal title. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was soon after dispossessed by him (B.C. 314), and fled to Ptolemy, whom he instigated to oppose Antigonus. The two invaded Syria and Phœnicia from Egypt (B.C. 312), and Seleucus recovered Babylon, and expelled the governors for Antigonus in Media and Persia. In B.C. 305, Seleucus added to his government, by a great victory over Nicanor, one of the lieutenants of Seleucus, the whole of Media, Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, and Aria, and all the countries as far as the Indus. In B.C. 303, he crossed that river to make war on Sandrocottus (Chundra Gootta), who had expelled the Grecian garrisons from the Punjab; but he was recalled by his rival Antigonus, whom he drove into Phrygia and slew in 301.

From this period till B.C. 280, the whole of Asia to the Indus and Jaxartes was under the Syrian king. In that year, Seleucus Nicator was assassinated; his son, Antiochus Soter, reigned undisturbed over the same territory till 261, leaving it to his son, Antiochus Theus. He neglected his Eastern possessions, and Bactria, consequently, became independent, under Theodotus, or Diodotus, B.C. 256. Parthia followed about 250, the revolt of this province being ascribed to the conduct of the local governor towards Tiridates, which his brother Arsaces resented by slaying the governor. To secure himself, he seized the government, and B.C. 241 was able to add Hyrcania to Parthia, which lay between Herat and the Caspian. Arsaces is said to have been a native of Balkh, and Moses Chorenensis declares that his dynasty was thence called Balhavenses, or Pahlaveean. Whatever may have been his origin, he used Greek only on his coins and in his correspondence: there is no other language or character found on any coin of known Parthian mintage and type.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep (whose narrative we have closely followed) then gives a historical catalogue of the dynasty of Arsacidan kings of Parthia, comprehending such circumstances in respect to each

as are to be gleaned from Greek and Roman authors. The list begins with Arsaces I., B.C. 254, and ends with Arsaces Artabanus, A.D. 235, the dynasty being subverted that year by Artaxerxes, or Ardeshur Babakan, who established the Sassanian dynasty. Thus closed the Greco-Parthian dominion in Central Asia. The capital, in the time of the Cæsars, was at Seleucia, on the Tigris; its removal from Toos and Meshod must have weakened the hold of the Arsacidæ upon their Eastern provinces. Their system of government had become purely Asiatic.

Mr. Prinsep proceeds, after this summary of the history of Parthia during its transition back from Hellenism to Orientalism,—which, he observes, is essential to the understanding of the condition of Bactria, Aria, and Cabool,—to put together what has been extracted by Western authors from the ancients, and recent discoveries respecting those more distant regions, especially Professor Lassen and Professor Wilson. We subjoin an abridgment of Mr. Prinsep's catalogue, retaining only so much of the notices of the sovereigns, as present any thing of historical interest, omitting all merely numismatical matter.

B.C. 256.—The first Theodotus, or Diodotus, was known to the Greek and Latin historians, who state that he asserted his independence about the time that Arsaces revolted in Parthia.

B.C. 240.—Theodotus II. This prince was the son of the former, but the coins afford no means of distinguishing between them. The extent of their dominions is also uncertain. The character, actions, and fate of this king, are unknown.

B.C. 220.—Euthydemus. This king was on the throne at the time of the expedition of Antiochus the Great (B.C. 212); he does not appear to have assisted in that monarch's war with Arsaces, but after the peace between them, he was defeated by the united Syrian and Parthian forces, and fled to Ariaspe. His appeal from that place is said to have had great weight with Antiochus; it was urged by the son of Euthydemus, Demetrius, a handsome youth, who found grace. Euthydemus, obtaining favourable terms, led the Syrian army through Bactria, by the route north of the mountains to the Cabool valley, and across the Indus, in B.C. 206. There Antiochus made the peace with Sophagasenus (Asoka) which we find referred to in the edicts of that sovereign, inscribed on rocks and pillars in various parts of India, in characters exactly resembling those on the coins of Agathocles. In B.C. 205, Antiochus returned by Arachotia and Karamania.

B.C. 190.—Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, is mentioned by Justin and other Western historians, who state that, after his father's death, he contended with Eucratides for the dominion of Bactria, but without success. Upon some of his coins he is represented with a strange head-dress,—a cap formed like an elephant's head, with trunk, &c.

B.C. 178.—Eucratides. He is mentioned by Justin as a great king, contemporary with Mithridates I. of Parthia. Strabo adds, that he ceded some provinces of Western Bactria to Mithridates. He made an expedition into India; upon his return from which, he was murdered by his son. The coins of Eucratides, discovered in Bactria and Afghanistan, are very numerous, and the types and devices are various, betokening a long and eventful reign. Mr. Prinsep deduces the following circumstances from these coins:—First, that Eucratides ruled originally in Bactria, succeeding Euthydemus there; secondly, that the title given to him on the coins, of “Great king,” *Βασιλεὺς μέγας* in Greek, and *Maharajasa mahatasa* in Arian, can only have been assumed after, and perhaps consequent upon, conquests in and south of the Paropamisus, or in Cabool; thirdly, that Eucratides first of all the Greeks coined with the bilingual Arian inscription. Professor Lassen, indeed, supposes Agathocles to have been his contemporary, and to have risen with him on the death of Euthydemus, establishing himself in Cabool, and across the Hindoo Koosh as far as the Oxus, until overpowered and expelled by Eucratides; in which case, the priority of bilingual coinage in this region must be assigned to Agathocles. But the second language of Agathocles was Sanscrit, of the character used by Asoka, not Arian, as on the coins of Eucratides. He is considered to have been at one time sole king over the entire territory from Parthia to the Indus, including the Punjab and Scinde.

B.C. 155.—Heliocles. This is supposed to be the parricide successor of Eucratides. The legends on his coins are both pure Greek and bilingual. His short reign extended over Bactria and the Paropamisus, where the Arian language was vernacular.

B.C. 150.—Antimachus. The precise date of this king is uncertain. He is placed amongst the Bactrian successors of Eucratides on account of the devices, names, and titles on his coins being pure Greek.

B.C. 190.—Agathocles. This king is considered by Professor Lassen to have been ruler of Caboolistan to the Indus and to the Oxus till conquered by Eucratides. Mr. Prinsep supposes him to have been the governor left by Antiochus in Cabool, after his treaty with Asoka.

B.C. 195.—Pantaleon. This and the preceding king used the simple title of *Βασιλεὺς*, without epithet or addition of any kind, which, with the perfect form of the Greek letters, Mr. Prinsep considers an evidence of antiquity. In the Sanscrit, on their coins, they have the names only, without any title; viz. *Agathoklayaja* and *Pantalawanta*.

Leaving, for the present, the kings of Bactria, Cabool, and Aria, Mr. Prinsep brings forward the long list of Greek kings, whose coinage has been brought to light, of pure Greek device, with an Arian inscription on the reverse, generally round some deity or object derived from the Grecian mythology.

Upon the death of Eucratides, his wide dominion is supposed to have been broken into several independent kingdoms, from the num-

bers of "kings," "great kings," and "kings of kings," revealed by the late discoveries, compared with the known date of Scythian conquest. Professor Lassen supposes three kingdoms, besides Bactria: one eastern, under Menander and Apollodotus, comprehending the Punjab and valley of the Indus; another western, at Herat and Seistan; a third central, of the Paropamisus. For the classification and assignment to those regions there are very vague materials. The epithet of *Σωτηρ*, or 'saviour,' applied to some, is supposed to denote one particular dynasty, the successors of Menander. The names of nine kings are included in this dynasty,—namely, Menander, Apollodotus, Diomedes, Zoilus, Hippostratus, Straton, Dionysius, Nicias, and Hermæus. Five of these have been recently discovered by Lieut. Cunningham, of the Bengal Engineers. Professor Lassen supposes Hermæus to have been overpowered by Azes about B.C. 120. Another series of Greek sovereigns are distinguished by the epithets *Νικηφορου*, *Ανικητου*, and *Νικατορος*, who are assigned to Aria Proper,—that is, Herat and Southern Bactria,—also Seistan, or Drangiana. Certain known historical facts afford means of assigning dates conjecturally to these sovereigns; but the arrangement is arbitrary. Another class of Greek sovereigns took peaceful titles, implying the possession of some popular virtue: these are only three in number,—namely, Heliocles, Telephus, and a queen named Agathocleia. Their supposed dates are from B.C. 155 to 140. The Arian inscriptions on their coins mark them as having reigned south of the Paropamisus.

Some slender inferences are drawn by numismatologists, as to the mintage of the coins, from the devices. Thus, the elephant, elephant's head, and humped bull, are considered as indicating dominion in India; the wild horse and double-humped camel are supposed to refer to Bactria.

Mr. Prinsep now proceeds to the Scythian kings, who, following the Greeks, adopted their forms of money, with similar inscriptions, and in the same language, but inscribed on them their own names and titles. We subjoin a list of these:—

B.C. 135.—Maues. There is a diversity in the coins of this sovereign. The name is neither Greek, Parthian, or Indian; it is, therefore, concluded to be Scythian, and the bearer to be the head of one of the tribes that broke into Bactria between 150 and 140 B.C. His proximity to and association with Azes is proved by the correspondence of his later coins with those of that king: a coin is extant, with the name of Maues, which exactly corresponds in type with one of king Azes. This coin is peculiar; it exhibits the king with a trident, a Tartar weapon of war, setting his foot on a prostrate enemy.

B.C. 130.—Azes. This Scythian king's coins have Greek characters on one side and Arian on the other. The types are very various. Who this great "king of kings," as he is called, was, and where he reigned, are hitherto unknown. Professor Wilson inclines to consider him an Indian Buddhist, and his date B.C. 50; Professor Lassen looks upon him as a Sacian Scythian, who conquered the Cabool valley, and finally destroyed the kingdom of Menander and Hermæus, about B.C. 120. The Professor has raised an ingenious hypothesis respecting the era and locality of Azes from the Chinese historians, who speak of a nation of Tartars (whom he identifies, from a resemblance of name, with the Sacæ) being expelled from the E-le valley by the Yué-cha. But it requires great familiarity with the Chinese proper names, and their mode of transcribing those of foreign nations, to found any conclusions upon them.

B.C. 115.—Azilizes.

100.—Vonones.

85.—Spalirisus, or Ipalirisus.

75.—Spalypius.

70.—A nameless great Soter king.

The Soter Megas is considered to have been contemporary with Vikramaditya. His ear-rings seem to denote him Indian.

There is another series of Scythian coins, with no Arian inscription, and differing in other respects from those of the Azes dynasty. These bear the names of Kodes, Hyrkodes, and others not decypherable, and not of Greek origin, though written in corrupt Greek characters. There is nothing to shew to what race of Scythians, and to what period of time, these coins shall be assigned; but some ingenious conjectures are offered, and as the date now reaches to that of Vikramaditya, whose victory over the Scythians was the commencement of a samvat, or era, Indian history, if we could find it, would connect and verify that of the Scythian kings.

Then follows what is called the Kadphises dynasty, with barbarous names and titles in Greek and Arian. Professors Lassen and Wilson carry the dynasty of Kadphises through the whole of the first century of our era, and then consider it to have been overpowered by a fresh swarm of Scythians, under the Kanerki kings. The Undopherres dynasty begins A.D. 40, the Greek legends on whose coins are so corrupt as to be scarcely decypherable. This Ario-Parthian dynasty brings down the history of Cabool and the Punjab to the close of the first century of our era, when a new race of Scythian kings appears, issuing money of quite a different device and style from any before current. These bear the name of Kanerkes, at first with the title of *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλεων*, but afterwards with the Indian title of Rao Nana Rao substituted. No coin of the Kanerkis has

yet been found bilingual ; on all the only characters are Greek, at last so corrupt as to be quite unintelligible. After this, the Greek characters yielded to Sanscrit ; the coinage deteriorated, and was at last entirely lost under the princes of Hindoo race.

Mr. Prinsep subjoins to these details respecting the coins of the kings some observations upon the Arian language.

Although the Greek characters outlived the Arian upon the coins, there is proof in the Arian inscriptions on stones and relics of topes that Arian only was the written language in general use, when Greek was extinct. It may be concluded to have been the vernacular language of the Paropamisian range, of Cabool, and perhaps of Herat and Candahar ; it is found also in the topes of Manikyala in the Punjab. Unlike both Greek and Sanscrit, it is written Semitically from right to left. This does not, however, prove that the language has a Semitic origin, or any close affinity with the languages of that class. On the contrary, we find that all the Arian words yet read, which represent titles, are pure Sanscrit. This evidence of close affinity to the Sanscrit justifies a hope that, by a further use of the coins, as a key for settling the alphabet, the dialects of Sanscrit, and the Pushtoo especially, may be applied to the complete decyphering and translating the Arian inscriptions in topes and on rocks. This work, Mr. Prinsep tells us, occupied the latest attention of his brother, "who was confident that, through the coins (the language being ascertained to be of Sanscrit origin), a sufficient clue existed for the complete development of the antiquarian treasures locked up in the inscriptions : indeed, he considered himself to have already mastered the first difficulties of decyphering them, and to be in progress towards the full ascertainment of the meaning of one, at least, if not of two, of those inscriptions."

Further, in respect to this Arian language : it seems to have superseded the ancient Sanscrit of the days of Asoka, which was adopted by Agathocles and Pantaleon. "If these kings had not found the Sanscrit language in use," Mr. Prinsep observes, "they would scarcely have placed it on their coins. After them, however, the Sanscrit characters were entirely disused. Menander never seems to have coined with the language of Asoka, from whence it may be inferred that the characters on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon were not vernacular, but had been introduced by the Indian sovereigns who, following the first Chandra Goopta, retained dominion over the provinces ceded by the first Seleucus, until they were restored by Asoka to the Great Antiochus." Again ; Arian charac-

ters only are found on the vases, relics, and stones discovered on excavating the tumuli or topes of the Punjab and Affghanistan, which seems to prove that, at the time of their erection, the Arian was not only the vernacular language of the districts where they stand, but the language also of the priests and those concerned in preparing the vases and articles used in the obsequies of the great.

We have drawn very largely upon Mr. Prinsep's very able disquisition, which, although not designed to be more than a summary of results, is the fruit of much learning, industry, and research. Several plates of coins, relics, and inscriptions are appended to the volume, some of which were engraved by the late Mr. James Prinsep.

FROM KHĀKĀNĪ.

گویند که نیکبخت و بدبخت
 هست از همه چیز در زمانه
 یک جای دو خشت بخته بینی
 بخته ز تنور در میانه
 این بر شرف مناره افتد
 وان بر سر چاه آبخانه

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SENTINEL.

CHAPTER IV.

ONE of the greatest errors in the system of military government in force in India, as far at least as regards the creation of a superior body of European troops, is the limitation of the promotion of the private soldier to the rank of conductor of ordnance or of commissariat. I do not mean to say that the elevation of men in the ranks to the commissioned grades should be a frequent measure of policy or a common description of reward ; but I think there would be much virtue in the mere recognition of such a principle of advancement. Every good soldier, cherishing the expectation of wearing the epaulettes, would exert himself to deserve the distinction ; and every officer, having before his eyes the possibility of one day finding the man he commands his equal in society, would be careful not to outrage his feelings by needless severity of manner or unnecessarily harsh rebuke. The check would thus be mutual—hope on the one side acting as a restraint upon improper conduct—apprehension, upon the other, moderating the exercise of arbitrary power. Under present circumstances, the agency of fear is almost the only one employed in preserving discipline in the European ranks ; for the trifling offices open to the European soldier are so few in number, in proportion to the strength of the several corps, and so wretchedly paid, that they are merely sought as relief from the monotony of a barrack and the control and confinement inseparable from strict military duty ; and the officer, knowing that the instalment of promotion any man beneath him may obtain, does not break through the social line of demarcation which separates them, has no motive beyond what a kindly feeling may suggest for treating his inferior as a member of the same caste with himself. The Brahmin and the Sudra are not, therefore, more remote from each other, in proper sympathy, than the commissioned officer and the private soldier in the East-India Company's service. This is not a wholesome or a beneficial state of things—neither is it just or necessary. We need not very diligently search the page of modern military history for proofs that the prospect of professional advancement has been the parent of great enterprises, or that general officers who have earned distinguished mention in the rolls of fame once carried a firelock or wielded a sponge-staff.

I know that the application of the principle for which I contend would interfere with the patronage of the Direction, and shock the prejudices of people who deem a temporary association with men in the ranks a serious disqualification for preferment to more polished circles ; but against these I would urge, first, the rarity of the promotions, which might not, perhaps, deduct more than one cadetship per annum, if so many, from the entire amount ; and secondly, the probability that those men who would be the first to deserve the distinction might have originally moved in a sphere of life where good manners and sound morals were as rife as in the commissioned ranks. Let the expe-

riment be tried—not to the niggardly limit of making an old ordnance conductor an *invalid* lieutenant, as in the case of Mr. Bellew, of the Bombay artillery, or a gallant apothecary a *fled* assistant-surgeon, as in the case of Mr. Fallon, who saved the lives of a number of sick men in the Persian Gulf, when Capt. Thompson, Lieuts. Morley and Gidley, fled before a horde of Arabs; but to the full, free, and fair extent of giving to the subalterns, taken from the ranks, all the ultimate advantage of a seniority service. My life on it, the result would be, the enlistment of a very superior class of men, and a steadiness of conduct on their part that would convert the penal portions of the Articles of War into almost a dead letter.

I have spoken of the flight of certain officers from the enemy. This melancholy incident occurred after I had been a year in the service. The particulars have been so often given in all their amplitude, that I need not further describe the disaster than by saying, that the detachment of troops, consisting of part of a regiment of infantry and a handful of artillery, who had been left to keep the Arabs in awe, and prevent the revival of piracy, were overpowered during a march, and cut to pieces, none but the three officers named above and the sick soldiers escaping with their lives. For the military errors involved in the careless disposition of the troops, and the subsequent flight, the officers were severally tried by court-martial, and *acquitted*; and, therefore, commentary upon the business, even at this distance of time, would be unjust and out of place: suffice it, that when the fugitives brought to Bombay the intelligence of the reverse, and the evidence of their own hasty retreat, one universal feeling of consternation pervaded the West of India. Unhappily, for the honour of the British army and character, we have of late become somewhat more familiar with such calamities; but, at the time of which I speak, the page of British Indian history was unblotted by a single record of disgraceful behaviour in the field. Surprise first seized upon the Government—indignation followed; and the resolution to avenge the blow, and vindicate our reputation, was the prompt and appropriate sequel. But who can wonder at this? MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, the wise, the virtuous, the brave, was then our governor.

The fiery arrow went through the land—the larum was heard in the Concan, the Deccan, and Guzerat, and troops hastened from the furthest points to muster on the esplanade of Bombay. Five thousand good men and true were formed into a new “expedition,” and to the gallant Lionel Smith (who died “*Sir* Lionel” and a governor some five years ago) was intrusted the command of the avenging force. It was a gay and an exciting period. Stronger feelings than the mere love of glory animated every man, from the veteran general to the young recruit. The national honour was in their hands—the blood of their slaughtered fellow-soldiers flowed in their mind’s-eye; they were at once to efface the “damned spot” with which the flag was tarnished, and read a fearful lesson to the wild race whose hands were yet red with the gore of massacred hundreds. Many festivities distinguished the

military preparations. Balls and public dinners, where all the various branches of the service met on terms of good-fellowship, were given in turn by the different regiments. The artillery, always the most remarkable for the excellence of their cellar, the superiority of their band, and the dimensions of their mess-room, were foremost in the exercise of hospitality, and it was a matter of pride with the gunners when they could enhance the splendour of the entertainments by a play or a pyrotechnic display.

There, was a jolly old colonel, named Bellasis, at this time in command—*Bully* Bellasis was the sobriquet by which he was known and loved—for he ever preferred allowing his anger to evaporate in big words to inflicting punishment upon an erring soldier. This colonel was pleased to take a fancy to the “comic songs” with which, on the occasion of our theatrical performance it was my business to enliven the *entr’actes*. They were of the clatter and patter order, then rendered popular by the volubility and ventriloquism of the elder Mathews, and although my imitation of that distinguished *artiste* was very many degrees removed from the original, it served, at so great a distance from home, to amuse the good-natured officers and their friends. To oblige the colonel, I remember singing one of these songs at a grand *mess* dinner, given in honour of the approaching campaign; and the circumstance left an impression upon my mind, from the amusement which sprung from my own apprehension of the ludicrous. It was the first time that I was witness to a very common Indian dinner scene—“*the battle for the bottle*.” The soup and fish had been removed, “*The pleasure of wine with you*,” said, or seemed to say, Lieutenant Y. to an officer of the 65th Foot. “*Delighted*.” “*Boy, sherry shraub*,” continued the challenger. “*Ahmed—lall shraub*,” said the pledged friend. In a moment, the crowd of domestics were in commotion. Half a dozen other hosts had challenged half a dozen other guests at one and the same moment, and as the number of bottles of wine then on the table were only in the proportion of one to four of the people about to drink, three attendants made a grab at each bottle. Buxoo got hold of the neck of one, Sheikh Dullooo grasped its body. “*Let go, haramzadeh*,” exclaimed the former. “*No*,” said the other, “*my sahib’s a great man*.” “*My sahib gave the order first*,” rejoined Buxoo. “*But my master is drinking with the Colonel Sahib!*” replies Dullooo. Ahmed now rushes in with both hands, and gets one on the cork and the other on Buxoo’s wrist, and there they go, pulling and hauling, abusing each other *sotto voce*, heating the bottle and perilling the wine and their own fingers. Victory at length decided for Buxoo, who, filling his master’s glass, gave up the bottle to the first that was at hand to snatch it, and, after smoothing his ruffled *manichios*, calmly folded his arms and looked around him with the proud and complacent air of a victorious dung-hill pantam. He had “*flattered the Volsoes*,” and only awaited a fresh signal to renew the interesting contest. I have witnessed the same scene a hundred times since.

My comic ditties were applauded till the glasses “jingled on the

board ;” but they were nothing in comparison to the martial songs which a gallant young-staff-officer trolled forth, for these were suitable to the time and the prevailing enthusiasm. One of them, which owes its origin to the muse of McNaghten, is fresh in my recollection. It was very fine. A trumpeter of the band first blew a blast, and then the songster began.

RECITATIVE.

Once more the trumpet clangs to war ! That blast is widely heard !
And from its brief repose in peace is the martial spirit stirred ;
The British soldier hears the sound, and rises in his might ;
The sepoy feels the thrill of joy, and girds him for the fight !

SONG.

We’re of those who, with bold Fitzgerald, charged in the Sestabuldee
strife ;

Whom Malcolm headed at Mahidpore where the doings of death were rife ;
Of those who, with resolute Staunton, strove against fearful odds of foes,
What time the Mahratta’s banded host on our threatened empire reas ;
Of those whom victory smiled upon, in the splendour of her reign,
When Ochterlony scaled the heights and Adams scoured the plain.

Their spirit in our bosoms burns, with its true old loyal flame ;
Upon us descends, inspiring zeal, the mantle of their fame.
War marked, like some old battle flag, in many a bloody fray,
From the famous times of vigorous Clive to good Lord Hastings’ day !
Their glory sheds a halo bright all round us, to endure
While we make good th’ heroic pledge,—to keep that glory pure.

With past-born surety of success, and emulous to vie
With those who’ve done their natural work, though by the strife we die,
In joy we hail the approaching hour when we may have to stem
The tide-rush of invading foes* from England’s eastern gem,—
When loud and wide shall ring once more, as our war array we don,
The signal shout at which leaps the blood, “ On ! On to the battle—on !

The old practice of inviting volunteers for service did not tempt me on the present occasion to offer myself. I was now thoroughly aware that neither credit nor promotion of any consequence was to be gained by the noblest efforts in the field. The gilding of military life had been fairly taken off by the first expedition, and there was nothing now to lead me away beyond the prospect of a slight change of scene. Life had not begun to be irksome, or I might have hailed with pleasure the chance of dying a soldier’s death ; in fact, I had learnt to take a different view of my prospects, and to nourish a hope that, with a little patience and good management, I might get out of a service, which I now found was, to all but men of a low standard of intellect, a thorough mistake. A letter received about this time from my fond and “ anxious ” mother aided, unintentionally on her part, my projects of

* At this time, the probability of an invasion of India by Russia began to be talked of and written about. The advances of Russia against the Persians were considered as a step towards a further south and east.

emancipation. I have retained the epistle, and quote, for the amusement of the reader, such portions as serve to connect this faithful narrative, and illustrate, without a serious violation of filial confidence, my excellent parent's knowledge of Indian affairs :—

" Dearest Bill,—

I received your affectionate letter of the 1st of June, exactly five months after you had written it. I made Charlotte fumigate it before it was opened, because I am told that the cholera morbus which rages in your parts is catching. Your mother, my beloved child, was spared the infection; but the precaution cost her the sacrifice of a part of your dutiful effusion, for Charlotte scorched a big hole in it while holding it over the fire. She, poor thing! did not think it was so inflammatory an epistle!

" And so you have become a matross! What it precisely means, I don't know; but your uncle Fridgit, in the Tower Hamlets, thinks it must be a species of non-commissioned officer, such as a sergeant-major or a quartermaster, and encourages me to think that you will one day become a general! Ah, my dear boy, surrounded as you are by cobra capellas, scorpions, and bummelows, dare I hope for such a result? Are the doolies and the centipedes, the Thugs and the cattamarans, which destroy so many of your countrymen in India, to find in you an Achilles, forgetting to touch your heel? Heaven in its mercy send it! I ask no other balm for my hurt mind—no other compensation for the agony of separation—than to see you soon return a young and blooming general, with lacs of rupees in your waistcoat-pocket, a wreath of pagoda blossoms entwined with the laurel on your noble brow, "Pyjam-malabad" or "Lotapore" on your banner, and a host of those fierce Jaroowallahs you speak of following captive in your train, as evidences of the triumphs that have attended your martial career!

Bob's youngest boy has had the measles. May you escape that horrid prickly heat, which, uncle Fridgit tells me, sweeps away its myriads, in spite of lemon-juice and ivory scratchers. Let me conjure you, when you go to bed, to powder your body over, and take cooling beverages.

I do not expect at present to receive many tokens of your love, for doubtless you will require much of your superfluous pay to provide epaulettes, amadavats, cocked hats, hookahs, and other appendages to an officer's uniform; but when you are in circumstances of sufficient affluence to indulge your mother with a slight reminiscence of her boy, remember that I prefer the black to the red Cashmere shawls, that the larger pearls are more valuable than the small ones, and that a flaw in a diamond detracts from its value. Don't think of sending me a Persian cat, for I hate cats of all kinds; but a beautiful little gazelle, with those eyes Lord Byron speaks of, would be a pet for your sake. Should you have a difficulty in sending these things, my old friend and admirer, Jewkeby, who resides in Bombay, will take charge of them. By-the-way, you would gratify me by sometimes asking Mr. J. to your mess. He will delight, I am sure, over a glass of sangoree and a curried bandicoot (a favourite dish, they tell me, in Malabar), to talk about his Nipsy Pipey, as he once called your mother, long before your revered father captured your mother's heart.

Adieu, Bill; I hope you don't smoke?

* * * *

The perusal of this letter occasioned a mixed feeling of diversion and mortification. My mother was evidently as ignorant of my real posi-

tion and prospects as she was of the meaning of many Indian words that had fallen in her way. She indulged in expectations that I knew never could be fulfilled, and inflicted on me the double annoyance of remembering that I was as remote from the epaulette as she from the Cashmere shawl and the precious stones. But she had mentioned one circumstance which interested me, because I felt I could turn it to profitable account. She had, it seems, a friend,—an ancient admirer,—in the town of Bombay, doubtless occupying a station of respectability, and able, therefore, to serve me indirectly. I determined to call upon him, and ask his advice as to the best means of freeing myself from thralldom. He could afford me counsel, at least, if he could not give me help in any other way. To him I accordingly went, having previously written to say who I was, and to ask leave to call.

Jewksby was a small man, who gave me the same idea of one of the old East-India nabobs as I had ever gathered from the stage. His head was bald; his face thin and sallow; his waistcoat, loose and large, was *ex post facto* evidence of the former existence of "fair round belly with good capon lined;" and his nankeen tights presented ample assurance that his calves were not, like Paddy Carey's, by any means calculated at present to make a chairman stare. How such a diminutive specimen of humanity could ever have presumed to breathe soft accents into my proud mother's ear, puzzled my understanding very particularly; how she came to reject the advances of such a cavalier, was a problem *pari passu* of solution. But he had his redeeming points: he was a clever man, an accomplished painter, a good-natured fellow, and an excellent whist-player. He received me with a cordiality I did not anticipate, considering the difference in our positions. Perhaps the resemblance I bore to his *premier amour* had something to do with the interest he at once took in my behalf—perhaps, too, it was gratifying to his feelings to find that he *could* serve me without putting himself under any heavy obligations to the magnates of the land. Mr. Jewksby was popular—his manners and conversation made him a favourite guest at every table; those who employed him professionally felt how much they were in his power—how easily he could impart to his portraits the softness of a Venus or the ferocity of a Gorgon; and those who only knew him as a table-acquaintance, were sensible that on his good or bad word, dropped incidentally while tracing the features of a commander-in-chief, or the wife of a member of council, much of their future fortune depended.

When I had told Mr. Jewksby my story, and imparted to him my wishes, he said that he did not suppose it would be possible to purchase my discharge until peace had become universal in India—that, the utmost, therefore, he could do would be to procure me some situation in a military office, with the consent of the commandant of the corps. Several men had been withdrawn from regimental duty to fill clerkships in the adjutant and auditor-general's offices, and Mr. Jewksby thought it not improbable that I might be permitted—opportunity offering—to leave the battalion for a similar occupation. I desired no-

thing better—for, sooth to say, nothing better was to be had. Leaving my new friend, therefore, who, on parting, slipped into my hand one of those dumpy glittering coins which then were known as gold mohurs, but are now scarce enough to be looked upon as ancient specimens of numismatology, I trudged back to Matongah, full of pleasing anticipations, and more than ever disgusted with the Pariah caste, of which the injudicious rules of the service made me feel I was a member.

Several weeks rolled over my head without hearing from my friend Mr. Jewksby, during which time I steadily pursued my monotonous occupation of adjutant's clerk, preparing forms, abstracts, muster-rolls, reports, &c. At length, one morning, the adjutant called me into his room, and said, in the very gentlemanlike and unamiable tone for which he was celebrated, "Matross Middleton, I am going to lose you. I am glad of it for your own sake; I hope you'll deserve your good fortune. You may look upon it as one of the results of your steady conduct in my office."(?) I stammered out that I was sorry to leave so kind an officer (Heaven forgive me for the falsehood! I was too much pleased to harbour ill-feeling), but that I was ignorant of his meaning. He then told me that the commandant of the corps had consented to my going up to Poonah, to enter the office of the paymaster to the division, who wanted a clerk; that I was to go down the next day to Mr. Jewksby, who would give me the means of making an expeditious journey to the station. No time was to be lost, for the head-quarters of the Poonah division were about to move, and there was a large arrear of official business which it was requisite I should aid in bringing up.

With a strange mixture of pain and pleasure, I turned my back upon the barracks on the following day. There were honest hearts beating under the cross-belts,—hearts that had throbbed in unison with my own in all the vicissitudes of military life; there were hands, too, that I had clasped the night before the strife at Ras-el-Khyma, and over the can of arrack punch, when home was the subject of our song and our sentiment. It was painful to part from my old comrades, whom I might never see again. But then! I was shaking off a uniform in which I had ceased to take pride; I was virtually quitting a profession of which it may be emphatically said, in the words of the Italian poet,—

Who entereth here, leaveth Hope behind.

Mr. Jewksby was delighted to see me. He had, it seems, applied to several friends in my behalf, but there were no vacancies at present in any presidency office. The Poonah paymaster had, however, written to one of the staff at Bombay to say, that he required a smart accountant and good penman, and this coming to the ears of Mr. Jewksby, he at once named me as "a fit and proper" candidate. But this was not all. The good old gentleman had procured me a small stock of cotton clothes, with other matters indispensable to my civil appearance, and had actually paid my hawk expenses to my station! My heart was too full of gratitude for speech. After a brief interview, I clasped his hand, on which, I believe, I *literally* dropped tears, and proceeded to the post-

office, to receive the necessary documents assuring my accommodation and safe transit. In four hours I was *en route*, having crossed the bay to Panwell, where the palankeen and eight bearers awaited me.

It is a delightful thing to travel *dawk*. I suspect that people in England know as little of the manner in which we get over the ground in that fashion, as they do of other matters Asiatic. We are supposed to wander over wide and desolate plains, upon extensive elephants, attended by a gentleman in front, who drives a species of boat-hook into the animal's head, and a gentleman behind, who screens us from the piercing rays of the sun with an ample umbrella. Some folks, who have very *general* ideas of Oriental life, place us on the backs of camels, and suppose us to make one of a patriarchal cavalcade; while others, of more brilliant imaginations, take it for granted that we start by the mail, "all on springs, like a *corps de ballet*," fall fast asleep at Calcutta, and wake at Delhi. Few ever heard of THE *DAWK*, or can conceive it possible that distances of a thousand miles are accomplished in little boxes borne on the shoulders of four sable fellow-creatures. Yet such is the most common mode of transit, and to my plain thinking, it is the most agreeable and independent method of getting over ground known to the civilised world—always excepting the luxury of your own carriage, fast post-horses, and roads as level and smooth as a bowling-green. It is true the bones ache after a long *dawk* trip in a manner to convey a lively idea of rheumatism; you never can sleep more than two hours at a stretch, because you are disturbed by the appeals of the relay bearers, who want *basis* at every stage—the oil-fed flambeaux of your torch-bearers are flashed under your very nose the whole night through—and your ears regaled incessantly with the buzzing, humming, chanting, of your bearers—but still the *dawk* is a delightful species of carriage. We have not yet arrived at that point of civilization when travelling can be rendered absolutely comfortable under any circumstances. Take the railroad! You see but little on your journey, and a pebble may whisk you to eternity before you can say Jack Robinson. The mail! You are pent up for hours with a curious, forbidding old woman, *vis-a-vis*, afflicted with an obstinate cough and a yelping lap-dog; on your right is an invalid attorney, who must have both windows up, and the fourth of the *partie carrée* has impregnated his garments with cigar-smoke; the guard allows you but little time to bolt a few slices of indurated, time-honoured ham, and a cup of boiling-hot tea, and there is every chance of a detention, on the most desolate part of the road, from a lost linch-pin or a broken coach-pole. Then for the travelling o' horseback, as is our wont in Persia and Asiatic Turkey, it is well enough for the ride, but you are exposed to all weathers, subjected to long halts, or relays of unknown brutes. A quiet camel? Sea-sickness without the comfort of a steward and a swing-cot. A ship!—according to Sam Johnson, "imprisonment, with the chance of being drowned." A boat on the Nile, the Ganges, the Euphrates? Confinement, sand-banks, contrary winds, and tedious *etc.*

Locomotion—barring the carriage and post-horses aforesaid—is monstrously annoying in the best form ; but as it is not given to mortals to transport themselves without auxiliary aid, and as every spot on the fair earth is worth visiting, commend me to *THE INDIAN DAWK*. You are your own master ; your palankeen is at once your arm-chair by day and your bed by night ; your dressing-table, your kitchen, your library, are all compactly stowed before you. Your patient bearers stop when it pleaseth you, and where it pleaseth you. Here you feast your eyes upon a magnificent landscape, in which silvery rivers rush through luxuriant jungles, and lofty mountains, covered with rich foliage, invite you to add to the wealth of your portfolio ; *there* you are arrested by the picturesque remains of some antique temple, the half-effaced inscriptions on whose mural adornments excite your curiosity and perplex your learning. Now you descend from your palankeen to sniff the morning air, and catch from the wild cry of the partridge, the carol of the lark, and the crow of the jungle-cock, the pleasant infection of exhilarated spirits—and anon you are reclining on your portable couch, carried, in imagination, by an agreeable novel, to the land of the loved West, until the subdued pace of your *porteurs* apprizes you that you are reaching one of the comfortable little bungalows or asylums for travellers where attentive domestics supply you with a bath and a breakfast, and you stretch your limbs preparatory to another stage. I have tried every description of locomotion, the 1,200 ton steamer, the 1,500 ton Indiaman, the Leith smack, the barque, the brig, the buggalah, the canoe, the elephant, the camel, the horse, the mule, the donkey, the rail-train, the mail, post-coaches, post-chaises, the diligence, the omnibus, the eil-waggon, the vetturino, the gig, the kadjava (or pannier), the sledge, the—all, in short, excepting the ostrich and the balloon ; and *THE DAWK* still stands A. 1. in my register of their respective virtues and recommendations. The feeling born in 1820 exists in all its original force in 1844.

A night and the better part of the following day brought me to my destination, and after a few hours' repose I waited on Capt. Jameson, and was duly installed in office.

Poonah was a very gay and cheerful cantonment at this time, although it had not reached the completeness and architectural consequence it now boasts. The Peishwa had been but recently deposed—the division was scarcely upon the peace establishment—in fact, notwithstanding the labours of Mr. Chaplin, the commissioner, we were far from feeling settled in the new possession. This, however, did not render the occupants of the cantonment less happy, for sport and picnics were the order of the day. But the aspect of the place was altogether too strange and interesting to be spoken of at the end of a chapter. It must be reserved until I again meet the reader.

THE FRIENDS TILL DEATH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE.

THE tale which follows this prefatory notice is translated from the *Kin-hoo-ko-kwan*, which contains a series of novels, some of which have been translated by Abel-Rémusat, M. Stanislas Julien, M. Theodore Pavie, and Mr. Thom. The present is found in the 12th *kouen*, or section, and is headed, "The grief of Yang-keò makes him lay down his life in order to perfect his friendship." The story is prefaced by a notice of two other friends, Paou and Shüh, the Chinese Pylades and Orestes. The present, or a similar tale, is very concisely alluded to by Gonçalves, in his *Arte China*, p. 585, No. 188; and a translation, not so complete as the present, was introduced by Professor Kidd into the catalogue of Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection. The one here given was, however, made long before it, and is here given in its integrity. With respect to the personages of the tale: Paou and Shüh, two ministers of the Tse dynasty, are mentioned by Gonçalves, as well as the hero, King-ko; but the fullest account of this personage is to be found in Gutzlaff's Sketch of Chinese history. Fan-yu-ke, a celebrated general at the court of the Tsin dynasty, being unsuccessful, is persecuted by the renowned Che-hwang-te, and takes refuge at the court of Tan, prince of the state of Yen. King-ko, an artful personage, is employed to tell him that he will not long survive, and begs him to cut off his head, which King-ko proposes to take in a box, and offer to the emperor. While the emperor looks at it, the emissary proposes to stab him. Fan-yu-ke is delighted at the idea, and cuts his throat; King-ko proceeds with his head to the state of Tsin, and unsuccessfully attempts to assassinate Che-hwang-te. A full account of this transaction is given at the close of the historical novel, *Chun-tseu-lee-kwo-che*, 'History of the Epoch of the Spring and Autumn, and of the constituted Kingdoms.' (16th *kouen*, 12th sect.)

"There was formerly, in the kingdom of Tse, one Kwan-chung, who bore the surname of E-wo, and one Paou-shüh, also called Seuen-tse, who from early youth, and in the midst of poverty, had sworn friendship. When Paou-shüh, in after-life, was advanced to office under Hwan-kungman, in the state of Tse, he faithfully acted up to his oath, recommended and promoted Kwan-chung to be his chief minister, and placed him constantly above him. These two men administered public affairs in the greatest harmony, exactly as if they were one individual. Kwan-chung often said, with respect to his colleague, 'Although I had thrice contended, and had thrice fled, he knew I was no coward; aware that I had an aged mother, I had thrice been in office, and thrice dismissed, he did not deem me a degenerate son; finding that I did not fall in with the times, but discussed with him, he was aware I was no fool; feeling that, whether I had gain or not, I constantly shared and gave much of what I had to him, he knew I was not avaricious. He was acquainted with my poverty; those who produced are my

parents; but he who knows me is Paou-shüh.' On this account, both in past and present times, he who hears of a truly heart-knit friendship infallibly calls it Kwan and Paou; and to this day there is a story of two friends, who, meeting by accident, formed an alliance as brethren, each laying down his life for the other, and leaving a lasting reputation.*

"In the period of the spring and autumn, when Yuen-wang, of the kingdom of Tsou, treated with consideration the followers of Confucius and of Laou-aze, invited the enlightened and employed scholars, the news attracted to him those who were unwilling to let slip the opportunity of enjoying patronage. There was, in the Tseih-shih hills of Se-keang, a virtuous scholar,† named Tso, whose appellation was Pih-taou. Early in life he lost both his parents. He gave his whole attention to study, cultivating political philosophy.‡ His years approached four lustres. At that time, the fiefs of the central kingdom had swallowed up each other; the practisers of virtuous government were few; numberless the usurpers who relied on their authority. As yet, Tso-pih-taou had not come forth to seek for office, but when he heard of Yuen-wang, the king of Tsou, who, enamoured of virtue and admiring justice, had made search for skilful doctors, he carried a sack of books, bade adieu to his neighbours and friends in the village, hastened by by-roads to the state of Tsou, and arrived by easy stages at Yung-te. It happened then to be the winter period of the wind and rain. There is a passage in the *Se-beang-yue*, which says of the wintry sky and the loveliness of the rain,

The wind without intermission mournfully roaming cuts the face, and dripping down, the small rain bedews the garments; the intruding icicle and fermented snow swiftly urge on the power of the cold. Incomparable is that period's harmonious breath!

The indistinct colour of the hills, the sunlight constantly bedimmed, as the few returning obscures heaven's bank. The roamer's spirits are exhausted at his return; the traveller in like manner regrets that he has started.

"Tso-pih-taou proceeded along, buffeting with the wind and rain. One day, his clothes drenched with rain, he beheld the daylight waning, and approached a village, desirous of begging shelter for the night. From a distance he perceived, in a wood of bamboos, a broken window, from which streamed the light of a lamp. He hastened in the direction, and beheld a short hedge, which encircled a little thatched hut, and pushing through the hedge, gently knocked at a wicket. A person inside opened the door and came out. Tso-pih-taou, standing under the eaves of the house, hastily made a bow, and said, 'Your humble servant is a native of Se-keang, by name Tso-pih-taou, who, desirous of journeying to the kingdom of Tsou, has unfortunately encountered the

* Friends, says the *Chü-tsu* (vol. iv.), are also accounted one of the five relations of human life. When their intercourse is good, any injury afflicts them as brethren of the same mother; therefore, Kwan and Paou had the righteousness of sharing their money, &c.

† Literally, *hien-ssu*, 'a virtuous doctor'; this term seems limited to civil officers.

‡ Literally, "the intent of completely adjusting the age, and the means of arriving at tranquillizing the people."

rain in the middle of his road, and not meeting with an inn, entrusted a night's lodging; to-morrow he will set forward: he does not yet know whether your honourable intention will grant it or not.' The person, upon hearing this, hastily interchanged compliments, and led him into the hut. Tso-ph-taou looked at it, and saw that there was only a couch, and upon the couch a heap of books—nothing else; he then knew that the owner was a literary man, and he desired to perform the ceremonies of bowing to him. The person said, 'Do not stand upon compliments; it is better to dry your garments;' and, making action to words, lit some bamboos for a fire, and Tso-ph-taou dried his garments. The person then prepared some wine and food, and offered it, treating him with the kindest attention. Tso-ph-taou inquired his name. The person answered, 'that he was called Yang-keō-gae; that he had early in life lost his parents, and dwelt there alone; that he was naturally very much addicted to learning; that his agricultural occupation had altogether ceased, and that his present good fortune was very great in meeting with a learned doctor coming from a distance; he only lamented the destitute condition of his house, and humbly entreated him to overlook it.' 'At such a cloudy and rainy time,' returned Tso-ph-taou, 'attaining the favour of your shelter, and, in addition, receiving food and drink,—how can I ever forget to thank you?' That night the two laid down to rest, but conversed of their studies without reposing till the end of the evening, and did not fall asleep till next day's dawn.

"The fall of rain had not stopped, and Yang-keō-gae detained Tso-ph-taou in his house, exhausted all that he had, waited upon him, and they mutually vowed to be elder and younger brothers. Tso-ph-taou was five years older than Yang-keō-gae, who offered him the respects of an elder brother.

"After he had stayed there three days, the rain ceased, and the roads became dry. 'My virtuous younger brother,' said Tso-ph-taou, 'possessing the talents of a wang-tso,* united with just thoughts, not exposing the fine silk of the bamboos, but loving the fountain of the old wood, is to be deeply deplored.' 'It is not,' replied the other, 'that I do not desire to accept office, but that I have not yet obtained the means.' 'At present,' replied Tso-ph-taou, 'the king of Tsoo is emptying his heart to seek out scholars, and since my younger brother has this sentiment, why not go together?' 'I wish,' said the other, 'to obey my elder brother's command.' He then got ready a few things for their support on the road, rations and rice, and, leaving the rush hut, the two journeyed together southwards.

"They had not gone more than two days when they met with bad weather, and were obliged to put up at an inn, where they consumed a good deal of their supplies. They had at last only one packet of food remaining, and the two carrying it in turn, braved the weather and went on. The rain was incessant, and the wind blew hard. It changed one day for a heavy fall of snow. Behold what it was like:—

* A royal minister.

The winds grew strong, the snow was cold—the snow followed up the wind's power. In disorder, the silkiness of the willow was wildly agitated by the breeze. Flake after flake, the eider-down disorderedly spirited along. The whole welkin was a confused fall of snow, north, south, east, and west, covering the earth, inundating the heaven, entirely changing its blue and yellow to red and black. The tranquil feelings of the poetical wanderer who was examining the plum-tree were delightfully excited; the roadfarer desired to save himself.

* “The two passed along to the southward, and in their course took the road across the Leang hills. On inquiring of some wood-cutters, they were told by them that the road from this spot for about a hundred *le* had no trace of human habitation, but led entirely across retired hills and large barren moors, infested by wolves and tigers; that the better course was not to attempt to go. Tso-pih-taou said, ‘What does my virtuous brother think of it?’ Yang-keō-gae answered, ‘It has been said from the olden time that life and death are predetermined, and having arrived here, we should only think of advancing, and not cherish any desire to return.’ They again proceeded a day’s journey, and at night lodged in some ancient sepulchres. Their clothes were but slight, and the cold wind penetrated to their bones. Next day, the snow fell still more heavily, and in the hills it was nearly a full cubit’s depth. Tso-pih-taou could endure the cold no longer, and said, ‘I think that, in this journey for a hundred *le*, deprived of human habitations, our supplies failing, our clothes insufficient, and food exhausted, if one went by himself he might arrive at Tsoo; but if both go, should we not be frozen to death, we shall be starved alive on the road; and what will be the use of dying with the trees and plants? Let me take the clothes which I have upon me, and, putting them off, give them to my virtuous younger brother to put on; he can then by himself use the supplies, and gain strength in the road to go on. After I have sent him on, I will not move, but prefer dying here, and wait till he sees the king of Tsoo; he must then get an important employment, and it will not be too late to come and bury me.’ ‘How can such a plan be executed?’ replied Yang-keō-gae. ‘Although we two are not born of the same parents, the breath of integrity is greater than bones and flesh;* how could I bear to go alone and entreat promotion?’ He forthwith assisted Tso-pih-taou along.

“After they had proceeded ten *le*, Tso-pih-taou said, ‘The wind and snow are still more urgent; how can I proceed?’ They then sought a resting-place at the road’s side, and beheld a decayed mulberry-tree offering a slight shelter from the snow. One person could easily be sheltered under it. Yang-keō-gae assisted Tso-pih-taou to enter in and sit down; and Tso-pih-taou desired Yang-keō-gae to knock stones together, in order to procure a light, and set fire to some decayed wood, to protect them from the cold. Yang-keō-gae was employed in taking a little fire towards him, and had come back, when he beheld Tso-pih-taou naked; he had taken off all his clothes, and laid them down in a heap. Yang-keō-gae exclaimed, in astonishment, ‘Why has my bro-

* This refers to their knitting the alliance of brethren; to keep it up was a higher duty than mere consanguinity; it means, ‘the keeping of an oath is more important than blood.’

ther done this?' 'On considering, I had no other plan,' answered Tso-pih-taou; 'let not my brother delude himself, but forthwith put on these garments, and, bearing on his back these rattans, go forward. I will die here.' Yang-keò-gae embraced him, and burst into tears. 'We two,' he said, 'having a friendship, must live and die together; how can we part?' Tso-pih-taou replied, 'Who will bury our blanched bones* if we are both starved to death together?' Yang-keò-gae answered, 'Since it is thus, I wish to take off my clothes and put them on my elder brother, that he may take the food and go, and let me perish here.' 'During my whole life,' said the other, 'I have been very delicate; my younger brother is rather strong,—compared with me, very strong; he is much more deeply read and informed than I am; if he sees the king of Tsoo, he must be created an important minister. How is my death worth speaking about? Do not, my brother, remain a long time: you should go at once.' 'At present,' said Yang-keò-gae, 'you being starved to death in the mulberry-tree, and I proceeding alone to gain a promotion, is decidedly not the act of a just man; I cannot do it.' 'Of my own accord,' answered Tso-pih-taou, 'I left the Tseih-shih hills, and came to my brother's house. As soon as I had seen him, perceiving that my brother's knowledge was uncommon, on this account I exhorted him to seek promotion. Unhappily, the wind and rain is adverse. This is my fate, and it is for me to undergo it; but should I cause my brother to perish, it would then be my fault.' When he had ceased speaking, he desired to leap forward into the stream before them, and die. Yang-keò-gae embraced and stopped him, and, bitterly weeping, took the garments to cover him, and assisted him to get into the mulberry-tree. Tso-pih-taou again threw aside the clothes, and Yang-keò-gae again renewed his exhortations.

"While he was explaining, he beheld Tso-pih-taou's spirit and colour changed, and that the cold had already seized on the vital principle; he could not speak; he motioned him with his hand to go. The other again took the clothes to cover him, when he perceived that he was already frozen. His hands were straight, his legs fixed. Yang-keò-gae thought to himself, 'If I remain a long time here, commiserating him, I shall also be frozen to death. After I am dead, who will bury my brother?' Then, in the snow, worshipping his brother, he said, 'Your degenerate younger brother, departing hence, expects the assistance of your shade; should he only obtain a slight reputation, he will infallibly give you a sumptuous funeral.' Tso-pih-taou nodded his head, and in the moment while he was half-answering, his breath failed him. Yang-keò-gae could only take the food and clothes, and turning round, looked at him as he went along. He proceeded, lamenting and weeping. Tso-pih-taou died in the mulberry-tree. Posterity has an ode in his praise, saying,

The cold came, and the snow was three cubits deep:

The man went on the road for a thousand *li*.

The long road was bitter, cold was the snow!

Still more, there was no rice in the sack;

* *Sh-kai*, 'our whitened,' or rather, in our idiom, 'bare bones.'

And although there was supply enough for one,
If they went together, both must have died.
What would have been the advantage of the death of the two faithful
friends?

One's life was still more to be depended on!
Virtuous, indeed, was Tso-pih-taou;

In laying down his life he manifested the beauty of a perfect man.

"Yang-keō-gae, enduring the cold and ice, half-starved, arrived at the kingdom of Tsoo, and rested in one of the caravanserais.* Next day he entered the city, and inquired of a person, saying, 'The prince of Tsoo invites virtuous doctors,—where do you go in?' The person replied, 'There is a hall for guests prepared outside the palace, where the great officer,† Pei-chung, receives the national scholars.' He approached the guests'-room, and at that moment Pei-chung was descending from his chariot. Yang-keō-gae came forward, and made a reverence. Pei-chung, perceiving that Yang-keō-gae, although dressed in rough and tattered clothes, still appeared beyond the ordinary cast, hastily responded to his salutation, and said, 'Where does the virtuous scholar come from?' 'Your humble servant,' answered he, 'is named Yang-keō-gae, and is a Yang-chow man; hearing that the supreme kingdom invites scholars, he has come on purpose to offer himself.' Pei-chung led him into the guests'-hall, and offered him wine and food. He passed the night in the hall, and next day Pei-chung came into the hall and questioned Yang-keō-gae as to the state of his knowledge. He answered every question, and spoke as fluently as a stream. Pei-chung was vastly pleased, and went in and reported it to the monarch, who invited Yang-keō-gae to his presence, to inquire of him concerning the means of enriching the kingdom and strengthening the forces. Yang-keō-gae at once proposed ten plans, all well adapted for the exigencies of the times. The king was greatly delighted, and prepared a royal feast in order to entertain him, and promoted him to be chung-ta-foo;‡ gave him a hundred ounces of gold, and a hundred ells of variegated silk. Yang-keō-gae again bowed, and his tears gushed forth. Yuen-wang, much astonished, asked, 'Why is your lordship so deeply afflicted?' Yang-keō-gae then reported to the king the circumstance of Tso-pih-taou's taking off his clothes and giving him their supplies. When the king heard this, he was much moved, and all the great officers were painfully affected. 'What does your lordship wish?' asked his majesty. 'Your minister entreats leave of absence,' replied Yang-keō-gae, 'to go and bury Tso-pih-taou; he will then return to serve the great king.' Yuen-wang forthwith promoted the deceased Tso-pih-taou to the rank of chung-ta-foo, disbursed the expenses of his funeral, and sent persons to follow Yang-keō-gae, and go along with his chariot.

"Yang-keō-gae bade adieu to the monarch, and hastened in the direction of the Leang mountains, to seek the spot of the decayed mul-

* *Lou-ts*,—places for travellers, appointed by the court.

† He was *chung-ta-foo*, supreme *ta-foo*.

‡ *Ta-foo* of the second class.

berry-tree of former days. He saw Tso-pih-taou's corpse, the countenance being as if he was still living. Yang-keō-gae bowed, and wept, and called to his assistants to collect together the old people of the districts to divine a good spot at the source of the Poo-tang. Before, it overlooked the great stream; behind, it leaned upon the lofty side of the mountain; encircled on the right and left by the peaks of the hills. The situation was excellent. They forthwith washed Tso-pih-taou's corpse in fragrant waters, dressed it, and placed on it the cap of a *ta-foo*; deposited it in an inner and outer coffin, tranquilly buried it, and raised a mound on the four sides, surrounded with a mud wall; they planted trees near it, and at a distance of thirty paces from the tomb erected a small sacrificial edifice, and set up in it a terra-cotta image of Tso-pih-taou. It was decorated with flowers and trees, and upon it was placed the usual tablet in front. At the side of the wall was a small tiled apartment, and persons were ordered to preserve and watch it. As soon as the building was finished, they offered up the usual sacrifice in the pavilion. The grief of the party was excessive, and all the elders of the place and followers shed tears.

"Yang-keō-gae that night sat there with lamps burning, weeping and sighing without cessation. On a sudden, a gust of wind came whirling and howling in. The lamps almost went out, and on their reviving he beheld in the shadow a person apparently uncertain whether to advance or retire, and sobbing in a suppressed manner. Yang-keō-gae called out 'Who is there? Who dares, in this abrupt manner, and in the depth of night, enter this place?' No one answered. He then arose, and, looking, found it was Tso-pih-taou! Yang-keō-gae exclaimed, in astonishment, 'Since my brother's shade has not retired to a distance, but has come to visit me, there must be some cause for it.' Tso-pih-taou replied, 'I thank my brother for his careful recollection, and that, at the commencement of his ascending the road of preferment, he has petitioned to bury me; that he has expended much, and invested me with dignity. The beauty of the coffins and shrouds, and every thing, is unexceptionable; only my tomb is very close to that of King-ko. This man, during his life, attacking the monarch of Tsin, was killed in his unsuccessful attempt. Kaou-tsēn-le took his corpse and buried it here. His spirit is very majestic, and fierce; every night he comes with a sword, and abuses me, saying, 'You frozen-to-death, hunger-killed fellow, how dare you make your tomb and lie upon my shoulders, depriving me of my situation? If you do not depart from hence I will overthrow the tomb, take your corpse, and cast it outside the moor.' I come, on account of this annoyance, to beg my younger brother to remove me elsewhere, in order to avoid the menaced calamity.' Yang-keō-gae wished to ask a few questions, but the wind hastily arose, and the spectre became invisible. Yang-keō-gae, in the pavilion, looked about astonished; then, as if in a dream, but distinctly, remembered the circumstances.

"Next day, at dawn, he again summoned the elders of the place, and inquired if there was any tomb near. They replied that there was the tomb

of King-ko in the shade of the fir-tree, and that there was an ancestral temple before it. 'This person,' said Yang-keō-gae, 'having been formerly killed in *unsuccessfully* attempting to destroy the monarch of Tsin, —how comes he to have a tomb here?' The elders replied, 'Kaou-tsēen-le, who was an inhabitant here, understanding King-ko's destruction, and his corpse being thrown outside the moor, stole it and buried it at this spot, and his soul being a very illustrious one, the inhabitants built a temple here, and offer the sacrifices of the four seasons, in order to entreat felicity and fortune.' When he heard this account he credited the vision, and, leading his followers, hastened to the ancestral temple of King-ko, pointed at the image, and abused it. 'You common fellow of the state of Yen, supported by the heir-apparent, who bribing you by a famous beauty and a great reward, having exhausted your ability, and not thinking on any good plan, appointed you to enter into the state of Tsin, to raise revolt, bury yourself, and delude the kingdom. Coming here, you have deceived the people around, who come and sacrifice to you. My elder brother, Tso-pih-taou, is a famous civilian of the present age, benevolent and just, and a pure scholar. How dare you oppress him? If you do it again, I will overturn your ancestral temple, destroy the sepulchre, and cut you up root and branch * for ever.' When he had finished his abuse, he came to Tso-pih-taou's tomb, and prayed, saying, 'Should King-ko come again to-night, let me know.'

"That night, he lighted lamps and waited, and really beheld Tso-pih-taou, who, sighing, said: 'I thank my brother for this; but King-ko has many followers, and all the people about offer sacrifices to him; my brother should take grass and reeds, and make shapes of men, clothe them in colours, and putting in their hands military weapons, burn them before the tomb. By means of their assistance, King-ko will be prevented from injuring me.' After he had thus spoken, he became invisible. Yang-keō-gae, the following night, employed persons to bind up straw in the shape of men, cover them with coloured silk, and, providing each with swords and spears, placed some tens of them at the side of the tomb, and burnt them. He then uttered a sacrificial prayer, and said, 'Should this be of no use, come and tell me, and return to the sacrificial hall.' That night was heard a sound of wind and rain, and as it were of men fighting. Yang-keō-gae came out to look, and he beheld Tso-pih-taou, who ran up to him and said, 'The men my brother burnt are of no use; King-ko has also got the assistance of Kaou-tsēen-le, and ere long my corpse must be expelled from the sepulchre; I hope my brother will soon remove it to another place, and bury it, and save me from such a misfortune.' 'How does the fellow act thus?' exclaimed the other, 'and insult my elder brother? I will help him with my own sword. 'My brother is a man,' was the reply; 'but we are all spirits.† A living man may possess courage, and help to arrest the dusty world; but how can he war against the shades? Although the effigies aid to shout, they were unable to drive

* *Kān-pun*, 'root and base.'

† *Yung-jin*, a 'sunlight man;' but we are *yin kwai*, 'shadowy souls.'

back these powerful spirits.' 'Depart, now, my brother,' replied he; 'to-morrow you shall certainly have a quiet place.'

"The next day, Yang-keō-gae again came down to the ancestral temple of King-ko, and after soundly rating him, smashed the image, and then was about to set fire to the temple; but the elders of the district earnestly begged him to forbear, saying, 'This is a village's sacrificial fire; should it be overthrown, we apprehend it will produce calamity among the people.' In a short time, all the inhabitants assembled and entreated him; he could, therefore, resist no longer, and he returned into the sacrificial hall. He then drew up an explanatory document, which he sent up to the king of Tsoo, saying, 'On a former occasion Tso-pih-taou gave his rations to your minister, by which means he survived, and met with his holy master, who has condescendingly elevated him, and given him an important title—a whole life's sufficiency! suffer your minister to plan in an after age, to exhaust his heart, in order to recompense. The terms were most decided.'

"Having delivered the document to his followers, he went down to Tso-pih-taou's tomb, and said to them, after a burst of tears: 'My brother, Tso-pih-taou, is persecuted by the powerful spirit of King-ko, and is allowed no rest by it. I cannot suffer this, and would burn the temple, and pull down the tomb, but I am afraid of rejecting the suit of the people of the district. It is better to die, so that, becoming a spirit under the fountains,* I may aid my brother to fight this strong spirit. You must take my corpse, and bury it to the right of the tomb: in life and death we will be in the same place: I have endeavoured to recompense his friendship for me. Return, and present the document to the prince of Tsoo; tell him that I entreat him to listen and adopt his minister's words, to bestow his constant protection upon the hills and streams, the gods of the land and of the grain.' When he had finished speaking, he stabbed himself, and died. His followers buried him beside Tso-pih-taou's tomb.

"That night the wind and rain were excessive; thunder and lightning augmented the noise of shouts of battle heard for many *le*. Upon the top of King-ko's tomb was a rent, as if by lightning, and the bared bones were scattered on the moor. The fir tree at the side of the tomb was plucked up by the roots, and in the ancestral temple suddenly burst forth a flame. The elders of the district, greatly astonished, came before the two tombs of Tso and Yang, burnt incense, and bowed before them. The followers returned to the kingdom of Tsoo, and reported the whole affair to the monarch. Yuen-wang, in recompense of the merit of his minister, sent down a high officer to build before the tomb a temple for the deceased. He promoted him to be chief of the *Ta-foo*. The formula of the document bestowing the temple called it *The Temple of Justice and Fidelity*. A tablet was set up in order to record the event. Till the present day the fragrant fire has never been extinguished, while, from that period, the soul of King-ko was destroyed, though the villagers, at the four seasons of the year, offer the sacrifice for the redemption of souls.

* Alluding to the *keso tsuen*, or "nine" yellow "sourens" of Hades.

ON THE ORIENTALISMS IN ÆSCHYLUS.

NO. II.

BEFORE resuming our examination it may be not amiss to mention that, in illustrating the various passages which we adduced to shew the Oriental imagery and expressions employed by the Greek author, we have uniformly preferred Holy Scripture, which is, considering it apart from its inspired character, the most faithful, as well as most copious, record we possess of ancient Eastern habits and feelings, and contains likewise, in the Psalms and similar books, the largest collection of early Oriental poetry. Having made this remark we proceed to take up the *Agamemnon* from v. 810, where the hero is represented as returning in his war-chariot from Troy, accompanied by his captive bride.

On his first entrance he utters a prayer, or rather a speech of thanksgiving, to the gods, who have granted him a safe return to his palace and his queen. Of this custom we find but scanty notice in Sophocles. Does Orestes, in the *Electra*, return thanks to Heaven on his return to Argos? Does Philoctetes express his gratitude in this manner for the visit of Neoptolemus? We are almost tempted to look upon the piety of the Orientals as superior to that of their European brethren,* and to consider this custom an Eastern one. Though a reference to Scripture may in this case be considered unfair, we cannot refrain from referring the reader to the song of praise uttered by King David under somewhat similar circumstances, 2 *Sam.* xxii. The 30th verse of this chapter, "By thee have I run through a troop; by my God have I leaped over a wall," finds an accurate parallel in v. 821 and v. 827.

Τούτων θεοῖσι χρεὶ πολύμνηστον χάριν
 τίνειν, ἐπεὶ περ
 πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος, . . .
 ὑπερθορῶν δὲ πύργον, &c.

V. 827-8. "A devouring lion (*i.e.* the Greek army), leaping over the towers, has licked up its fill of royal blood." The simile of the lion, which has occurred before in this play (v. 718—734), is very common in all Oriental writers, and in Homer, who was, if we may credit the hymn ascribed to him, an Asiatic Greek.† Now, upon examining Herodotus,‡ it will be seen that Æschylus could

* Compare the conversation of Cambyses and Cyrus, as delivered to us by Xenophon, *Cyrus* l. 24 *ed. 8vo.*, in which religious duties are strongly inculcated.

† *Hymn. in Apoll.*, quoted by Thucydides, iii. 104:—

Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνι παιπαλοῖσσι.

'The blind old man of Chios' rocky isle.'

‡ *Pol.* 126.

hardly speak from the experience which his own country afforded him of the habits of this animal; for we are told that lions are found in Europe only between the rivers Achelous, in Acarnania, and the Nestus, which flows past Abdera. Putting all these facts together, and remembering that *Æschylus* could not have passed any long time in this lion-country, it being almost entirely friendly to the Persians, we cannot be thought to draw an unwarrantable conclusion in pronouncing this use of the lion in simile an Orientalism. Its occurrence in Scripture is so common, that we shall content ourselves with referring to *Joel*, i. 6, as being more immediately parallel to the passage we have now been discussing.

It is worthy of notice that the word λέων is not found more than four times in all the remains of Sophocles; and, out of these four times, it is only used once in simile, *Philoctetes*, 1436: 'Ye guard one another like a couple of lions:' and to use such a simile as this requires no very intimate knowledge of the habits of the animal. This circumstance seems to go some way to prove the peculiar Orientalism of *Æschylus*.

In v. 819, "The storms of destruction are alive," the imagery is highly Oriental, and positively the same with that in *Prov.* i. 27, "When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind."

V. 837. "I can say from knowledge, for I well understand the mirror of friendship, that those who appear most well-disposed to me are but a shadowy phantom." This expression of Agamemnon seems to partake of that sententious style in which Orientals love to clothe their speeches. Though it cannot be asserted that these are entirely Eastern metaphors, for they are of frequent occurrence in other authors, yet we cannot help imagining that they have an Eastern origin, on comparing them with *Prov.* xxvii. 17, 19, "A man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend;" "As in water face answereth to face, so is the heart of man to man;" and many similar passages. The subject of friendship is one which is most commonly chosen by Oriental writers; and the deepest and most plaintive sorrow is expressed in their writings at being deserted or deceived by a friend. "Mine own familiar friend,"* says David, *Ps.* xli. 9, "hath lifted up his heel against me." Many aphorisms and rules concerning friendship are comprehended in the books of Proverbs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus. And this appears to arise from the very slight esteem in which women were, and are to this day, held in the East. In such a state of feeling, a man is

* איש שלומי 'the man of my peace.' Cf. also *Job*. vi. 14, and xix. 14.

bereft of domestic society, and naturally attaches more importance to the friendship formed with another of his own sex. Where we find, then, in the Greek poets, such particular mention of friendship, it is not unfair to consider it as an Orientalism adopted as congenial to Greek ideas in consequence of the almost Oriental seclusion in which their females, married ones especially, were accustomed to be kept.

The titles which Clytæmnestra deceitfully heaps on her lord must recal many well-known passages of Scripture. She compares him* to "the watch-dog of the fold; the cable which preserves a vessel; the pillar of a lofty edifice; the only son of a father; the land which unexpectedly appears to a sailor; fair weather after a storm; a running brook to a thirsty wayfarer;" and, a few lines farther on,† to "warmth in winter, and leaves springing from a root, which yield shade from the parching dog-star." Such comparisons, though, as we have elsewhere remarked, they are frequently found in non-Oriental writers, still have an Eastern character.

The sententious phraseology of the Orientals seems to shew itself also in the reply of Agamemnon to his wife, when he declines the honours which she presses upon him. In fact, the lines 916—930 appear much to resemble in style the book of Proverbs, the very Oriental character of which must be obvious to all. "Keep your praises," says the hero, "within bounds; this honour should be paid me by others than yourself. Make me not effeminate; fall not down to me, as to a foreign king, when you address me. Make not my passage hateful to the gods by strowing it with drapery.‡ These are honours which should be paid to the gods; it is by no means devoid of danger for a mortal to walk thus. Honour me, I tell thee, as a man, not as a god. Fame speaks aloud, without all this rich embroidery being trampled under my feet. Freedom from folly is the greatest gift of the Deity. We should hold him happy who dies in prosperity. Cheerful shall I be, if I can always meet with the same success as I have in the present instance."

V. 1034. *Ζωπυρουμένας φρενός*. "My mind being on fire." The poet, in this and the few preceding lines, is describing the effects of a silence maintained with difficulty. These verses form the conclusion of the fourth ode, in which, as already mentioned,§ the Chorus breaks out into a more undisguised expression of fear for the sovereign's fate. "Had I not been prevented, my heart would have

* V. 896.

† V. 966.

‡ This is a manner of shewing respect which is practised to the present day in the East, and is rendered peculiarly easy from the nature of the Eastern costume.

§ No. I. p. 81.

anticipated my tongue, and let these things burst forth ; but now it murmurs in darkness, pain, and despair, my mind being set on fire." Every one will allow this imagery to be truly Oriental. In *Psalms* xxxix. the same ideas are introduced : " I was dumb with silence ; I held my peace even from good ; and my sorrow was stirred.* My heart was hot within me, while I was musing, the fire burned." The idea of *pain* producing *heat* of mind has led some persons to translate θερμόνους (v. 1172) by a word expressive of grief, comparing it with *Ezek.* iii. 14. " I went in bitterness, in the heat† of my spirit." But this cannot be urged as a second instance of this metaphor, as Blomfield and most others consider it to refer to divine *afflatus*.

V. 1061. καρβάνη χειρ. The word καρβανος occurs also in *Supp.* 128, 911, and in two places in Lycophron. Photius explains it by βάρβαροι, and the derivation is said to be ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρὸς βόην ἔχειν, as is mentioned by Eustathius.‡ But surely, were it derived from " the Carian language," καρὸς φώνη would be more likely to be employed than βόη, which signifies 'cry' rather than 'speech.' May not its etymological root be a word cognate with the Hebrew ורב 'to lay waste,' giving it the sense of 'a captive from abroad?' or, should it be objected that the Hebrew נ and the Greek Κ are not likely to be interchanged, may we not even refer it to the word קרב 'he drew near,' thus giving to it the sense of 'advena?' The Arabic قربان *karban* signifies 'near to,' and hence implies 'a relation.'

We have already remarked the Oriental character of the wailings and prophecies of Cassandra, which extend from v. 1072 to 1330. It is difficult, nay almost impossible, to go minutely through these 250 lines, and point out what expressions in them seem to partake of this character ; and indeed the Orientalism does not, in this part of the play, appear so strongly in the phraseology as in the style and general nature of the composition. Beyond one or two obscure and corrupt passages, these lines present no very remarkable difficulty ; and we strongly recommend those of our readers who are pleased with an Oriental style of writing, to peruse, or re-peruse, this portion of the very beautiful drama now before us. While they are charmed with its wild, prophet-like strain, they will not fail to confess, that the hypothesis we have been endeavouring to illustrate

* In the Prayer Book, "It was pain and grief unto me."

† חֵם the word used here to denote 'heat' is identical with חֵם, the one employed in Ps. xxxix.

‡ Blomfield, *ad loc.*

does not in this passage stand in need of many arguments to prove it. We have already, in a previous article, said much on this subject, and therefore shall not tire the reader with farther remarks, only referring to v. 1115, ἀρκυς ἡ ξύβευρος, as compared with *Ecclus.* vii. 26, and to 1327—1330, an Eastern-like reflection on the instability of all human affairs.

V. 1396. "As he has, in spite of justice, filled a cup of such accursed woo in his house, he himself goes and drains it (ἐκπίνει)." Compare this idea with *Ps.* lxxv. 8. "In the hand of the Lord is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture, and he poureth out of the same; but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them." This mode of expression appears an Oriental one: it would at least seem very well adapted for the ancient Persians, since, as Herodotus says,* οἶνω κάπρα προσκείραται, 'they are addicted to drinking.' Compare also "this shall be the portion of their cup;" "let this cup pass from me;" and other similar passages.

The last expression to which we shall direct the attention of the reader is v. 1533, where the calamities and murders befalling the house of Atreus are spoken of by the Chorus under the type of 'a plashing torrent of blood.' This will probably appear to others, as it does to us, to have somewhat of the Oriental in it. The play is concluded with a kind of λογομαχία between Ægisthus and the Chorus, in which no passage of interest occurs.

In concluding this review of the *Agamemnon*, we will only remark, that other expressions and words, such as γάγγαμον, v. 361, ἀμφίσβαινα, v. 1233, 'the palace of terror,' v. 1434, may appear additional instances of the Orientalisms we have endeavoured to illustrate. We have selected those which seem to partake most of this character.

We postpone any further remarks till the conclusion of the review, on the same principles, in a subsequent paper, of the remainder of the Trilogy, the *Choëphoræ* and *Eumenides*.

ON THE CREED, CUSTOMS, AND LITERATURE OF THE JANGAMS

BY C. P. BROWN, ESQ.

[Concluded from p. 92.]

On their Belief regarding the Deity.

IN all the various creeds that exist among the Hindus, they profess to adore one only god, and represent him as appearing under various names. Thus, in the Vira Saiva creed, they profess a belief in Sada-Siva alone, as the supreme being, who is invisible, but pervades all nature. They frequently speak of him as Daxina Murti, or the express form of goodness, who descended on earth under the name Basava, and likewise as Allama. The following Sanscrit hymn or prayer to Daxina Murti was written by the celebrated divine Agastya ; it forms part of the *Agastya-ashtacam*, and is prefixed as a motto to the *Prabhu Linga Lila* :

1.

*Brahm ānandam, parama sukhadam kēvala jñāna mūrtim,
Dvandva uttam, gagana sadrisam Tatwam asi yādī laryam !
Eoam, nityam, vimalam, achalam, sarvatas sūtri bhūtam,
Bhūv uttam, trigunā rahitam, sad GURUM tam namami !*

2.

*Vata vutapi samīpē, bhūmi bhāgē nishan'a am
Sacala munī janāndam, jñāna dātaram ārāt,
Tribhuvana Gurum, I's'am, DAXINAMURTI Dēvam,
Janana maran'a dukkhā xēda dazam namāmi.*

1. "I salute the great teacher, the bestower of divine happiness and supreme bliss ; the image of perfect wisdom ; who is removed from all griefs ; who is represented by the sky ; who is denoted by the 'TRUTH,' and other names. The one, eternal, stainless, stable, and omniscient ; the incomprehensible : who knoweth neither passion, partiality, nor folly.

2. "He who sits on earth at the foot of the fig-tree ;* who bestows wisdom on all the devout hermits who surround him : lord and teacher of the universe, the god who is embodied goodness ; him do I salute as the releaser from the bonds of life and death."

When the deity is spoken of as invisible, he is named Siva, Sadā Siva, Paramesa, or the Supreme Being. When described in a visible form, the name is Daxina Murti, or the image of Grace. When described as on earth, Allama is the usual name ; though this is declared to be only another name for Basava.

* The *estā orisam*, the banyan, or fig-tree, is the Hindu emblem of immortality : they believe that in the end of time all nature will perish except one mystic fig-tree, at the foot of which the deity will be enthroned.

Thus we see that they look upon their leader as a divinity : imitating the Bramins, who have exalted their heroes, Krishna, Rama, and Hanuman, into gods on earth.

The vague manner in which these names are used produces some inconsistency. Thus Basava is actually Siva ; vastly superior to the mere Siva or Jupiter, who is the spouse of Parvati, and yet is sent on earth by him. He is born as Basava, then appears as Allama, is adored as Daxina Murti ; and then we have interviews between these personages, whereat Basava offers adoration to Allama. It is observable that Basava's wife, Gangamba, is never supposed to be a goddess, nor does she receive any homage.

Sancar Achari, the great theologian of the Smartas, having declared that *oneness* with the Deity is the great object, the Jangam replies that this union is attainable in this life, and that every true Jangam has attained it. Moreover, he asserts that his mortal body is a mere member of the image he wears. "For," says he, "what am I in the hands of the God who dwells in my breast? I am earth, he is spirit! I am but a part of him." We find similar language among some philosophers of Greece and Rome. Thus Livy (lib. xxi. 5) says : "*Vidit enim quod videndum fuit appendicem animi esse corpus, nihilque esse in eo magnum.*" In fact, the Bramin looks upon the body as all in all ; the Jangam does not. Yet the regard in which they hold the *yoga sastra*m, which wholly depends upon the *bodily* frame, and pretends to spiritualize it, is a manifest inconsistency, and forms an additional proof that all the Hindu systems of devotion, in their highest flights, betray the weakness and the blindness of unassisted human nature.

Though this creed utterly condemns all worship paid to Siva and his spouse Parvati (Jupiter and Juno), still these personages and their attendants (Nandi, Bhiringi, and others) are familiarly introduced in the Jangam poems. This odd inconsistency is analogous to that we meet with in Addison, Prior, and the French school of English poets, who introduce Jupiter, Venus, Cupid, and Mars, as if they really believed the existence of those demi-gods. When questioned on such a half-belief in the Hindu theogony, the reply made by a Jangam is not satisfactory. He does not look upon such poetical machinery as inconsistent with his creed. "For," says he, "all of these are very possibly gods or powers of various degrees of might, and we are not bound to believe a word of the stories regarding them. We adore Sadā Siva (the ever-blessed) alone, who is known under the name Basava Esa (the lord Basava), or Allama Prabhu (Lord Allama), who came on earth to found the Vira Saiva faith, or rather to restore it to primitive purity."

Considering that this creed arose in the west of India, in a country bordering on that inhabited by the Syrian Christians, it has sometimes occurred to me that very possibly some of the tales regarding Basava may have been borrowed from legends current among the Syrian churches. Both chronology and geography seem to strengthen this

suspicion ; and it is worthy of notice that the name *Allama*, which resembles the Syriac and Arabic name of God, is attributed by them to their deity. The word *Allama* seems to be foreign, and in their eagerness to account for it, the various poets, whether Sanscrit, Telugu, or Canarese, have adduced roots which will not bear inquiry. - Indeed, the learned men who assisted me in the present investigation have acknowledged that the etymologies adduced are strained and improbable. They, however, would by no means admit my suggestion that this name originated in *Allah* : and particularly observed that no Jangam had ever been known to embrace Christianity, or the Mahomedan faith. Yet when we consider how determinately Basava did every thing in his power to oppose the braminical opinions, I confess that his followers thus borrowing a well-known name of the deity from a neighbouring country seems not improbable. He ordered *all* children to be introduced into the religion when young. He abolished burning the dead, and substituted burial ; he set aside the priestly descent ; he permitted widows to marry again. In these and many other points equally opposed both to Bramins and to Jainas, it appears to me that he attempted to follow the customs of Christians. In particular, it is observable that the Jangams reject the observance of new moons and full moons, but consider every Tuesday a sacred or blessed day.

If it prove true, as just now mentioned, that there have been no converts from this creed to Christianity, we may fairly attribute it to the neglected state in which the English have left the Jangams. That neglect seems to be the result of the disgusting slanders with which the Jangam character has been blackened by Bramins, who usually are an Englishman's informants on all subjects concerning Hinduism.*

If the Jangams really were the depraved and vile race the Bramins describe them to be, it surely might be expected that they would have become notorious in our courts of justice. But there we do not hear of them ; and surely it is much to their honour that their conduct is not known to be such as makes it a subject for police investigations. Another reason for their never appearing in our courts, even as complainants or witnesses, is, that we have forced them (until the present day, this necessity being now done away by law) to take the common Hindu oath, which they look upon as a crime. Among themselves, the oath commonly used is, to make the requisite assertion while holding the image in the hand ; or else to lay the hands on the feet of any Jangam. "For," say they, "every Jangam is a living image of the god we adore."

The Vira Saiyas illustrate their creed by a comparison quite in the Hindu style. They say, the guru is the cow, whose mouth is the

* As one proof that the Jangams are not more unwilling than other Hindus to listen to Christian doctrines, I may mention a poem written in the Telugu dwipada metre, intended to convey a version of the Gospels. This is the composition of a learned Jangam poet, and having seen but a small part of the work, I can only state that it seems to be well executed, in a plain unpretending style. The title is *Krista Charitra*, and in writing it the author appears to have been guided in his phrases by the Tamil version of the Gospels written by Fabricius.

Jangam, or brother in the faith ; and the lingam or image is the udder. The cow benefits its owner by means of the udder ; but what fills the udder ? The mouth. And what connects the mouth and the udder ? The body. Accordingly, if a Vira Saiva wishes the image to benefit him (that is, if he desires to obtain the favour of the deity), he must "feed the mouth"—that is, sustain and comfort his brethren ; and then the blessing will be conveyed to him by means of the teacher. Accordingly, the Jangams blame the Aradhya for neglecting this command, and ask how they can expect the image to nourish them if they neglect to sustain brethren and fellows in the faith. For the Aradhya refuses to look upon any but Aradhya as brethren.

The strangest part of their legends regarding Siva is that wherein he is represented in the most contemptible light, as completely the servant of various (*bhact*) worthies or saints. Such stories abound in the *Basava Puran*, but are excluded from the *Lila*. In these we are reminded of the Romish legends wherein the Virgin Mary and some other personages are represented under most degrading circumstances, as obeying or waiting upon the saint whom the legend extols. Thus, in the fourth book of the *Basava Puran* is a story of a certain "worthy" (*bhacta*), named Nambi, who, by force of faith, got Siva so completely into his hands, that he employed the god as a mere slave. In another story, one of the "worthies" scolded Siva, who "was so much alarmed, that he slunk round the other side of the image, and ran away into the jungle." Other stories represent this paltry demi-god acting either as a thief or as a receiver of stolen goods, to protect his adorers ; and they frequently represent him as acting the part of a pander, at the bidding of one of the worthies.

The Vira Saivas evidently look upon such stories as excellent jokes, and certainly many of the tales are incomparably more amusing as well as more moral than the dulness of brahminical *Puranas*. But when they are asked how they venture to represent their god in this ludicrous manner, they reply at once that this is not their god ; their god is Allama Basava, the one Sada-Siva (ever blest) ; whereas the hero of these stories is merely the brahminical Siva, whom they think as fair a subject for merriment as Jupiter is in the French theatre.

In apology for these stories, Jangams allege that they all establish the necessity of faith (*bhacti*) as the great means of attaining happiness and miraculous power. "As the Bramins," say they, "call themselves (*bhursura*) gods upon earth, we will shew that our worthies (*bhact*) are quite a match for them." Accordingly, there are many legends to prove that (*Janga-prasadam*) food, or the leavings of food, blessed by a worthy, can perform all sorts of miracles. For instance ; a Bramin, who by a curse had become a swine, ate what a Jangam had spit out, and hereby resumed the human form. Elsewhere, a Jangam's shoe works miracles.

In all hagiology we find that the fables invented in successive centuries become gradually more marvellous. Accordingly, though the legends of the *Basava Puran* are wild enough, they are out-heroded by those

of later date: for instance, the *Chenna Basava Puran*, from which (book 2, verse 86) I cite the anecdotes now mentioned.

It must, however, be acknowledged that, in a redundancy of nonsense as well as in dirt, the *Bharata* beats all the Saivite stories. There we find the very sublime of puerility: braminical legends compared to which *Jack and the Bean-Stalk* are nothing at all. And all this is enshrined in a flow of beautiful Sanscrit verse, which for richness of expression and harmony rivals Homer himself. The Bramins have had possession of the most perfect and beautiful of languages, and have often perverted its melody and vigour to the vilest of purposes. Objectionable as many of the Saivite* legends are, they are purity itself when compared to the braminical writings. The great prophet of the Bramins is Vyasa, and this venerated saint's description of his own miraculous birth is a master-piece both of filth and folly.

The Jangams are, indeed, set free from believing such legends; but their own hagiography, though not dirty like that of the Bramins, is full of absurdities: in apology for which they acknowledge that many of these tales bear marks of fiction. Further, they allege that in all these legends the adorers are not Vira Saivas. They are Jainas, or else ignorant followers of the braminical follies; but that by the force of (*bhacti*) faith and charity they ultimately were "admitted into heaven" (literally, "borne to Calasa"), which, as they assert, denotes admission to the true creed.

In many of the legends we may trace a similarity between the character of Basava and that of Mohamed, as described in the various legends current among Musulmans; shewing much simplicity on the part of Basava the master, and a voracious credulity on the part of the disciples. Those Mahomedan stories, however, contain many incidents of the most disgusting kind, from which the Jangam books are entirely free.

There is so remarkable an analogy between the Pythagorean *Monad* and the deity of the Jangams, that I cannot well avoid adducing the following brief deduction from the philosopher's statements, as represented in Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, 2d ed., 4to. chap. iv. pp. 370, 376.

Pythagoras calls the four principles by numerical names; the *Monad*, *Duad*, *Triad*, and *Tetrad*. The Vira Saiva calls them by specific names, viz.—the *Lingam*, *Bhacta*, *Guru*, and *Sivam*, i.e. the deity, the disciple, the teacher, and supreme spirit: which pervades and unites all three. The subordinate beings (gods, heroes, and demons) of Pythagoras answer to the Vira Saiva saints, all of whom are supposed to be embodied forms of the prime existence, or *Lingam*; which answers to the *Monad*, who is also Zeus. The *Duad* is the passive principle, or disciple; he whose mind is the field for impressions. The link between

* I ought to have already mentioned the *Siva Puran*, of which the reader may find an abstract under that title, in *Ross's Cyclopaedia* (furnished by Sir Charles Wilkins), and he will perceive that this book has nothing to do with the Vira Saiva creed. This *Puran* is entirely forgotten. I possess one copy in Sanscrit, and never could discover another.

these two is the third principle; the Guru or teacher. In his creative office, the deity is mingled with nature by Pythagoras and *is* all nature in the creed of the Vira Saiva. Love was the first Orphic principle, and so it is throughout the Vira Saiva creed. Yet it is a created being; for it is a form or appearance of the deity. Thus the Lingam and the Sivam, being the first and fourth principles, are one and the same. The Monas and the Tetractys are one. Again: the Satwa guna being the characteristic of God; the Tamo gunam is that of man; and the Rajo gunam being the connecting link—the supreme state is *Nirgun'a*, or indescribable; which is the fourth or superior deity, designated as the incomprehensible and ineffable Tetractys. Then Monad signifies the prime or independent Lingam, and in its applied form it is *element*. Accordingly, *Tejo Lingam* is fire, *ab Lingam* is water, *prithvi Lingam* is earth; in like manner, *pul Lingam*, in grammar, is masculine, or the male element, and *stri Lingam* is the female element, or the feminine gender.

Some very obscene stories regarding the origin of the Lingam have been printed by various European authors. Those stories (*with which I never met in Hindu authors*) are, perhaps, braminical; they have nothing to do with the Jangams; in their books there is no mention of the subject, and I have not met with any Jangam acquainted with those fables.

Regarding Allama.

Allama is represented as becoming visible on the wish of Siva—he then descends on earth. There is no tale of his birth, death, or final disappearance; and some Vira Saivas evidently believe he is still roaming the earth. In the *Lila* he appears on one occasion as an Adonis, to enamour Maia; then disappears and visits a (*bhact*) worthy in a distant town; again vanishes and visits another; assumes no pomp, has no followers, and manifests no power. Basava is a ruler, a warrior, a king's minister, the head of a family, and fervent in his vows to nourish Jangams (puritans) and to vanquish Jainas. Allama's disposition, on the contrary, is marked with peace, benignity, humility, and gentleness. Precisely in this strain do Mahomedan authors speak of our Lord, and unless he had heard such traditions, it appears to me impossible to account for a Hindu poet's framing a character like that of the Allama described in the *Lila*, so remarkably opposed to human nature as seen among Hindus.

Allama is represented as entirely chaste, though perpetually sought in love by Maia and other heroines. He remains unmarried. He has disciples, but no relations.

On certain Shrines.

Though the Lingadhāris deny the sanctity of any particular place, the Aradhyas have yielded to the Hindu propensity to worship in certain places as peculiarly holy. Each of these is a temple to Siva, and accordingly the priest is a Saiva Bramin. One of these at Canchi (Coñjeveram), one at Jambukeswarm (near Trichinopoly), one at Arunagiri (Tirunamala), one at Calahasti (near Nellore), and one at Chidam-

baram. These are respectively called the *lingams* (*lingams*), ornaments of earth, water, fire, air, and ether. These are holy places frequented by Saivas; and the Aradhyas assert that to visit them is meritorious, though the priests are Siva Bramins. Regarding these temples the Jangams profess to have no opinion. They neither approve nor condemn him who worships there: for the sanctity of these shrines rests on the braminical *purans*.

They themselves profess to hold in honour five other *lingams*. 1. That of Chenna Mallikeswar, at Sri Sailam. 2. That of Cudali Sangameswara, so named from the village where Basava died, or, as they say, vanished. 3. That of Gocarneswar, at a village of that name. 4. That of Bhimeswar, at Draxaram, in the Rajahmundry district. 5. One which is described in Professor Wilson's Essay, and said to be at Benares, but of this the accounts differ. In these five places the priests are Jangams, not Aradhyas. At Sri Sailam, Jangams pay nothing, though a fee of five rupees is exacted from every worshipper in the other castes (including Aradhyas). It would seem that this was originally a braminical shrine, for there is an image of Pārvasī. This goddess, however, sits opposite to the image of Siva, and a Smārta Bramin is her priest, while a Jangam is priest to the god. So heartily do these sects detest one another, that the (*tirtham*) holy water offered to one image is not touched by those who come to adore the other. The Jangams acknowledge that they have no business to celebrate such worship, and in excuse say that these are customs derived from Bramins.

The odd conjunction of rival gods under the same roof, or at least within the same temple-wall, is exemplified at the well-known pagoda at Tiruvattoor, close to the town of Madras, where Siva is adored under the name *Adi-Pur-iswara*, "thus called (to use Homeric phrase) among gods, but known among men as"—Teagarāya Swāmi. One corner of his pagoda has been taken possession of by a Sacti, or plebeian goddess, called Tripura Sundari (Venus), but vulgarly Vattapu-nanchāru. The god has a Siva Bramin as his priest, and has his spouse Parvati with him. But the Sacti or Paria goddess (who is a much dreaded fiend) has for priest an *ōhē-man*: this is the Tamil name of a low caste, called *panasa* in Telugu, who are tumblers and wrestlers, and are employed to blow the trumpets at funerals. So degraded are they, that no Sūdra will eat with them. The sacrifices he offers are buffaloes, goats, and the like. This lady's feast lasts ten days, during which the luckless Siva and his spouse receive no worship: the doors are shut upon him, and he is left alone till the feast terminates. All Hindus, even those of the most respectable classes in the town of Madras, flock to this pagoda, to gain the favour of these wretched idols; and there are miracles (well attested) in abundance to prove the benevolence and power of these divinities. The latest I have heard of is regarding a "worthy," who cut out his tongue as an offering to Siva, and the god restored it to him. This god's name, Teagaraya, has become a proper name, given to many Hindu boys.

We are not to suppose that the Vira Saivas approve of such brutal follies. They equally despise both the Siva and the Sacti, and much blame those of the Jangams who timidly follow the fashion in offering homage to this miserable Siva.

On Funerals, &c.

Some particulars regarding funerals have already been given. A few remain to be added.

The Arādhyas, as far as possible, adhere to the braminical customs; though they are obliged to use burial, and not burning. Over the grave, the Jangams place an image of the lingam, to which they offer worship for ten days. They then remove it, or leave it established, at pleasure. On the eleventh day, they give a dinner to the assembled friends, on whom they bestow new clothes, according to their means.

The Arādhyas believe that the father, grandfather, and great grandfather of the deceased, who are in Cailasa (heaven), enter purgatory (the *pitru locam*) at the time of his death, where they wear the appearance of his dead body. To these progenitors are performed the rites, called *ecoddishtam*, *nava sraddham*, *shodasam saptaeam*, and many more. Some few use the rite of releasing a bull on this occasion, as other Bramins do. Under the name of these progenitors the Arādhyas guests are fed. On the conclusion of these rites, they say that the deceased is now gone to Cailasa.

But Jangams act in another manner, rejecting all notice of the three progenitors; for whose names they substitute the names Siva, Mahesa, and Sada Siva; which in fact are three names for God. As a reason for this they allege that they consider the Guru to be the only parent of each disciple. For he bestows the image on them, and they are "born in his hand." "For," say they, "being born into the faith is a more important event than that of merely being born on earth:" and hence they pay reverence rather to the Guru than to the parent.

The image worn by the deceased is placed in his or her hand, and laid on the breast. They attribute to it the same potency that the Greek church attributes to the letter written by the bishop, and placed in the coffin. They are free from the Hindu rules regarding the anniversary of a death. Some few, however, imitate Bramins in solemnizing that day.

Not having myself seen any of their tombs, I avail myself of the following note given me by Lieutenant Newbold: "The tombs of Lingavants of rank are generally massive quadrangular structures, raised on terraces built of stone, and simply but handsomely carved. The interior consists generally of a square chamber, beneath which is a vault containing the real tomb, which is also usually square. Over the head of the corpse is sometimes placed a phallus, often ornamented daily with sweet flowers. These tombs are sometimes constructed by Jangams for themselves; and an old priest, living in a mutth, among the rocks and ruins of Bijanuggur, led me down into a subterraneous vault, dimly illumined by a solitary lamp, and this he shewed me as

the destined receptacle of the more mortal part. The bottom of it was strewed with ashes."

Ideas regarding a Future State.

A modern writer, describing the opinion of the Jews at the present day on the subject of a future state, says: "They believe that they suffer for themselves: Moses is their prophet, but they look to their own good conduct as furnishing grounds for hoping a reward. 'If good,' say they, 'my God will reward me, and if bad he will punish me.'" Such is the belief among the Jangams, who entirely differ from other Hindus with regard to a future state. They make a singular distinction regarding themselves. "Other men," say they, "are liable to transmigration, but we are not." All who are introduced into the faith are exempt from transmigration: they depart either to heaven or hell, and that state is eternal.

The Hindus in general are credulous enough as to ghosts, sprites, and local demons; but they do not believe in the existence of the devil or Satan as a separate being. In this the Vira Saivas resemble their countrymen. What we call the work or instigation of the devil, the Hindus call the fruits of a former birth. In the Christian poem *Vedanta Rasayan*, the devil is called *pisāchi*: the same phrase (fiend) is used in our English poet Chaucer.

The description of the creation of the world forming a prominent part of the braminal system, they have in opposition devised another mode, described in the *Lila*. Regarding the end of the world, they have no definite ideas.

On the Prayers used.

The prayers of the Jangams are addressed to the image they wear, which they salute as Basavesa. The *mantrās* or prayers are borrowed from the *Vedas*; but they do not practise the (*anushthānam*) "mode" practised by Bramins. The daily prayers usually are in the mother-tongue. Occasionally, they use a Sanscrit canticle; as the following, borrowed from Sancar Achari:—

*Andyāsēna maranam ¶ vind dainyēna jīvanam ;
Dhāntē mama sāyujyam curushvā Paramēswara !*

"O supreme Lord, grant me an easy death, a life free from poverty, and eternal happiness* when I leave the body!"

Or they offer hymns of praise, as the following, which is written in the common metre called *Malini*. The metre is broken in the fourth line, and though it might easily be rectified, they leave it as it is, the words being sacred:—

* Literally 'identification.' The Saiva creed describes eternal happiness as consisting in four (*padavī*) points: denominated, 1, *adōkiam*; 2, *adimiam*; 3, *adripiam*; and 4, *adyujyam*. That is, 1, dwelling in heaven; 2, in the very presence of God; 3, bearing his image; and 4, becoming one with him.

*Nayana camala madhyé, jyóti rūpa pracāsam,
 Prāṇava maya sabindum, prāṇa-linga svarūpam !
 Vihata janana pās'am, vighna vich-ch-hēda hētum
 Hara hara Guru sántam OM NAMAS SIVA'YA Lingam !*

"Blessed image, I meditate on Thee who dwellest between my eyes, in glorious form ! who art the word and the sign,* the Supreme Being ! Free me from the ties of the flesh, thou who loosest every bond ! O teacher, thrice-blessed !"

Among Bramins the great *mantra* is the *Gāyatri*. This is used by the Aradhya, but the Jangams reject it, and use the *Panch-azari*, or five-syllabled spell:—adding the *shad-azari*, or spell of six syllables, i.e. the *Panch-azari*, with the addition of the word OM. A celebrated verse says:—

Vēda mātūcha Gāyatri, mantra mātrū shad azari.

Accordingly, in rejecting the *Gāyatri*, they reject the *Vedas*; the *Panch-azari*, or five-syllabled spell, is "*Namasivāya*," or glory be to God. If the syllable *om* (like Amen) be prefixed, "*OM NAMASIVAYA*," then it is called *shad-azari*, or six-syllabled.

After thus addressing the image (in which rite they use the *rudrara*, or rosary), they make such requests as circumstances call for. Social prayer is rarely used. Man and wife, though praying at the same time, address their prayer to the image each person separately wears.

The *prayaschitta canda*, or system of penance, is the most irksome burden imposed by braminical superstition and priest-craft. The smallest mistake or omission, in performing ordained ceremonies, is herein considered as a sin, and atoned for by a vexatious system of fasting and unmeaning prayer. The Jangams are set free from this rigid and hypocritical system, but the Aradhya have not had the courage to obey Basava, who laid it aside. They are nearly as much burdened with it as are other Bramins.

On rejection of Braminical Ordinances.

One important rule which Jangams observe forbids the use of the special braminical rules. It runs as follows, in Sanscrit verse:—

*Apasavyam, tilān darbhan n agnau carnām cha pūrvanām
 Vikiran arghya pādyaṃ cha saivas sapta vivarjayēt.*

"Let the Saiva (which they declare to signify the *Vira Saiva*) desist from the rites called, 1, *Apasavyam*; 2, *tillapartanam*; 3, sacred grass; 4, the burnt sacrifice; 5, the stated observances called *parvam*, at the new and full moon; 6, the *arghya*; and 7, the *pādya*."

This verse is intended to sum up all the braminical rites which the *Vira Saivas* renounce. It is observable that the burning of frankincense is used among them; but this, they say, is no breach of the fourth rule. The Aradhya do not deny the authority of this text;

* Here, as in a former verse, the Sanscrit scholar will not exact a more rigid translation: as that would require explanatory notes, and render the subject more tedious.

but they represent that, were they to obey it, they should be excluded from the braminical order. Accordingly, they admit the rule, but agree to disobey every one of its demands.

The Aradhya is charged by the Jangam with gross inconsistency, in using the prayers to the sun, which consecrate the braminical thread ; and also the *panch-azari* spell, which consecrates the lingam.

The Aradhyas cannot venture to take the last step by performing the rite called *shad-azari*, for that implies becoming a Sannyāsi, or recluse, shaving off the braminical lock, and assuming the tinted dress. These would at once place them in the Jangam class, and few Aradhyas have the resolution thus to renounce the law of caste. Accordingly, the Jangams abhor them, and, to use their own words, "hold it sin even to look upon an Aradhya." Thus we see there is bigotry enough on both sides.

Miscellaneous Particulars.

In speaking of their literature, the following distinctions are necessary. They discriminate three paths, or opinions, viz. the *Curma-canda*, the *Jñāna-canda*, and the *Bhacti-canda*. The *Curma-canda*, or Law of Works, attributes every good and evil act to ourselves. Accordingly, men are to be rewarded or punished according as their lives are virtuous or the contrary. The *Jñāna-canda*, or Law of Wisdom, opposes this, stating that men are the mere instruments of good or evil in the hands of God. The *Bhacti-canda*, or Law of Faith, calls upon men to adhere to virtue or benevolence, as being the *fruits* of faith:—but adds that the deity is all in all, and our good deeds have nothing to do with salvation.

The theory of this creed may be traced to the Mīmāṃsa philosophy, which is thus defined in Wilson's Sanscrit Lexicon. The first part, the *pūrva Mīmāṃsa*, or Mīmāṃsa simply, illustrates the *Karma Kunda* of the *Vedas* ; or the practical part (the ritual) of religion and devotion, including also moral and legal obligations. The second part, or *Uttara Mīmāṃsa*, ascribed to Vyāsa, is the same as the *Vedānta*, founded on the *Jñāna-canda*, or theological portion of the *Vedas*, and treating of the spiritual worship of the Supreme Being, or soul of the universe. We must, however, observe that the *Lila* is often called *Shanmatasammatam*, that is, tolerant or universal, because free from the intolerance which we often meet in other treatises.

While compiling these notes, it has been pointed out to me that few of the English are able to obtain the Vira Saiva treatises. This is true, and the manuscripts which we may succeed in obtaining too often prove incomplete or erroneous. I shall, therefore, be willing to supply copies to any one who may require these works, and the cost of transcription will be found moderate.* Likewise copies of the *Vedānta Rasayanam*, a poem, the beauty of which is greatly disparaged by the poet's earnest endeavours to prove that the Christian religion is very analogous to

* The *Lila* contains 6,000 dwipada lines ; the *Puran* and the *Charitra* are each of them about twice that length.

what he considers pure Braminism. He goes so far as to designate Christians *Dwiija* and *Bhusura*, which are mere poetical titles for Bramins, as "gods on earth." He seems to think it an easy thing to reconcile two creeds which are as distinct as light and darkness.

The image is usually placed on the infant's neck on the eleventh day after birth. In the books are fables about their bestowing it much sooner. For putting this sign on an infant they give this reason. They look upon the child as a heathen until this rite is performed; and it is unlawful to have under their roof a heathen who does not worship their god, and whose eye would contaminate their food.

A life of celibacy is held in small repute; but some, both men and women, embrace it. The rite of marriage among them costs very little indeed. In these points they more resemble the customs of Christians than those of Hindus or Musulmans.

They are as fond as are all Hindus of making vows, often empty and iniquitous enough; but if we may judge from the legends in their books, their vows are chiefly made with a view to obtaining future happiness by the means of charity shewn towards brothers in the creed. Though Aradhyas bestow initiation on women only at the time of marriage, these two rites have no connection, and it is of no consequence whether one or the other is first administered.

The Jangams state, that in the present age they very rarely make proselytes; and the reason is, that in latter days the teachers insist on ten or twelve years of probation, and this wearies out the zeal of the aspirant.

Looking upon themselves alone as being in the true faith, the Jangams consider the *purva-Saivas* (*Smartas*) to be in an imperfect state. To use the Jangam's own expression, *their* creed is the flower, *ours* is the fruit. The *Smartas* never make the smallest mention of *Basava*: they honour *Nandikeswara*, which the Jangams say is only another name for *Basava*.

The difference between *Samanyas* and *Visēsha* Jangams has been pointed out; but it is not easy to understand in what respects the confirmed class is superior. They acknowledge that both classes have an equally strong hope of future happiness.

All the sects who look upon *Siva* as their god *profess* to imitate his garb (that of a *sannyasi* or monk), by smearing ashes over their foreheads and bodies, so as to dress as penitents. A few *Aradhyas* attempt to wear this garb, which, if worn as described in the *Mari Basava Puran*, would be ridiculous enough. But in general the dress of *Lingavants* differs from that of other Hindus only in the rite of wearing the image.

The sect occasionally style themselves as *Mahēswars*, *Bhactas*, *Ganas*, or use the names of some other attendants on *Siva*. But these respectful titles are not conceded to them by others, and Bramins generally look upon them as *Pasandas*, or heretics.

The *Linga Baljas*, a class of Hindus who abound in the *Cuddapah*

and Bellary districts, are apparently the same tribe, who have been already described as Cannadilu, or Visesha Jangams.

Notwithstanding their rejection of feasts and fasts, the Aradhyas are as strict as other Hindus in celebrating the Sivaratri feast; and the Jangams, though they profess to condemn such superstition, usually follow their example in this respect.

The *mantram*, which I have described as breathed in the ear, is whispered in like manner in other sects. The various *mudras*, or attitudes used in prayer by Bramins, are observed by Aradhyas as strictly as by Saivas. But the Jangam renounces them.

At the present day, we rarely meet with Jangams of tolerable education even in their own language. Their religious prejudices have excluded them from most of those schools wherein either Christians or Bramins are the masters; and I have heard of only one school at Madras wherein a Jangam (under Christian directions) is the teacher. In many instances, the Jangams are too poor to pay even the smallest stipend for education, however earnest they may be in a desire for instruction.

The Vira Saivas resemble the old Puritans, in combining the devout and the warlike character. In their zeal against their religious foes, the Jainas, they certainly were very intolerant. In modern days, the insurrection at Kittoor and that at Mangalore have shewn how turbulent they can sometimes be. The King of Coorg, now a state prisoner, is a Jangam. The Rajah of Punganoor, near Chittoor, is of the same creed. These Hindu barons are of the class already described as Visesha Bhact, which is free from any peculiarity in dress, and not having taken the higher vow, men of this class may not inconsistently be soldiers. The Mysore raja is often mentioned as being a Sāmānya Bhact, but it would appear that, though attached to worshippers of Basava, he is not himself a Lingadhari.

Conclusion.

The statements now made may be summed up in a few lines. The Jangams are a sect of Hindus, who have lasted about seven hundred years. They adore Siva as the one God, and wear his image hung on their breasts. They call themselves primitive worshippers, and look upon others as idolaters. They say that they reverence the *Vedas*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and the doctrines of Sancar Achari, the great reformer of the Saiva creed, who, in point of time, preceded their teacher Basava. But, rejecting the *Bhārata*, the *Bhagavat*, and the *Rāmāyan*, they deny the authority of Bramins, by whom they therefore are detested as heretics. They are the disciples of Basava, and as all Hindus are apt to exalt their teachers into gods, they declare Basava to be the god Siva himself. Basava, though born a Bramin's son, abolished every one of the braminal observances, particularly caste, pilgrimage, and penance. Some Bramins joined his creed, being in all probability his personal friends; he persuaded them to lay aside their name, and call themselves *Aradhyas*, or 'reverend' (*καλοι*, whence *caloyer*, the modern Greek name for a priest); but he could not induce them to lay aside

the braminal thread, the rite of assuming which requires prayer addressed to the sun, as a god. Hence the Jangams assert that these, like other Bramins, are idolaters; and accordingly, the Aradhyas are rejected by them and treated with scorn.

They are a peaceable race of Hindu puritans, though at times they have been more warlike; and when their tenets become correctly known to the English, there will appear no reason for excluding them from that patronage which has hitherto been extended only to Bramins, or those Hindus who reverence Bramins. Various prejudices have hitherto existed against the Jangams; these have now been investigated, and the result unreservedly communicated to the reader; who will find that the Jangam literature, however abhorred by Bramins, furnishes an agreeable introduction to the various languages of Southern India.*

* From the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, No. 26.

INDICATIONS OF CHARACTER.

Who has not heard of Shenstone's request to a friend, to send a specimen of the handwriting of his wife, that he might judge of her character? Sometimes, indeed, the shape of the letter may indicate the temper that moved the hand. It will be admitted that the exquisite elegance of Gray's writing—traced with a crowquill—reflects the lingering fastidiousness of his taste. Whoever has seen the manuscript of the Elegy must confess that it is a commentary upon itself. So it is with Porson; the clear, patient, graceful spirit of his criticism is easily to be recognized in his exquisite calligraphy. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the experiment, if frequently repeated, would be extremely hazardous in its results. Instead of interpreting characters by handwriting, we should be rather inclined to look for the indications of their temper in the unconscious expressions of their looks or their conversation. The threads may be slight, but they will often lead us through a labyrinth of speculation. For example; look at Shenstone, with whose name these remarks began. He has presented us with a sketch, faithfully drawn and coloured, of his own feelings, impulses, and faults. "As Mrs. G. complained to me (and I think you too, both unjustly),—'I am no character.' I have in my temper some rakishness, but it is checked by want of spirits; some solidity, but it is softened by vanity; some esteem of learning, but it is broke in upon by laziness, imagination, and want of memory." And again—"My soul is no more fitted to the figure I make, than a cable rope to a cambric needle." This is not an *indication*, but a reflection of character; the author turns a letter into a glass, and shews his face in it. But the point to be considered is, that if he had been silent, we should have known quite as much from his works; they would have enabled any observant reader to compose a portrait equally exact. When we overhear him communicating to a correspondent the ravages of a malignant

caterpillar, which had demolished the beauty of all Lady Lyttelton's large oaks, while his own were secured by their littleness, we are let into the great secret of his life. The hinge upon which the gate of his happiness turned was the fame of the Leasowes. So the allusion to a caterpillar pillaging an oak was an indication of character.

Sometimes this indication comes out in a familiar allusion, or even in a poetical phrase. Atterbury never looks so pleasing as when writing to his friend at Twickenham, from "the matted room," where he passed so much of the sunniest weather, and playfully wondering what he was to expect when the dark days should set in, and when—

Unversum contristat Aquarius annum.

This passage alone would have told us, if his own tongue had been silent, that his place was *in angulo cum libello*.

Selden was one of the profoundest scholars of a learned age; his heart was given to study, and all his affections were centred in his books. Sometimes the passion came upon him with the violence of enthusiasm. If at these seasons he heard the step of his friend, the celebrated Isaac Vossius, ascending the stairs, he would open his door and call out from the top, that he had no leisure to converse that day. Once more. Milton, it is known, wrote with peculiar vehemence upon the popular side in the greatest controversy that ever agitated the national pulse of England. Yet, notwithstanding many eloquent bursts of patriotic ardour, an acute reader might have ventured to suspect that he felt little sympathy with what would now be called the tastes and prejudices of the multitude; least of all, that he would be disposed to promote the diffusion of *reading for the million*. Such a conclusion might have been formed from a survey of the haughty grandeur and pride of sentiment which distinguish his poetry. It happens that the fact does not rest upon mere conjecture. Milton presented a copy of his Miscellaneous Poems—English, Italian, and Latin—to the Bodleian Library. This copy having been lost, the librarian solicited a renewal of the gift. Milton complied with the request, and on the first page of the volume inscribed a Latin ode, which is interesting, as being, I think, the last effort of his fancy in a foreign language. In this ode occurs the following allusion to the accidental departure of the former copy:—

*Quin tu, libelle, nuntius licet mald
Fide vel oscilantiâ,
Semel erraveris agmine patrum,
Seu quis te teneat specus,
Seu qua te latebra forsan unde vili
Callo tereris inceptoris insula,
Lætare felix.*

Compare the scornful apprehension of having had his page torn in some miserable hovel,

Or by some palm mechanic worn,

as Symmonds translates it, with Shakspeare's tender sympathy with all the sorrows of the *horny* hand of labour, and his quick ear to

"the still sad musick of humanity." The matted room of Atterbury, the deprecating voice of Selden, and the proud sensitiveness of Milton, were only so many unconscious, and therefore most interesting, indications of character.

Sometimes we find a man receiving a *bias* from some particular circumstance, which all the subsequent motion of his mind acknowledged. We have an instance in the history of the celebrated Franklin; it occurs in a letter to Dr. Mather, of Boston. He tells him that the last time he saw his father was in the beginning of 1724, when, after some conversation, he shewed him a shorter way out of the library through a narrow passage, having a beam projecting from the roof. They continued talking, until Mather suddenly called out to his visitor "*Stoop—stoop!*" Before he could obey the warning, his head struck sharply against the beam. "You are young," said Mather, noticing the accident, "and have the world before you; *stoop* as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps." Franklin did not forget the caution, especially when he saw the pride of people mortified by carrying their heads too high. He did not, however, limit it to this prudent humility. It might be taken as a motto for his biography. He went through his moral life *stooping*. All his thoughts, desires, and actions are of one stature. His writings display the same stunted growth and undignified posture; so that one, not indisposed to value or applaud his talents, has observed, that by him every subject is reduced to one level, and even "a great subject sometimes seems to become less while it is elucidated, and less commanding while it is enforced." And thus it has happened, that an incidental caution, suggested by the beam in a roof, may have influenced the thoughts and conduct of a most remarkable person, and from being indicative of one character, became an exponent of a greater.

The eye, the gesture, the voice—each is an indication of character. Conversation especially is copious in its intelligence. It is the shadow upon the dial, proclaiming the time. These indications, however, are often transitory; they must be marked at once, if marked at all. They are suppressed by prudence, by deference, by good sense, sometimes by conscience; nay, frequently by the presence of the by-stander. If you stoop over a dial, you break the shadow, and the clock is silent. At the best, they never endure long; the light shines but for a moment, and is gone. Like a transparency suddenly illuminated, which shews the picture designed upon the canvas brilliantly for a minute, but suffers every feature to relapse into gloom when the candle is withdrawn. Hence it is, that we have so many happy glimpses of Johnson; so many indications of his true mind and disposition, his virtues and his follies, his wisdom and his weakness. Boswell was always at hand to catch and transfer the feature, as the sudden illumination of anger, pleasure, imagination, or joy kindled it into a distinct vividness and life. He seized the expression and colour of the moral transparency before the light vanished.

Sometimes, indeed, the manifestation of a particular quality is so constant and uniform, that no unusual quickness of observation is required to seize it ; the moral transparency is always lighted. Thus you might say it was with the benevolent Howard, the learned Andrewes, the facetious More. Perhaps no portrait, preserved in the frame of history, ever draws more loving or patient eyes than that of Henry's Chancellor. His intellectual physiognomy is marked by a sunshiny changefulness of expression ; the gravity of the most thoughtful learning is cheered by the mild lustre of the most sportive gaiety ; the scholar strengthens the Christian, and the Christian embellishes the scholar. His pleasantry accompanied him to the scaffold. When he turned his face away from human things, he left a parting smile upon the world. In answer to some censures which have been passed upon this conduct of More, as incongruous with the solemnity of the occasion, it might be expedient to remember a remark by the late John Foster. In More the union of humour with seriousness was perfectly in accordance with the constitution of his mind ; "It was an unquestionable matter of fact, that he could emit pleasantries, and be seriously weighing in his mind an important point of equity or law, and could pass directly from the play of wit to the acts and the genuine spirit of devotion." They were only the sparkle and the edge of the same sword ; only the red and white upon the same cheek. In the strictest sense of the term, the mirthfulness of More was an indication of character.

In the works of some authors, as of Taylor, Milton, and Shakspeare, the revelations of the inner man are so abundant and perfect, that we seem to be reading an autobiography of their own genius ; and the curious circumstance to be observed is, how their prevailing tone of sentiment runs through, so to speak, the rich and varied harmonies of their fancy ; they transfuse their own blood of thought into the veins of their heroes. In this manner Keble, in his recently-published Latin lectures, has succeeded in constructing a sort of memoir of Homer out of the qualities which he ascribes to the actors in his magnificent drama of poetry. Whoever desires to read the truest and pleasantest page of Spenser's history, must assuredly turn to it in some canto of the Faery Queen. Now, it should be noticed that painters coincide with authors in thus shaping their subject according to the mould already existing in their own minds. This resemblance might be proved by a reference to the different aspects under which the most celebrated artists have represented the awful history of the Crucifixion. Upon this interesting subject, Burnet's notes on Reynolds may be consulted. Michael Angelo, whose power of pencil lay chiefly in the expression and grace of his contour, selects the view of the subject that appeared to be most calculated to favour the exhibition of his peculiar talent. Raffaele chooses the point of time when the people are taking down the body. Tintoret concentrates much of the force into the suffering mother at the foot of the cross. Rubens is, as usual, profuse in the display of his treasures

of fancy. In one design, we see the elevation of the Cross ; in another, the executioners are breaking the limbs of the thieves. *Here* the grouping may be more effective ; *there* the colouring more brilliant ; but always picturesque expression, without regard to strict truth, is the one object sought. In Rembrandt, as was to be expected, light and shade are the conspicuous instruments employed by the pencil ; remembering the divine assurance, that darkness overspread the land, he represents the taking down from the Cross by *moonlight*. Thus, in the painter, as in the poet, we recognize the presence of an internal agency, communicating to outward things its own form and complexion. And so in pictures, as in conversation and books, we look, nor often look in vain, for *indications of character*.

There is also much room for interesting discussion in the extension of *personal* to *national* indications of feeling and disposition. Gillies remarks, that the orations of Demosthenes before an Athenian mob are more elaborate and subtle than the speeches of Cicero before a Roman Senate. The reason is obvious. The Greek orator addressed a populace who had been educated in some of the deepest mysteries of the heart by the dramatic spectacles of their illustrious poets. Æschylus and Sophocles had trained them up for Demosthenes. Their attention to the debater shewed their love of the poet ; and their rapturous emotion at the Bema, the liveliest indication of their interest in the theatre.

A.

 FROM KHĀKĀNĪ.

مشو تنگ دل نا صبوري مکن
 بهر بد که پیش آردت روزگار
 که نا پایدارست غم همچنان
 که شادایست همواره نا پایدار

MAJOR AND MRS. GRIFFITH'S "JOURNEY ACROSS THE DESERT."*

It is seldom that we meet with a book the authorship of which is divided, as in the present instance, between husband and wife. This kind of partnership, however, is so very natural an affair, that we suppose its rarity is owing to the pride of the lordly sex, which heretofore was apt to think literary talents of the masculine gender. We have unlearned this as well as other vulgar errors, and perhaps the work of Major and Mrs. Griffith may be the forerunner of other family productions of a like nature, by which the public (if they be no worse than this) will be no loser.

The division of labour is thus apportioned: Mrs. Griffith is the writer of the narrative—a lively, rapid, amusing series of “sketches,” as they are appropriately termed; and Major Griffith has supplied the graphic illustrations—extremely accurate and tasteful—as well as the matter of occasional descriptions.

As the work is made up of sketches, with a running commentary upon the remarkable objects seen in a steam-trip from Ceylon to Suez, thence through Egypt, to Italy and France, we cannot give the reader a better idea of it than by taking passages almost at random; and we shall confine our selections to the first volume.

The European public has not been so familiarized with the aspect of that extraordinary place, Aden, as to deprive Mrs. Griffith's sketches of it of novelty.

We hove to at the entrance of the harbour of Aden. I know not how to describe the scene that presented itself to our view. It is completely different from any thing I ever saw or imagined: huge rocks rising in every direction, and of the most grotesque shapes. But the most striking thing of all is, that there is not the smallest particle of vegetation to relieve the eye from these huge cinders, for they are literally nothing else, which reflect the sun threefold. The whole place is supposed to be of volcanic formation, and it certainly gives the idea of the mouth of a crater. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of the glare and heat, it is remarkably picturesque, and affords a wide field for the pencil; the rocks are of the most varied colours, and of the most grotesque shapes.

From the spot where we are at anchor, the view is splendid. Immediately in front are two magnificent cliffs, and a narrow valley between them affords a sight of the two highest mountains in the Peninsula, which, early in the morning, are of a cobalt colour. On the top of one are two ruined towers, scarcely distinguishable with the naked eye. In

* A Journey across the Desert, from Ceylon to Marseilles: comprising Sketches of Aden, the Red Sea, Lower Egypt, Malta, Sicily, and Italy. By Major and Mrs. GEORGE DAREY GRIFFITH. Two vols. London, 1845. Colburn.

the foreground of one of the two cliffs is a rock having the exact appearance of a gigantic coal. In front is a sandy beach covered with loose pieces of rock. To the right is a point of high land jutting out into the bay; upon it are numerous bungalows belonging to the principal inhabitants of Aden, and are so many country seats; in fact, it is the sanatorium of the place. The town of Aden is in a valley on the other side of the mountains.

Mrs. Griffith's visit to the town is thus described:—

The passage through the arch (the pass through the mountains, cut in the solid rock) looked so high and narrow, one might almost compare it to the eye in a darning needle. When we issued from the Pass, the whole valley of Aden lay like a map before us, hemmed in on three sides by precipitous mountains rising up straight and barren, like a mighty wall, almost to the sky; while, on the fourth, and immediately opposite to us, was the sea; but even here the view was bounded by the island rock of Sera, completing the fortification of this Eastern Gibraltar. But the town! where was the town? How shall I describe it—this ancient and jewelled key to all the treasures of Arabia Felix? The only way I can give any idea of it is, to say what struck me at first sight. I saw clustered together throughout the valley a number of large baskets, like those met with at fairs in England and France to display crockery ware and other fragile articles. Here and there were a few tents, and in the centre towered a lofty minaret, while farther in the background rose the domes of two mosques. "But where are the houses?" I exclaimed. "There they are, and that very large hamper in the centre is Government-house," was the answer I received.

The houses are mostly two stories high, and very spacious. No traces of its former splendour now remain; not even the shaft of a pillar or a broken arch rears its head to testify the change that time has effected, and were it not for the solitary minaret crumbling with age, and the two mosques, one would be tempted to believe the present occupiers were the first; that none but basket buildings had ever reared their heads in this desert valley.

The bazaar was a very amusing assemblage of objects both animate and inanimate. Jews, with their sharp black eyes and long beards, were hurrying to and fro, and contrasted strangely with the stately Parsees, who share with the Jews in the labours of building and shop-keeping, as the Arabs are either very idle, or do not wish to make our residence among them easy by assisting us in any way. The aspect of these children of the desert was very furious, and their jet-black countenances scowled under the constraint imposed upon them by our military. All classes are very jealous of their women; but I caught a sight of the most lovely young Jewish girl, who peeped out upon me as I passed from a wicker birdcage—I can call it nothing else—which was perched at the top of one of the hamper houses.

Mrs. Griffith describes the passage of the Desert as any thing but

an agreeable affair. It began with a "night of horrors," at the "delightful hotel of Messrs. Hill and Co.," at Suez, and a torment of flies in the day. The carriage for crossing the Desert is a tilted cart, like a butcher's or baker's, covered with cloth, in which a narrow bench is fixed on each side; this is carried along, at full canter, by four horses, over a road, or rather track, covered with large loose stones, and poor Mrs. Griffith "really thought she should have been driven out of her senses by the jolting, which was incessant." If the bi-monthly overland communication with India does not improve this track long before either railroad or canal be carried into execution in Egypt, we shall be much disappointed.

Mr. Galloway, indeed, in his "Observations on the Overland Route," thinks the evil incurable by the ordinary means. He says:—

The present transit, from Cairo to Suez, for passengers and baggage, occupies an average of twenty-four hours. The annoyances and inconveniences of this journey are mainly attributable to the length of time it occupies; and how little can be done to ameliorate them must be obvious, when it is considered that the whole distance of eighty-four miles is an open desert, and every article of food, even to water, has to be conveyed from Cairo. The road is at present bad and irregular, but it would cost many thousands of pounds to improve it, and even if improved, it would not cause an acceleration of more than a mile or two in the hour. The animals employed in the transport, viz. the camel, the horse, and the donkey, have been used for ages, and their powers and habits are well known, and have long been used to their utmost extent. The high temperature of the climate must always prevent rapid travelling by animal transport. These circumstances most clearly demonstrate the great difficulty of making any material improvement as to speed in this mode of conveyance.

A good road, however, will not destroy the flies; so that this evil, which has been a plague of Egypt since the time of the Pharaohs, must be endured.

At length, after running the gauntlet through flies, fleas, and more loathsome persecutors, they beheld "a silvery stream in the horizon," which was the Nile, and at length came in sight of "a forest of domes and minarets," which was Grand Cairo. This oft-described city is again fully described by Mrs. Griffith, and not without some touches of novelty, in the manner at least. We subjoin her account of a visit to the slave-market.

We passed under an archway leading into a large open court, surrounded by buildings appropriated to the different classes of slaves. There are comparatively few men, as the women are in the greatest

request, and fetch three times the price of the males. The Georgians and Circassians, who are the white slaves, are never shewn to Europeans, and, being much more valuable, are kept in separate rooms, and with great care. Those we saw were principally Nubians and Abyssinians; the former inhabit the ground-floor. I entered several of their apartments, consisting of two rooms, opening out of the court, and containing seven or eight women. A net was hung before the open door of each; and every thing looked so clean and well-arranged, and the occupants so well-dressed, that, were it not for the absence of the face-veil, one could not have distinguished them from the women of the country. And yet there was something revolting in their apparent ease and content while thus exposed for sale to the highest bidder. It seemed too degrading to human nature that the minds of these poor wretches should have habituated themselves, even to a state of tolerance, much more of satisfaction, in becoming objects of barter; they, in fact, look forward with delight to being made the inmates of a comfortable *hhareém*, where they are fed and clothed, and scarcely have any thing to do, but are treated almost as adopted children. This is not all; for if a slave render herself agreeable to her master, he frequently emancipates her, and makes her his wife. On the contrary, if she is not comfortable, she can, by law, oblige her owner (either master or mistress) to take her to the market and sell her, not to the highest bidder, but to any one she chooses, who offers an equivalent to what was originally given for her. In point of fact, the slave in this country is so in name more than in reality: indeed, in some respects, she enjoys more freedom than the free woman who may have purchased her. A man may divorce his wife whenever he chooses, and send her almost adrift upon the world; but his slave he is obliged to provide for until he can find a suitable purchaser.

Most of the Nubian girls I saw were quite young, and many of them as pretty as an olive skin would admit of. Their features were small, and did not at all partake of the negro mould. The hair in most instances was soft, abundant, and glossy. They were dressed with evident care, probably to shew their figures off to the best advantage. In all the apartments, we found the slaves playing about, laughing, and chattering together. Some, however, were sleeping on couches in the inner room. They seemed pleased to see my husband, probably supposing he might prove a customer, and ran round him, shewing their white teeth and sparkling eyes. But when I followed, their surprise was very great; they stared at me, whispered together, walked round me on their tip-toes, and touched my clothes, which gave me an involuntary shudder. They were evidently speculating who and what I was; I could not be a lady, as I wore no *khab'arah*; and what was more, I could not be a free woman at all, appearing thus in public without my face-veil. I must, they probably thought, be some foreign slave brought by my companion to the market for sale.

As another evidence of the lightness of the slave-chain in Egypt,

Mrs. Griffith mentions the following fact, related by M. Prieste, a French artist at Cairo :—

We were all struck by the little slave-boy who handed round the coffee. He appeared about twelve or thirteen years of age, and had one of the sweetest and most intelligent countenances I ever saw, notwithstanding he was almost jet black. I could not help inquiring his history, which proved rather an interesting one, as it shews the footing of slaves in this country. Monsieur Prieste said the boy had been with him about three years; and the way he came into his possession was as follows :—Being one day in the slave-market, where the boy was offered for sale amongst many others, he thought he looked so clever and pretty that he took a great fancy to him, and inquired his price, which was equivalent to about 12*l.* of our money. He immediately purchased him, and then wrote a certificate declaring his freedom, which he gave to the boy, telling him he was no longer a slave, that he was at liberty, and might go where he liked.

The boy, instead of appearing pleased, turned round with a most disconsolate countenance, and said, "My father, do I not belong to you? Where am I to go if you abandon me? Let me follow you, and I will do all I can to serve you. I am your slave—do not forsake me." Monsieur Prieste then took him home, and has kept him ever since. He has instructed him in reading and writing, and the boy waits upon him, making his coffee and lighting his pipe.

The interior of a harem is a scene which can only be delineated by a feminine pen. Mrs. Griffith adds the following description of one to which she was admitted by the intervention of a French lady, or rather the daughter of a French lady, born in Egypt. The harem visited was that of Mochtah Bey.

We passed by a door leading out of the court into a room on the ground-floor, lighted by two windows. It was a very spacious, lofty apartment, divided into two parts, called *doorcka'ah* and *leewa'n*: the floor of the latter was raised six or seven inches higher than the former. The *doorcka'ah*, into which the door we entered at opened, was beautifully paved with black and white marble, intersected by complicated patterns of polished red tile. In the centre was a fountain, throwing up its sparkling jets nearly to the ceiling, and then falling into a shallow basin, inlaid with exquisite mosaic-work of *pietra dura*, spreading a delicious coolness around. The walls of this apartment were cased half-way up with inlaid marbles, of brilliant colours, worked into tasteful designs. On one side were some marble slabs, supported upon arches and light pilasters of the same material, ornamented in a similar style with the basin of the fountain. Several silver vessels were standing upon these costly shelves. The *leewa'n*, or highest portion of the room, was covered with very fine matting, and surrounded by divans composed of mattresses slightly raised from the ground, and backed with cushions supported against the walls. They were covered with embossed crimson and

yellow satin, giving a very handsome effect to the whole. The walls of the leewa'n were quite plain. The ceilings of both were very singular and beautiful, but that over the doorcka'ah was the most ornamented. The first was composed of carved beams about a foot apart, and richly gilt, the intervening spaces being painted in various colours and patterns, having an exceedingly elegant appearance. But the eye was soon attracted to the richer half, the most striking, though, perhaps, not so chaste. Here, instead of the beams, a number of thin strips of wood were nailed upon the planks, forming the most curious and complicated, although perfectly regular, designs. These strips were gilt, and the intervening spaces painted red, blue, and black. It had altogether a highly ornamental and pleasing effect, and the apartment being lofty, it appeared, at first sight, almost like a basso-relievo of gems.

Having now attempted to give an idea of the room we were received in, and which I had ample leisure to survey during my visit, I must turn to its fair occupants. Seated cross-legged on a pile of violet-coloured satin cushions, that were placed on the pavement close to the fountain, was a beautiful and majestic-looking woman. Although she must have been at least forty, not a wrinkle was to be detected in her fine clear skin. Her features were remarkably handsome, her teeth perfect and very white, while her dark-blue eyes shone forth with benignity. I never saw a countenance so dignified, and, at the same time, so sweet. Her hair was entirely concealed by a rich embroidered handkerchief, or far'oo'dee'yeh, bound round the head-dress, or turboo'sh. She was dressed in a shirt composed of a kind of silk gauze, white as snow, and a pair of very wide trousers, of the same material, fastened round the waist, and confined a little below the knee, but sufficiently long to hang down to the feet. A short vest, called 'an'ter'ee, reaching just below the waist, and provided with loose open sleeves, completed her costume. Her only ornaments were five rows of very large-sized pearls suspended from her neck.

This lady was the widowed mother of Mochtah Bey's wife. Her son (whose name has escaped my memory) is immensely rich and powerful, owning one-third of the houses and gardens in Grand Cairo, and she herself is a relation of the Pasha. She did not rise to receive us (as she was our senior in years), but she touched my hand with her right hand, pressed it on her bosom, and then raised it to her lips and forehead. She would not hear of my taking a seat on the divan, as she said she knew the European custom, but despatched a pretty Georgian slave for a green satin chair (the only one in the house), upon which she made me sit down close to her.

After the first tide of queries, she told me her daughter would soon be there, as she was particularly anxious to make the acquaintance of an English lady. I now had a moment's leisure to look around at the groups of beautiful slaves that were standing about the room in various attitudes, laughing and pointing at my dress. They were principally Georgians and Circassians, many of them exceedingly lovely, with fair

complexions and dark eyes. All were dressed in the most costly materials, generally of gaudy colours; and two or three of the prettiest wore very handsome ornaments of gold filigree and precious stones. Their dresses were much handsomer than those of their mistresses; but I believe it is the delight of the Turkish ladies to deck out their favourite slaves in all their most valuable clothes and trinkets, while they themselves, excepting on particular occasions, dress very simply.

At length the daughter (the mistress of the house) made her appearance, and a lovely creature she was. Her complexion was the whitest and most brilliant that can be conceived; her forehead was lofty and entirely exposed, for her auburn hair, escaping from her "far'oo'-dee'yeh," in careless plaits and tresses down her back and shoulders, was, according to the Turkish fashion, cut close round the face. Her teeth, which she constantly displayed through her rosy laughing lips, were beautifully even, and transparently white; while the effect produced by her magnificent eyes, of the deepest and softest blue, was heightened by the coquettish pencilling of khol with which both the upper and under lids and eyebrows were stained. This gives a depth and shadow to the intensity of their beauty, in the same way that an appropriate setting enhances the brilliancy of a diamond.

Her dress was nearly similar to her mother's, excepting that her 'an'ter'ee was cut in such a manner as to leave her neck uncovered, save by the slight folds of her low gauze shirt, entirely displaying her shape. Her arms were bare, and perfect models of beauty, both in form and colour, while the small taper fingers of her pretty hands were tipped with the rosy dye of the hhen'na. She advanced towards me with the peculiar waddling walk of all Turkish ladies, and, having saluted me in the same way her mother had done before, squatted herself down on a similar pile of cushions in another part of the room, inviting me to sit close to her. Again I had to answer the same string of questions, to which were added multitudes of others upon England and English customs—"Whether I had ever seen any house so handsome as hers?" "Whether I could read and write?" and a variety of similar things. Having satisfied her curiosity, she told me that her husband, Mochtah Bey, was a very handsome man, and she named his height and the length of his beard; that he was very learned, and that Mohammed Ali had sent him to England, where he remained a year; and that when he came back again he would no longer eat with his fingers, but had tables and chairs made, and used a knife and fork; but as he died a short time ago, she had parted with all these useless incumbrances, and was soon going to marry again. She appeared exceedingly proud of being able to embroider a little: this is considered a great accomplishment amongst Eastern ladies.

These extracts will shew the style of the work, as well as the materials of which it consists. The illustrations do credit to the graphic skill and taste of Major Griffith.

RAM COMUL SEN, OF CALCUTTA.

WE borrow the following memoir of the late Baboo Ram Comul Sen, of Calcutta,—one of the few natives of India who have distinguished themselves by their proficiency in European learning,—from a Hindu paper, the *Poorno Chandro Odoy*, as a specimen of the biographical style of the work itself and a tribute to the merits of the deceased by one who could well appreciate them. The talents of this eminent Hindu were pointed out by one of our first Oriental scholars, in a review, in this Journal,* of his admirable English and Bengali Dictionary, which was justly characterized as “reflecting the highest credit upon his talents, his acquirements, his industry, and his perseverance.” The Reviewer (who knew Ram Comul Sen personally and well, and who had been an attentive observer of his course of life) adds, after enumerating various associations, to which the deceased belonged, for the moral and intellectual amelioration of the people of India: “Such has been the great and uniform purpose of his life for at least twenty-five years; and without putting himself obtrusively forward as a reformer, without sacrificing his character and credit by denouncing or deserting the practices of his forefathers in indifferent things, Ram Comul Sen has contributed more than any individual in Calcutta to diffuse correctness of information, liberality of feeling, and love of knowledge amongst his followers, and has established an indisputable right to be denominated the friend and benefactor of his country.”

It is with feelings of deep regret that we perform the task of announcing to the public the demise of Baboo Ram Comole Shen, which lately occurred, in the 61st year of his age, having previously laboured, for a period of several months, under the effects of a protracted disease. He expired in the village of Gorish, on the sacred banks of the Bhangerutti. This lamentable occurrence will be felt by this country as the loss of a bright ornament, the merits of which we cannot fully portray in a single paper; we shall, however, attempt to lay before our readers a brief sketch of the most interesting events of his useful career.

In the year 1196, or 97, B.S. (A.D. 1790), Ram Comole Shen, as we are informed, began his literary pursuits when the diffusion of English education was still confined to narrow limits among his countrymen—a circumstance which was attended with considerable difficulty in spreading the seeds of knowledge among the native community. The teachers of that day confined their efforts to inculcating the doctrines of the *Self-guide*, *Tootnama*, and those which may be derived from the *Arabian Nights* (the only popular books at that time), by an acquaintance with which students were exclusively enabled to improve themselves in caligraphy, and acquire, through translations, a superficial knowledge of the English language. The subject of this sketch commenced his studies in the above branches of learning in the place of his nativity. Afterwards repairing to Calcutta, and settling there, he availed himself of an opportunity to attend the English Institution of the late Netye Shen, a physician of some repute, and afterwards received instructions from Mr. Namy, an

officer of the preventive police. His prosecuted his studies with an ardour and perseverance seldom equalled by individuals similarly circumstanced. He thereby acquired a reputation, of which the following facts afford striking proof.

At an early age, he was so very assiduous in the acquisition of learning, that, after his daily scholastic labours, he only indulged him a short recreation at home, and immediately applied himself to study with unabated vigour, and spent almost the whole night in this quinquiescent occupation; the remaining hours he only devoted to repose for the preservation of his health. Such was the even tenor of his life from the 6th to the 18th year of his age. His studies advising his extreme thirst for knowledge, went so far, that he would infallibly become a man of superior genius. This prediction he fulfilled by a great measure in performing various important services to his country, among which the diffusion of learning deservedly holds a prominent place.

Ram Comul entered on the scene of busy life after the expiration of the age of sixteen, and never discontinued his career of activity and usefulness till the termination of his sixtieth year, when he had attained a distinguished rank in civil society. He was, at first, an assistant to Mr. Professor Hunter, of the Government College; was subsequently employed as banker to Captain Ramsey, barrack-master; was next appointed bullion-keeper in the Mint; and eventually rose to the deanship of the Bank of Bengal, in which latter employment he conducted himself with so much credit to his own abilities and integrity, and so much satisfaction to his superiors, that his monthly remuneration was ultimately increased to the splendid income of Rs. 1,500 per mensem, a sum which no other native in the employ of government has ever yet had the good fortune to obtain. The high reputation which he achieved, and the wealth of which he became the possessor, was equally attributable to his sound judgment and the acuteness of his understanding, coupled with forty-four years of unremitting labour. Without patrimonial estate or any pecuniary assistance from his father, he succeeded in bestowing on himself that primary and practical education, which enabled him to reap a full harvest in the glorious field of useful learning.

Although the mind of Ram Comul seemed to be wholly engrossed in the affairs of the world for the above period, yet he was never found neglectful of the task of diffusing among his countrymen the seeds of learning. His principal occupation uniformly consisted in the acquisition of knowledge and in its dissemination among his countrymen; and such was the object of his unremitting efforts. In this point centred all his happiness, and he never deviated from it for a single instant. He was a member of almost every educational institution in India. The foundation of the Hindoo College mainly originated in his active interference, which has proved so eminently beneficial to the Hindoo community at large. The interest he took in the prosperity of that institution was equal in intensity to the strongest passion. He was raised to the post of the president of the college committee, a post which he retained till the concluding period of his life; and we may say, that by him a spirit of improvement was imparted to almost every branch of that extensive establishment. Afterwards, with the co-operation of the celebrated Dr. Wilson, he planned the institution of the Sanscrit College, of which he may be considered the sole founder. Professors deeply learned in the different sciences were invited by him from various parts of India, and employed within the walls of that seat of oriental learning. The practice of ancient Hindoo medical science, which had

been long dormant, was revived by Ram Comole Shen, within the precincts of that establishment, and a particular class for students of the Bydo caste was opened for the exclusive tuition of that science. While Ram Comole was yet acting in the subordinate capacity of assistant-secretary to the college, his superiors unanimously entrusted to him all the affairs appertaining to the institution, and, in their management, he acquired both love and esteem. Finally, government conferred on him the post of full secretary, in which superior capacity he pursued his main object with unabated zeal and ardour, but only for a time, as his debilitated health compelled him to resign these congenial functions. However, he was created a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. When he had obtained the latter appointment, he instituted many salutary rules for the diffusion of education through all the seminaries subject to the committee; and, in proportion as his beneficial influence was increasingly felt, he received the praise of all the friends of Indian improvement. Moreover, Ram Comole was one of the chief advisers of government, in the establishment of the Medical College, from which incalculable benefits are reaped by the young and old, the wealthy and poor, the infirm and aged, of either sex. He continued in this employment for a long period. While thus engaged in watching over the interests of the healing art, and a short time previous to his decease, Ram Comole represented to Government that it was his intention to cause several standard medical works to be translated into the vernacular, and published at his own expense, that the people of this country might the better appreciate the superiority of English medicine. To which we must add, that the establishment of the Bengallee Patshala partly owes its foundation to his love of learning; and he framed appropriate rules and regulations to instil without difficulty into the minds of our youthful countrymen the elements of their mother-tongue.

Ram Comole is the distinguished author of two important works, which have long since been before the public; the one styled *Ousadabolee*, a medical book, copies of which he distributed to his friends; and another voluminous work, entitled "The English and Bengallee Dictionary," the fruit of twenty years' labour! The benefit derivable from the latter work is truly unspeakable, and worthy to be compared with the late Dr. Carey's celebrated English and Bengallee Dictionary, or the work of Dr. Johnson himself, although otherwise superior to any work which was ever issued from the native press. Whoever peruses the volume in question will be fully convinced of the depth of his understanding and the soundness of his judgment, which have been spoken of in terms of the highest admiration in the *Monthly Asiatic Journal*. He was an occasional contributor to the native periodicals. His writings therein were always remarkable for the force and conclusiveness of his argumentation, which were felt even by his adversaries, whom he thus easily won over to his own sentiments and doctrines.

Ram Comole Shen, as a member of several societies, both here and abroad, or a punctual attendant at public meetings, never failed to obtain praise by a fair and scrupulous discharge of his duties. He took an active part in the earliest proceedings of the Asiatic Society, and acted in the capacity of its native secretary and treasurer, in which he displayed talents of no common order, which the members of that learned society were ever ready to acknowledge. He was likewise one of the principal members or vice-president of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. He zealously co-operated in its establishment, and devoted to its interest no inconsiderable portion of his time

and labour as one of those who constituted its branch committee. The name of Ram Comole has been pre-eminently noticed in the periodical publication of that society. He had been, moreover, a member of the Calcutta School Book Society from the very period of its formation. To the influence of that body, which he directed to the most useful purposes, almost every vernacular work ever published in this metropolis owes its existence. But it is in a great measure to the instrumentality of Ram Comole that India is indebted for the revival of the study of the vernacular language, in spite of contrary endeavours to substitute, even unnecessarily, western learning for our own.

Government, on divers occasions, resorted to his opinion and advice on subjects of high import connected with the welfare of this country. He was one of the most useful members of the committee instituted by Lord William Bentinck for the adoption of wholesome measures towards the removal of noxious accumulations of putrid substances in Daba, a locality situate in the eastern part of Calcutta. The opinion he offered on the subject met with due approbation, and he thereby received due meed of praise from the enlightened head of this government. Ram Comole was also a member of the Society of the Fever Committee, governor of the Native Hospital, one of the committee of the Government Savings Banks, a member of the Fire Committee, established at the time when fires frequently devastated this metropolis and its suburbs; of the District Charitable Society, where thousands of the sick and blind receive adequate relief: he belonged to the Dhurma Shubha, in whose behalf he oftentimes exerted his influence with the Government; and, as a member of the Landholders' Society, he achieved an infinite deal of good by drawing a report to the Home Government on the subject of rent-free lands.

Such are the multifarious acts of the subject of this mournful sketch, who was justly revered and honoured by the community at large. Our limited space does not allow us to dwell at length on the merits of this distinguished individual; but should there appear any regular sketch of him, there is an ample field open to the writer for doing adequate justice.

Ram Comole was held in veneration both by Englishmen, Hindoos, and Mussulmans. He was one of the most honourable men in India; in whatever Hindoo assembly he appeared himself, he was the foremost speaker. He invariably stood in the van for the defence of his country; in sooth, we have lost one of the brightest stars of our Indian galaxy. He shone like a dazzling luminary, whose rays shed an unexpected lustre on the buried glories of the Bydo caste. He was beloved both by the young and the old. When he superintended the Sanscrit College, many brahmins of talent gathered under his hospitable roof, and received his favours. Persons who had once enjoyed his acquaintance felt an eagerness to cultivate it more closely.

As a Hindoo he followed the doctrines of Hindooism. He visited Kasi, Gyah, Pyrag, and other celebrated shrines. He performed in his dwelling-house the religious rites of the Dole Jatra and of the Doorga Poojah, in which he distributed arms to the needy.

Ram Comole is no more. Let us shed no unworthy tear over his memory. He lives in the hearts of his countrymen. His fame has extended wherever the beneficial results of his exertions have been felt and appreciated by his countrymen; and, though the perishable body be now extinct, the vivifying mind may be said to be present everywhere. He has left to his country and family the remembrance of his talents as a fit subject for pious gratitude, and

his character as a noble example for imitation. We are happy to conclude with the expression of our well-founded hope, that his sons, Baboo Haroon Mahum Sen and Panny Mahum Sen, who are already the heirs of his virtues, may one day become those of his fame and usefulness to this country and the world.

The following biographical notice of Ram Comul Sen, from the pen of a European journalist, if it be not so full as the former, is, perhaps, the fairest exposition of his history and character :—

Of the Native gentlemen who have raised themselves to eminence in the Native society of Calcutta, by the acquisition and distribution of wealth, within the present century, Ram Komul Sen will be freely acknowledged as the most remarkable. Others have risen from equal obscurity to greater wealth, but none have been distinguished for their intellectual attainments. Bishonath Mostoal, lately the Dewan of the Salt Golahs, began life with eight rupees a month, and is generally understood to have amassed twelve or fifteen lakhs of rupees before he was required to relinquish his office. The father of Baboo Anootook Deb, the founder of that wealthy family, served a native master at five rupees a month before he became a clerk in the late firm of Fairlie, Fergusson, and Co., in whose employ, and also in that of the American merchants—who named one of their ships after him, *Ramdolal Dey*—he accumulated a colossal fortune. The present dictator in the money market, the Rothschild of Calcutta, Mootoo Baboo, began his career with the humble salary of ten rupees a month. Ram Komul Sen also was the architect of his own fortune, and began life as a compositor in Dr. Hunter's Hindoostanee press, at eight rupees a month; and though he is said to have bequeathed a smaller sum to his family than the accumulations of any of the native gentlemen we have mentioned (no report carries his fortune beyond ten lakhs), yet he has attained a more solid renown, from his connection with the progress of knowledge and civilization among his own countrymen, of which he was one of the most strenuous and distinguished promoters. He did not long continue in the subordinate situation of a compositor in the printing office. He attracted the notice of Dr. Wilson, now professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford, who discovered his natural abilities and his thirst for knowledge, and took every opportunity of bringing him forward. His first promotion, we believe, was to some subordinate situation on the establishment of the Asiatic Society, which introduced him to the notice of some of the most distinguished members of European society. He had early applied with diligence to the acquisition of English, which he spoke with considerable fluency. At the time we allude to, a good colloquial knowledge of English was rare, and the possession of it was a sure passport to distinction. Ram Komul Sen soon came to be recognized as a leading man in the small band of enlightened natives in Calcutta. On the establishment of the Calcutta School Book Society he was placed on its committee, and materially assisted its operations by the compilation and translation of several useful works. When the Hindoo College was set on foot the year after, the organization of it was in a great measure entrusted to him, through the recommendation of his constant patron, Dr. Wilson. Here he had an opportunity of indulging his ardour for the spread of knowledge among his own countrymen, and of exhibiting his natural aptitude for managing the complicated details of business. His position in this institution materially improved his standing in

native society, and laid the foundation of that influence which he subsequently acquired. Three years after the establishment of the Hindoo College, he projected the publication of an *English and Bengalee Dictionary* in conjunction with Mr. Felix Carey, the eldest son of Dr. Carey, but his death in 1832, before a hundred pages of the work were printed, suspended its farther progress. It was, we believe, soon after this undertaking, that *Ram Comul Sen* was placed at the head of the native establishment of the *High School*, by Dr. Wilson, the *Assy Master*. This highly responsible and lucrative appointment raised him to great distinction, and his mansion in *Colootelah* became the resort of the wealthy and the learned, and the fame of his greatness was spread far and wide through Bengal. In 1830, he resumed the project of the *Dictionary*, and with great personal labour completed the undertaking, and carried through the press a quarto volume of 700 pages. It is by far the fullest and most valuable work of its kind which we possess, and will be the most lasting monument of his industry, zeal, and erudition. It is probably the work by which his name will be best recognised by posterity.

After the departure of Dr. Wilson to England, he quitted the service of government, and accepted the office of native treasurer of the Bank. Some months back his constitution began to exhibit symptoms of that decay, which had been accelerated, we have no doubt, by the extraordinary personal labour to which he submitted, and which had been one of the main instruments of his elevation; and he expired at his family residence in the country, opposite the town of Hooghley.

There is scarcely a public institution in Calcutta, of which he was not a member, and which he did not endeavour to advance by his individual exertions. He was on the committee of papers of the Asiatic Society; he was a vice-president of the Agricultural Society; he was one of the committee of the Calcutta School Book Society; he was a manager of the Hindoo College. He was equally honoured in the European and Native community, and had long been considered as one of the most eminent and influential natives of the metropolis. Though he continued through life to maintain the principles of a right, and in some respects, of a bigotted Hindoo—for he was never in advance of his own creed—to him belongs the great merit of having taken a leading part in the efforts which were made for the diffusion of knowledge among his own countrymen at the period when Lord Hastings, for the first time, repudiated the idea that the ignorance of the people was the firmest safeguard of our empire. He was one of the chief instruments in the establishment of those institutions which have diffused European science among the natives, and so greatly raised the tone of native society.*

* *Friend of India.*

Correspondence.**STATE OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE.**

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR :—I was both pleased and mortified by the article on “The American Oriental Society,” in your November number just issued : pleased that the Americans are pursuing with such intensity their philological researches in the East, which in a few years will be of an importance and use, that our Church Missionaries and College students at present little dream of ; while, on the other hand, I was mortified that England, which for nearly a century past has played such a prominent part in the East, has comparatively neglected so boundless a field for inquiry, and the exercise of our noblest powers ; all bearing on the different families and history of mankind. The Germans and the Prussians (the latter incited by their Government) appear to be bearing away the palm from us ; as if they kept steadily in view that maxim of Dr. Johnson, that “the chief glory of every people arises from its authors.”

The present times appear to be peculiarly adapted for such enterprises, when the barriers that hitherto kept nations asunder are gradually breaking down ; indeed, in some instances, with such marked rapidity, as to proclaim a new era in the history of mankind.

Could I be of any service in directing attention to the field that first deserves notice, I would point particularly to the ancient Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Chaldea. All that can be gleaned respecting these countries (not omitting the smallest minutiae, however despicable they may appear at present) will be of incalculable importance a few years hence. In securing the past, and connected with these countries, the kingdoms around and extending to the eastward, particularly Persia, will be gradually absorbed into the studies of the learned. And, perhaps, it will be found that the Sanscrit is of more importance than it is generally thought, much as it has already gained attention.

At the same time, I would say that Egypt deserves equal attention as regards her history, language, and hieroglyphics. Exact copies of the last should be taken by a correct drawer, with their relative positions to the points of the compass. These will eventually be found to be a history of themselves.

Connected with the Egyptians and Arabians (the Rev. Mr. Forster has been in the latter field), the northern and eastern coasts of Africa will repay the studies bestowed upon them by the laborious philologist.

It is probable that the British Government might sometimes be of use to those engaged, by the countenance afforded them.

E.

Liverpool, Nov. 18, 1844.

Critical Notices.

Points and Pickings of Information about China and the Chinese. By the Author of "Soldiers and Sailors," &c. London: 1844. Grant and Griffith.

This is a little compendium of facts, accurate in the main, and amusingly put together, respecting the mighty empire of China, 'adapted for young readers.' "No one can put the world in a walnut-shell," the author justly observes; and "China is too long, too wide, too full of curiosities, too every thing, to be brought into a small compass:" he, therefore, points out and picks out what is likely to captivate his young readers' attention. We admire the dexterity with which he has despatched the whole history of China, from Pwan-kee and Fuh-he, to Taou-kiang, some 5,000 years, in ten pages 12mo.

The remarks upon Chinese punishments are just:—

"To expect that between three and four hundred millions of people, even the most civilised on the earth, could be kept in order without punishment, would be somewhat unreasonable; but to entertain any hope that such a number of semi-barbarians could be repressed without some provision being made to punish their outbreaks, would be still more visionary. Taou Kwang, the 'father of his people,' at the head of such a hopeful family, no doubt lays his account in being called upon to order, now and then, a little salutary chastisement.

"The punishments of China are not light, but they are often in description much overdrawn and caricatured. It is possible that you may have seen some of the rice-paper drawings executed by Chinese artists, wherein culprits are represented as undergoing horrible tortures and punishments, the most barbarous instruments of cruelty being used. These are, to a great extent, monstrous productions, wherein the truth is most extravagantly distorted. Whether the object of the mandarins in encouraging these outrageous libels on the character of the empire be to frighten the people, or to alarm foreigners, I cannot say; but certain it is, that, for the most part, these punishments take place on rice-paper only.

"In uncommon cases, punishments are very heavy, as they are even in European countries; nor can we dispute the truth that the Chinese are habitually unfeeling and cruel, but that is no reason why they should be misrepresented. Foreigners buy up these pictures of imaginary horror, too ready to believe them copied from the life, and thus unfounded tales of terror get abroad.

"The most common punishments in China are those of the bamboo, the cage, the cage or imprisonment, banishment, and death."

Royal Asiatic Society.

THIS Society held its first general meeting for the season on the 2nd of November; Professor H. H. Wilson in the chair. A considerable number of donations to the library and museum of the Society were laid upon the table; among them were the following:—A large collection of Chinese works, some of them of great rarity; presented by Samuel Ball, Esq., to whom the special thanks of the Society were voted for his valuable present. The *Yagna*, and the *Vispard* of the Parsis, in the Zend language and Guzerati character; lithographed under the auspices of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. The concluding livraison of M. Burnouf's lithographed edition of the

Vendidad Sadé; presented by the editor, A Grammar of the Persian Language, by Duncan Forbes, M.A.; presented by the author. Shortrede's Logarithmic Tables to seven places of decimals, containing logarithms, numbers from 1 to 190,000, &c. &c.; presented by the author. The works of Sâdy, complete; Persian MS.; Persian odes, MS., and a copy of Gladwin's *Gulistan*; presented by Sir Charles Malcolm. A portion of the *Makhsan al Asrar* of Nizami; edited for the Oriental Text Society, by N. Bland, Esq. A Sanskrit MS. roll, containing the thousand names of Vishnu; found in the palace at Bhurtpore, when that place was captured in 1896; presented by the Hon. Col. John Finch. The author's autograph map of the city of Benares, from the survey made by James Prinsep in 1832; and four spears used by the Nagas of the Assam frontier; presented by William Prinsep, Esq. Note on the Historical Results deducible from Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan, by H. T. Prinsep, Esq.; presented by the author.

The secretary read the following letter, addressed to him by the Rev. James Reynolds, secretary to the Oriental Translation Committee, and which accompanied a copy of a sermon, printed in 1658, entitled, "The Comfort and Crown of Great Actions, &c." :—

"My dear Sir,—

"Permit me to present to the library of the Society a curious old sermon of Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Edward Reynolds, preached before the East-India Company on the 4th December, 1657. This production is in some respects remarkable, because it was delivered upon occasion of the commencement of some 'great undertaking,' or enterprise, by the Company. What the precise nature of this 'great undertaking' was, the preacher declares to be unknown to him; but at that period, Cromwell had resolved to bestow his patronage and favour upon the East-India Company, and had specially interested himself in their proceedings. Perhaps, therefore, this 'great undertaking' may refer to the entertainment by that extraordinary man of new and grand projects to be carried out in the East Indies; and the counsels of Cromwell may have anticipated by a century the exploits of Clive. The success of the Dutch and Portuguese must have been well known to the former, whilst the glories of the merchant princes of Venice formed a popular theme in his younger days; and nothing appears more probable than that, in imitation of them, he may have designed to extend conquests together with commerce, and unite sovereignty with trade. However this may be, the affairs of the East-India Company are so rarely found forming a subject of a popular pamphlet, and especially of a popular preacher, in the seventeenth century, that I secured this little work, in the hope that the Society would accept it. I remain, &c. &c."

The time usually devoted to the meetings having expired, no further business was commenced, and the meeting adjourned to the 16th November.

10th November.—Sir Alexander Johnston in the chair.

Capt. John Lewis and Major T. Wilkinson were elected resident members of the Society.

The secretary read a letter from the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, forwarding to the Society a paper submitted last year to the Madras Government by Major-General W. Cullen, suggesting the formation of museums at each collectorate, and the means of obtaining systematic reports on mineralogical, statistical, and other subjects. The letter was also accompanied by a list of scientific reports which had been submitted to the Government of

that presidency at various times, and offering, for the use of the Society, copies of any of them it might desire to possess.

The paper of General Cullen was read to the meeting. The writer stated that a recent circular from the Asiatic Society, requesting information regarding the mineralogy, vegetable productions, and general resources of India, had led him to draw up the paper submitted. He thought the objects desiderated should not be left to the chance contributions of individuals, but that the Government of the country should take measures for ensuring the systematic aid of its civil and military officers in the provinces in promoting such researches. The present system of appointing civil engineers to the several districts seemed to offer peculiar facilities for the collection of statistical and other information of the kind desired by the Asiatic Society, as the peculiar nature of their duties led them to study minutely the features of the country, with a view to the extension of irrigation, the formation of roads, &c. He considered it would be desirable to form small museums in each collectorate, which would induce many persons in the neighbourhood to contribute mineralogical and other specimens, together with their own observations upon them, who might, in the absence of such an inducement, hesitate to send their contributions to the society at the presidency. From these local and district museums, selections of paper and specimens might be made for the use of the Government and scientific bodies. Small cabinet collections of rocks and minerals, together with a few of the best works on the subjects, and a small box of chemical tests, might be sent from England for the use of each district. He thought, also, that influential natives might be found to take considerable interest in such local museums.

The writer then instanced the want which existed of any scientific reports of the extensive deposits of gold dust in the Calicut collectorate; and of the lead ore, copper, and diamond tracts in Cuddapah, Bellary, &c. Another subject of interest and importance was that of taking levels by the barometer for irrigation, cutting canals, roads, &c. Long experience of the capabilities of the barometer had given him great confidence in its application to these purposes, and he had remarked very singular and close correspondences between its results and those of the ordinary levelling instruments. From the barometer he had ascertained the cause of the failure of the canal, of seventy miles in length, which a late ruler of Mysore cut from the Caverry to Mysore: the dam across the river was actually below the general level of the town of Mysore. Another similar instance of want of scientific accuracy was mentioned by the writer. Some fifty years ago, the Ram Raja of Travancore wished to bring the waters of the Codiaar, a river in the Vellavencode district, into those of the Tambrapoorney; and he constructed a magnificent dam across the former river, and cut a fine canal through eight or ten miles of a most difficult country; but when the work was completed, it was discovered that the bed of the Tambrapoorney, instead of being lower, was actually higher than that of the Codiaar, and the water consequently flowed but a short way up the canal.

After mentioning several instances of the satisfactory results of the indications of the barometer, the writer concluded his communication by giving a register of the fall of rain at ten or twelve different places between Cape Comorin and Palghat, which shewed a sudden and great diminution in the quantity at the distance of even fifty miles from the coast. In recent experiments for the cultivation of American cotton, he doubted if the degree of humidity of

the climate had been sufficiently considered,—a circumstance which shewed the value of the information furnished by the rain-gauge, as well as the barometer.

The thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to the Court of Directors for their obliging communication, and the meeting adjourned to the 7th December.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(*From the Indian Mail.*)

ARRIVALS REPORTED IN ENGLAND.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Charles G. Mansell.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. John Anderson, artillery.

Lieut. Archibald Impey, engineers.

Assist. surg. Samuel Lightfoot.

Madras Estab.—Major John Johnstone, 3rd Lt. Cav.

Lieut. James G. S. Cadell, 3rd Lt. Cav.

Lieut. Octavius Pelly, 7th Lt. Cav.

Lieut. William C. Callow, 2nd Europ. Reg. L. I.

Ens. Leonard M. Strachey, 1st N. I.

Capt. Richard H. Bingham, 7th N. I.

Capt. William Reece, 10th N. I.

Lieut. Henry Hughes, 18th N. I.

Capt. John Lewis, 24th N. I.

Capt. Charles H. Wilson, 32nd N. I.

Major James Wyllie, 45th N. I.

Lieut. Alfred Tripe, 51st N. I.

Lieut. Joseph L. Barrow, artillery.

Lieut. John W. Goad, artillery,

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. Charles Ponsonby, 7th N. I.

Ens. Henry W. Holland, 13th N. I.

Ens. George W. West, 21st N. I.

Lieut. George A. F. Nichol, 22nd N. I.

Ens. John P. Nixon, 25th N. I.

Brev. capt. James B. Woosnam, artillery.

Lieut. William F. Marriott, engineers.

Ens. Thomas B. Jones.

Assist. surg. Harman R. Bond.

Brev. capt. George H. Fagan, engineers, overland, Dec.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. William P. Cust, 7th Lt. Cav., overland, Nov.

Major-gen. James Welsh, 12th N. I., overland.

Capt. Robert Younghusband, 19th N. I., overland, Dec.

Lieut. Robert Wallace, 34th N. I., *via* Bombay per *Duchess of Northumberland*.

Capt. Archibald G. Young, 43rd N. I., overland, Dec.

Lieut. Henry A. O. Const, 48th N. I., per *Duchess of Northumberland*.

Brev. capt. Thomas Smythe, engineers, overland, Dec.

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. col. command. Bentham Sandwith, c. a., 1st Lt. Cav.

Capt. Henry L. Salmon, 2nd Lt. Cav.

Major John Fawcett, 2nd Europ. Reg. L. I., overland, Dec.

Capt. Septimus V. W. Hart, 2nd N. I., overland, Dec.

Lieut. W. F. Leeson, 2nd N. I., overland, Nov.

Vet. surg. Isaac Bicknell, overland, Dec.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. John C. Hawkins, I.N., overland, Dec.
Commander Thomas G. Carless, I.N., overland, Nov.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE AT HOME.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. William Strachey, 4 months.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. Henry Young, 2 months.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Brev. capt. G. Murray, 8th Lt. Cav., 6 months.

Capt. Francis Harrison, 1st Europ. Reg. L.I., 6 months.

Major Geo. W. Bonham, 40th N.I., 6 months.

Lieut. Wredanhal Q. Pogoan, 43rd L.I., 6 months.

Surg. Charles Llewellyn, M.D., 6 months.

Madras Estab.—Assist. surg. Agnew Mackintosh, 6 months.

Assist. surg. William L. O. Moore, 6 months.

Vet. surg. Nicholas F. Clarkson, till end of Feb.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. Conrad J. Owen, 1st Lt. Cav., 6 months.

Lieut. col. David Forbes, 9th N.I., 6 months.

Capt. Thomas W. Hicks, artillery, till 1st June.

Surg. Henry Johnston, 6 months.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. Frederick De H. Georges, I.N.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY IN INDIA.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Richard C. Raikes, by the *Oriental*, in Dec.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. Godfrey L. Farrant, overland, March.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. Edward S. S. Waring, 6th Lt. Cav., overland, Dec.

Lieut. James Burt, 6th Lt. Cav., overland.

Lieut. Thomas G. St. George, 17th N.I., overland, Dec.

Surg. John Smith, M.D.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.

MILITARY.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. and Brev. lieut. col. John T. Leslie, artillery.

RESIGNATION OF THE SERVICE ACCEPTED.

MILITARY.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. William James, 5th N.I.

Major Henry Taylor, invalids.

APPOINTMENTS AT HOME.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. W. F. Barth, appointed a veterinary surgeon.

MARINE.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. John Maurill, appointed a volunteer for the pilot service.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. James B. Yzarn, assistant to the secretary in the military department, permitted to retire from the service, under the provisions of the Act, 53 Geo. 3, cap. 155, sec. 93.

Mr. William Eade appointed to succeed Mr. Yzarn as assistant to the secretary in the above department.

The undermentioned clerks in the office to succeed to stations as follow:—

Mr. George Appleton to be 1st clerk.

Mr. Robert E. Smith to be 2nd clerk.

Mr. Charles T. P. Metcalfe to be 3rd clerk.

Chronicle.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen has conferred the dignity of baronet on Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B., late naval Commander-in-chief in the Indian seas.

The honour of knighthood has been bestowed upon William Westbrooke Burton, Esq., puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras.

The Court of Directors have appointed George Russell Clerk, Esq., a Provisional Member of the Council of India.

T. Horne, Esq., has been appointed Attorney-General, and V. Fleming, Esq., Solicitor-General, for Van Diemen's Land.

Richard C. Pennell, Esq., has been appointed Colonial Secretary, and John Doveton, Esq., Treasurer, for the Island of St. Helena.

Lady Emily Hardinge and family are to proceed in the *Bentinck* to join the Governor-General of India. This vessel is to convey the mail of the present month from Suez to Calcutta.

Lady Sale has been elected an honorary member of the United Service Institution.

On the 18th Nov. Sir R. Sale was entertained by the United Service Club; on the 23rd Nov. by the Oriental Club; on the 25th Nov. the gallant officer dined with Sir R. Peel, and on the following day left town with Lady Sale for France in progress to India. Sir R. Sale will join the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Oriental* at Malta, on her passage to Alexandria, and proceed from Suez, in the *Bentinck*, to Calcutta.

Maj.-gen. Sir William Nott has had another relapse, and lies dangerously indisposed at Carmarthen.

The *Cornwalkis*, 72, with the flag of Sir W. Parker, and the *Nimrod*, 20 have arrived from India.

Officers of the Indian navy, who have thirty-five years' actual service in India, are permitted to retire, and succeed to senior pensions as they become vacant.

A memorial is in course of signature by officers of the East-India Company's service at present in this country, praying the Court of Directors that "the furlough to Europe for three years may be included in the period of service entitling to pension."

The Chancery suit between the directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company and the proprietors of the *Great Western* steam ship has been compromised.

Mohun Lall, the faithful follower of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, is about to publish an account of the Cabul catastrophe.

At a recent meeting of the Bank of Ceylon, held in London, a second half-yearly dividend was declared at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. The report read upon the occasion was most encouraging.

Some Liverpool vessels employed in the India trade have been directed to scour the African coast, from the mouth of the Red Sea, through the Mozambique Channel, to the Cape of Good Hope, in search of guano.

The patronage for the present season, lately assigned to the Directors of the East-India Company, is about the average of former years, viz.: civil appointments to Bengal, 18; Madras, 5; Bombay, 5; cadetships to Bengal, 78; Madras, 60; Bombay, 33; medical appointments to Bengal, 40; Madras, 8; Bombay, 8; Addiscombe, 84; Indian navy, 28.

It is understood that a high distinction is about to be conferred upon Maj.-Gen. Sir Henry Pottinger, for diplomatic services in China. This gallant officer has received a very flattering address from the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester, and a similar address from the mercantile community of London is in course of signature. Sir Henry is to be publicly entertained both in the metropolis and at Liverpool.

Measures have been taken for pressing upon the attention of Government the necessity of reducing the rate of duty now charged on tea and cotton-wool.

Lieut.-Col. Davies of the Bombay army, while shooting near Bicknor Court, met his death by the accidental explosion of his gun.

The House of Assembly at Jamaica have rejected the proposition of the Colonial Office for the introduction of 5,000 coolies into that colony, but have agreed to defray the expenses attending the introduction of 2,000 coolies by way of experiment. The colonies of Demerara and Trinidad have agreed to the Government plan, but in Jamaica there is a disposition to prefer African to Indian labourers.

The museum at the India House has lately received some very valuable specimens of natural history from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

The brother-officers of the late Capt. C. Dent, of the 2nd regt. Bombay N.I., have placed a tablet to his memory in the church of his native parish.

The amount of bills drawn by the Honourable the East-India Company in the month ending 6th November, 1844:—Bengal, 163,984*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Madras, 31,015*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*; Bombay, 3,131*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Total, 198,130*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*

It is generally understood that the following arrangements have been made for carrying out the system of bi-monthly intercourse with India, which comes into operation in January next:—One mail is to leave Southampton on the 3rd of every month by the steamers on the Constantinople line for Malta, from whence it will be conveyed, together with the mail from London of the 7th of each month, *viâ* Marseilles, by Government steamers to Alexandria, and from Suez to Bombay by vessels in the service of the East-India Company. The second mail is to leave Southampton on the 20th of every month, and be conveyed by vessels in the employment of the Peninsular and Oriental Company to Alexandria, calling at Malta to take up the London mail of the 24th, *viâ* Marseilles. From Suez these mails will be conveyed by the vessels of the same company to Calcutta, calling at Ceylon and Madras. With respect to the homeward mails, one is to leave Calcutta on the 1st of every month by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's vessels, calling at Madras and Ceylon in the voyage to Suez. The second, which is to leave Calcutta as at present, will reach this country by way of Bombay. In order to facilitate the intercourse through Egypt, a railway from Cairo to Suez has been for some time contemplated; but French interest is at work to induce the Pasha to postpone such an undertaking in favour of a ship canal from Suez to the coast of Faramah in the Mediterranean. The impracticability of this latter scheme can scarcely be doubted.

Accounts have been received from the Rev. Dr. Wolff, dated Meshed, 23rd of Shaban. It would seem that Nasib Abdool Summut Khan had extorted from him a promise of 6,000 tolas, notwithstanding which he would have been put to death but for the interference of the Russian Ambassador, to whom he owes his safety. An ambassador from Bokhara accompanies the doctor, with a present from the king to Queen Victoria. Dr. Wolff states, that, besides Col. Stoddart and Lieut. Conolly, Lieut. Wyburd, of the Indian army, Tod-

derwise, a German, Naselli, an Italian nobleman, and a Greek gentleman, have all been executed at Bokhara.

A statue, or cast in plaster of Paris, of the heroic size, from a model moulded by Mr. William Graham, has recently been placed in one of the lower rooms of the Adelaide Gallery, of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Edw. Barnes, G.C.B. Several years ago, a subscription was opened for a statue of this officer, and Mr. Graham having been allowed to inspect the family portraits, and also prints, became one of the competitors for the commission for the statue. He accordingly commenced modelling, and completed his model, when he found that little or no progress had been made in the subscription. He then determined to cast the statue in plaster. The statue now in the Adelaide Gallery is the result of his labours.

With reference to the sickness which appeared on board the *Moffatt*, from Bombay, after leaving St. Helena (p. 101), Messrs. Mason and Dawson have published the following statement:—"The articles subsequently sent to us, as samples of the stores stated to have been used in the cabin, where the sickness principally prevailed, on board the ship *Moffatt*, on her homeward voyage from St. Helena to England, and consisting of the different wines, spirits, beer, &c., having been tested by the appropriate reagents, were found to give no indications whatever of any poisonous metallic impregnation; it was not therefore considered necessary to state the results of the analysis, nothing injurious of that description having been discovered, although the analysis was conducted with the utmost minuteness. It may be of interest to know that the patients under treatment have been restored to health by the remedies adopted for their recovery."

The friends of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., late commander-in-chief of the forces in South India, being desirous of testifying their respect and esteem for his character and principles and for his disinterested zeal in the cause of Christian truth in the East, have raised a fund for the institution of a prize in one of the Universities, and for the establishment of two native scholarships at Bishop Corrie's Grammar School at Madras; such prize and scholarship to be associated with the name of Sir Peregrine Maitland. The founders of the prize have commissioned Mr. Cator, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. H. Venn, B.D., Queen's College, Cambridge, to communicate with some English University respecting the proposed prize. In pursuance of the foregoing scheme, the sum of £1,000 was offered to the University of Cambridge, for the purpose of instituting a prize, to be called, "Sir Peregrine Maitland's Prize," for an English essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel, through missionary exertions in India and other parts of the heathen world. 1. It is suggested that the prize should be given once in every three years, and should consist of the accruing interest of the principal sum during the preceding three years. 2. That the subject should be given out in the Michaelmas Term by the Vice-Chancellor, and the exercises sent in before the division of the Easter Term. 3. That the candidates for the prize should be bachelors of arts under the standing of M.A. at the time when the subject is given out. 4. That the examiners for the prize should be the Vice-Chancellor and two other members of the University, either masters of arts or of degrees superior to the degree of master of arts, to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor, and approved by the senate, and that their names should be announced, together with the subject of the essay. 5. That the essay be printed at the expense of the successful candidate; and that fifty copies be distributed to each of the three following institutions: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church Missionary Society, and Bishop Corrie's

Grammar School at Madras. It is further proposed to give, besides the £1,000 before mentioned, the sum of £100 for the first prize; the subject of the essay to be given out before the end of the present Michaelmas Term. A grace passed the Senate of the University of Cambridge, on the 27th November, accepting the above proposal.

An examination for the purpose of electing a Sanscrit Scholar on the foundation of Colonel Boden will take place in the Clarendon, at Oxford, on Monday, December the 9th, at eleven o'clock. The scholarships are open to all matriculated members of the colleges and halls in Oxford who shall not, on the day of election, have exceeded their twenty-fifth year, and who shall produce a satisfactory proof of their age, and a written permission to offer themselves as candidates, signed by the heads or vicegerents of their respective colleges or halls.

On the 22nd November, an application was made to the Court of Chancery, on behalf of the committee of the estate of Mr. Dyce Sombre, for an order to deliver up certain papers and documents in the box which had been originally in the possession of Mr. Dyce Sombre, in order to enable the committee to arrange certain pecuniary matters in India relating to the lunatic's estates, and discharge some debts and annuities. The Lord Chancellor acquiesced in the propriety of the prayer of the petition, and stated that the Commissioner of Lunatics, in whose possession the box was, would look through the papers and select those that were necessary for the purposes mentioned, and hand them over to the committee. His lordship observed, in addition, that the committee incurred a heavy personal responsibility in furnishing Mr. Dyce Sombre with funds, inasmuch as the report of the commissioners had not received his sanction. Mr. Dyce Sombre was out of the jurisdiction of the Court; but still, notwithstanding such fact, the Court considered it to be its duty equally to look after Mr. Dyce Sombre's property.

Accounts from St. Petersburg, Oct. 22nd, state that, at the fair of Nishni Novogorod, there were 39,000 chests of tea and 60,000 lbs. of copper. The supply of cotton goods was much the same as that of last fair. There was very little Persian silk, and what there was is said to have been purchased for England. Tea was bought very rapidly, though at reduced prices. On the whole, trade was brisk. A great deal of woollen cloth was sent to China.

Our letters from the Levant received by this express mention that the state of Syria was hourly becoming more deplorable. A proclamation issued at Constantinople, forbidding any person whatever to appear in the streets after sunset, had occasioned some disorders.

The *Revue de Paris* announces the death of General Yermoloff, one of the Privy Councillors of the Emperor Nicholas.

The accounts from Tahiti give a lamentable picture of the condition of that devoted island. In the actions between the French and the natives, the latter have suffered severely, and several of the French have fallen. The contest was still going on.

Military.—The Queen has been pleased to appoint Col. J. Dennis, of the 3rd regt. of Foot, and Col. T. Valiant, of the 40th regt. of Foot, Companions of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, to be Knights Commanders of the said Order.

The following detachments have been ordered to be held ready for embarkation.

tion, to join their respective corps in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land:—51st regt., 20 men; 56th, 6 officers, 240 men; 96th, 20 men; and 99th, 1 officer, 50 men.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

War-Office, Oct. 25. 55th Foot.—Lieut., v. Goold, prom.

Unattached.—Lieut. W. Ward, from 35th Foot, capt.

Nov. 1. 80th Foot.—Assist.-surg. M. W. Murphy, from 33rd Foot, assist.-surg., v. Tardrew, ap. to 1st Life Guards.

Brevet.—Capt. C. Campbell, 39th Foot, major in the army; Capt. F. E. Manning, of 16th Bengal N.I., major in the army in the East-Indies.

Memorandum.—The exchange between Lieut. J. Le Marchant Carey, of the 4th Foot, and Lieut. Sir T. Erskine, of the 71st Foot, has been cancelled.

8. 63rd Regt.—Capt. J. R. Norton, from h.-p., capt., v. H. J. Swyny, exc.

Brevet.—Capt. J. Stainforth, 64th Foot, major; Brevet-major J. Stainforth, 64th Foot, to be lieut.-col.

Memorandum.—The commission of the undermentioned officer should have been dated 30th April, 1844, not 1st Nov., 1844; Capt. F. E. Manning, 10th Bengal N.I., to be major in the army in the East-Indies.

19. 63rd Foot.—Major R. Preston, from h.-p., 12th Foot, to be major, v. P. P. Neville, exc., rec. difference; Capt. G. Green, major, p., v. Preston; Lieut. H. R. Reymour, capt., p., v. Green; Ens. J. S. Macaulay, lieut., p., v. Seymour; W. Hunt, ens., p., v. Macaulay.

Brevet.—Major R. Preston, 63rd Foot, lieut.-col. in the army.

22. 15th Lt. Drag.—Lieut. J. Surman, capt., v. Baird, dec.; Cor. M. E. Hoare, lieut., v. Surman.

2nd Foot.—Capt. J. E. H. Price, from 28th Foot, capt., v. Stirling, exc.; Lieut. T. L. Leader, from 22nd Foot, lieut., v. Ratcliffe, exc.

4th.—G. Leslie, ens., v. Anderson, dec.

13th.—Brev. lieut.-col. C. T. Van Straubenzec, from 39th Foot, major, v. Havelock, exc.

21st.—2nd Lieut. A. E. Tuke, 1st lieut., v. Edwards, dec.; P. Deare, 2nd lieut., v. Tuke.

22nd.—Lieut. T. H. Ratcliff, from 2nd Foot, lieut., v. Leader, exc.

25th.—Ens. W. T. Potts, from 57th Foot, ens., v. Clancy, exc.

28th.—Capt. J. Stirling, from 2nd Foot, capt., v. Pryce, exc.

31st.—Assist.-surg. J. Donald, from 24th Foot, assist.-surg., v. Jenkins dec.

39th.—Brev. lieut.-col. H. Havelock, from 13th Foot, major, v. Van Straubenzec, exc.

57th.—Ens. J. Clancy, from 25th Foot, ens., v. Potts, exc.

78th.—Lieut. F. Colegrave, from 87th Foot, lieut., v. Austen, exc.

86th.—M. S. Todd, assist.-surg., v. Stewart, dec.

94th.—Lieut. A. Maclean, adj., v. Waite, dec.; Ens. H. W. B. Cleveland, lieut.; N. B. Walton, ens., v. Cleveland.

98th.—B. Viret, assist.-surg., v. Blacke, ap. to staff. *

Hospital Staff.—Assist.-surg. E. H. Blake, m.d., from 98th Foot, to be assist.-surg. to the forces, v. Apoth. O'Hara, dec.

OBITUARY.

The Rev. W. Bowley.—This indefatigable country-born missionary was one of the oldest labourers in connection with the Church Missionary Society, having been in its employment for about thirty years. He was first engaged with Abdool Messeh, at Meerut, and in 1814 was associated with Abdool in the charge of Agra; but shortly afterwards removed to Chunar, of which station he continued in charge till his death. He received Lutheran ordination on the 23rd March, 1820, at Chinsurah, and was subsequently admitted to Episcopal orders by Bishop Heber, in November, 1825. He translated the whole Bible into Hindoee. He died on the 10th November, 1843, very suddenly, from an

affection of the heart, a few minutes after his return from his evening drive. While on his way home, feeling a pain in his side, he embraced the opportunity of calling on Mr. Harley for medical advice. Conformably to the directions he received, it is presumed, immediately on alighting from his buggy, he desired his servant, George Peer Bukhsb, to bring him warm water to foment the part. While Peer Bukhsb was away, he took a seat in the verandah, beside his wife, and took up a book to read to her. Feeling, it is supposed, the pain growing severe, he got up and paced the verandah. Just as he approached his study-door the third time, he exclaimed aloud, "I am dying," and staggered. By this time Peer Bukhsb arrived with the water, and seeing his master stagger, he put the kettle down, and ran to his assistance. Mr. Bowley fell back in his arms, and quietly yielded up his spirit. He wrote the day before, in very high spirits that he purposed to make a long and extended missionary tour. No one in India could supply his place. Bowley was a peculiar man. Himself a native, he lived as a native; and his people were nursed in his bosom and at his side.—*Miss. Reg.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

- Oct. 24. In George-street, the lady of Col. J. P. James, son.
 26. At Kensington, the wife of Capt. C. Forbes, son.
 29. At Islington, Mrs. H. R. Allport, son.
 30. At Pitfirrane, the lady of Sir John Halkett, Bart., son.
 Nov. 1. At Notting-hill, Mrs. T. W. Younghusband, son.
 3. At Wimpole-street, Lady Mary Hood, daughter.
 — At Studley Castle, the lady of Sir F. Goodricke, Bart., son.
 4. In Brooke-street, Grosvenor-square, the wife of John Alexander Hankey, Esq., daughter.
 5. At Dalmahoy, Lady Aberdour, son.
 7. At Clifton, the lady of Maj. James Briggs, H.E.I.C.'s service, daughter.
 8. At Brighton, the Right Hon. Lady Headley, daughter.
 10. At Porchester-terrace, the wife of Edmund Dewar Bourdillon, Esq., son.
 11. At Eaton-place, the lady of Sir William Heathcote, Bart., M.P., son.
 13. At Grosvenor-place, Viscountess Forbes, daughter.
 — At Torquay, the lady of Sir John E. Honeywood, daughter.
 14. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Baillie, son.
 — At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir William L. Foulis, Bart., of Woodhall, daughter.
 16. At Inchbrakie, Perthshire, the Hon. Mrs. Græme, daughter.
 — At Wimpole-street, the Hon. Mrs. Hall, daughter.
 17. At Ickleford-house, Herts, the Hon. Mrs. Frederick Ryder, son.
 — At A-hley park, Surrey, Lady Fletcher, daughter.
 18. At Notting-hill, the lady of Thomas B. Penfold, Esq., of the late naval East India service, of twin daughters, the last still-born.
 — At Putney, the wife of Anthony F. Bainbridge, Esq., daughter.
 — At Grafton-street, the Viscountess Galway, son.
 20. At St. John's-park, Kentish-town, the lady of George Shearwood, Esq., son.
 Lately, at Minterne-house, Dorset, Lady Theresa Digby, daughter.
 — At Balinterry, the lady of late Lieut. Leslie Hendley, Bombay army, son

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 8. At Grand Cairo, Duncan M'Pherson, Esq., M.D., Madras army, attached to his Highness the Nizam's service, to Margaret, daughter of Archibald Iver, of Edinburgh.

Oct. 29. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Viscount Loftus, son of the Marquess of Ely, to Jane, daughter of late J. J. H. Vere, Esq., of Craigie-hall.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, G. C. Dalbiac, Esq., 4th Lt. Drg., to Louisa Maria, daughter of late Capt. Burges, 5th Bengal cavalry.

— Hon. W. H. B. Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald, to Frances Jacobina, widow of late G. J. Carnegie, Esq.

30. At Peterborough, the Rev. H. Pratt, son of the Rev. J. Pratt, rector of Paston, to Mary Ann Davys, daughter of the Bishop of Peterborough.

31. In Holy Trinity, Gray's-inn, John Charles Moor, lieut., late H.E.I.C.'s civil service, to Harriet Esther, daughter of late Nathaniel Taylor, Esq., of Cornard, Suffolk.

Nov. 7. At Paris, Major Arthur O'Neill, to Emma Charlotte, daughter of Robert Sympson, Esq.

8. At Northfleet Church, Kent, Horatio, son of the Rev. Wm. Pace, M.A., captain Madras army, to Jobina, daughter of Wm. H. Styles, Esq., of New House Farm.

14. At Kingston, Edward, son of the late Sir Hardinge Giffard, chief justice of Ceylon, to Rosamond Catharine, daughter of William Pennell, Esq., of Portsmouth.

15. At Wardie Lodge, near Edinburgh, Capt. James A. D. Ferguson, 6th Bengal light cavalry, son of the late Sir J. Ferguson, of Kilkerran, Bart. to Margaret, daughter of late James Hope, Esq., W. S.

20. At Walcot Church, Bath, Alexander, T. Gordon, Esq., surveyor general of Hong-Kong, to Augusta A. Whittaker, grand-daughter of the Chevalier de Forssmann.

Lately, Henry Hamilton, Esq., of Drogheda, to Marianne Thomas, daughter of the late Rev. James Chayter, Ceylon.

— At Hayes, Kent, James Elphinstone Robertson, capt. 6th reg., to Flora Maria Nightingall, relict of late Edward Ward, Esq., and daughter of late Capt. John Hall, Bombay army.

— At Dublin, Harman Read Bond, Esq., H.E.I.C.'s service, to Anne, daughter of Richard Wensley Bond, Esq., of Carranure, County Roscommon.

— At Carrigtwohill, F. R. S. Calder, Esq., H.E.I.C.'s service, to Mary, daughter of J. Graham, of Cashel, Esq.

— At St. James's Church West, T. G. Alder, Esq., lieut.-col. Bengal army, to Mary Ann, relict of late J. Watts, Esq., Aberdeen.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, W. Jenkins, Esq., of H.M.'s dock-yard, Woolwich, to Louisa Sophia, daughter of late Hon. Sir Wm. Oldnall Russell, chief justice of Bengal.

— At Monkstown, Capt. G. W. Robertson, 25th regt. Bombay army, to Jane, daughter of Brabazon Newcomen, Esq., of Camla, County Roscommon.

DEATHS.

Aug. 19. On the passage from St. Helena to the Cape of Good Hope, Capt. Thomas Palmer, of the ship *Isabella*.

Sept. 27. At Geneva, H. R. Leyburn, Esq., of Clapham-road, late of Calcutta.

Oct. 23. Near Flitching, H. B. T. Crozier, Esq., late Bombay civ. serv.

— At Yarm, Mary, wife of Major Lowe.

24. At Christ Church Hospital, William Charles, son of Capt. Watkins, H.E.I.C.'s service, Camberwell.

25. At Ballam-hill, Emma Robertson, daughter of Major H. Lyons, 23rd Bombay N.I.

27. At Kensington, Marion, relict of J. N. Rind, Esq., surgeon, E. I. C., formerly superintendent of the government lithographic press at Calcutta.

— The Hon. Arthur Annesley, son of Viscount Valentia.

29. At Woodbridge, Alice, daughter of Ross D. Mangles, Esq., M.P.

30. At Cranford House, Right Hon. Mary Countess of Berkeley.

— At Burton-upon-Trent, C. J. Allsopp, Esq.

31. At Rokbury, near Boston, in his 29th year, Henry Pelham, youngest son of late Capt. Henry Pelham Davies, H.E.I.C.S.

- Nov. 3. At Montague-square Charles Grant Udny, Esq., Bengal civ. serv.
 4. At Upper Newtown, Waterford, Lady Roberts, wife of Capt. Sir Samuel Roberts, R.N., C.B.
 6. At Turnwood Park, Dorsetshire, Lady Mary Hill, wife of Major-Gen. Sir Dudley St. Leger Hill, K.C.B.
 8. At Mount Ballam, near Chepstow, Lady Williams, wife of Major-gen. Sir E. K. Williams, K.C.B.
 9. At Richmond, Mrs. Hosand, well known for her moral and instructive writings.
 — At Montrose, William Lorimer Whyte, Esq., formerly a partner of the firm of Messrs. M'Kenzie, Lyall, and Co., Calcutta.
 11. In Harley-street, Major-gen. Sir Leonard Greenwell, K.C.B. and K.C.H.
 12. At Boulogne, Montague Macdonogh, Esq., late 4th or King's Own regt. of Foot.
 13. In Grosvenor-street, the Right Hon. Lord Saye and Sele.
 — At Barr House, near Taunton, Col. Sir Charles Webb Dance, K.H.
 — At Milton-next-Gravesend, Mary, wife of Major James Glencairn Burns.
 14. At Southwick-crescent, Hyde-park, Mary, wife of Matthew Theodosius Denis De Vitre, Esq., late of Bombay.
 15. George Harry, son of Frederick Mangles, Esq., of Down, near Guildford.
 — At Muirhouse, Glasgow, Mr. William Cleuch, accountant, late of Calcutta.
 16. At Oxford-terrace, Hyde-park, Capt. Oliver St. John, late 31st M.N.I.
 18. At Hall Barn-park, the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.
 19. At Chatley, the Hon. Gen. St. John.
 22. At York-terrace, Regent's-park, James Ritchie, Esq., late of Bombay.
 24. William Holloway, Esq., late of Singapore, son of the late Charles Holloway, Esq., H.E.I.C.'s service.
 Lately, at London, William Church, Esq., late of Bombay.
 At Stirling, Capt. P. Cunningham, H.E.I.C.'s service.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

OCT. 30.—*Henry*, Bombay, Dartmouth.—Nov. 1. *Palmyra*, China, Isle of Wight.—4. *Amity*, Bombay, Holyhead.—5. H.M.S. *Cornwallis*, Trincomalee, Portsmouth; *Royal Tar*, Batavia, Exmouth.—6. *C. C.*, Singapore, Plymouth.—11. H.M.S. *Nimrod*, Bombay, Plymouth; *Stratford*, Mauritius, Downs; *Herculean*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Symmetry*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Hope*, China, Dublin; *William Mitchell*, China, Liverpool; *Indus*, Bengal, Liverpool.—12. *Surah Charlotte*, Cape of Good Hope, Downs.—13. *Jane Goudie*, Sydney, Downs; *Ocean Queen*, Sydney, Margate; *Galatea*, Cape, Downs; *Hydrabad*, Bengal, Downs.—14. *Westmoreland*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Thistle*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Dryad*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Mary Ann*, Singapore, Liverpool.—15. *William Hyde*, China, Wight; *Urgent*, China, Cork; *Sovereign*, China, Portsmouth; *Sumatra*, Sumatra, Portsmouth.—16. *Gulmore*, Port Philip, Fal-mouth; *Grecian*, China, Downs; *Syria*, Singapore, Cork; *Kilblain*, Bengal, Liverpool.—18. *Patriot Queen* and *Peruvian*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Superior*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Agneda*, Bombay, Liverpool.—19. *Mary Ann*, Madras, Wight.—20. *Orient*, Bengal, Brighton; *Mischief*, Manilla, Liverpool.—21. *Madura*, Madras, Downs; *Arrow*, Zanzibar, Downs; *Herald*, Singapore, Downs; *Agile*, Cape, Downs; *Helen Stewart*, China, Downs; *Ganges* and *Achilles*, Sydney, Torbay; *Tamerlane*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Pilgrim*, Bengal, Liverpool.—22. *Pauline Houghton*, Mauritius, Hastings; *Elizabeth*, Bengal, St. Alban's Head; *Fyen*, Manilla, Cowes.—23. *Nautilus*, St. Helena, Portsmouth; *Countess of Durham*, China, Dover.—25. *Caledonia*, Bombay, Downs; *Marmion*, China, Cork; *Magnolia*, Manilla, Cork; *John Graham*, Ceylon, Dartmouth.—26. *Livingstone*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Sea Queen*, Port Philip, Skil-bereen.

DEPARTURES. ●

From Liverpool.—Oct. 20. *Pearl*, Otabeite; *Eliza*, New South Wales; *Scotia* and *The Duke*, Bengal; *Isabella* and *Ann*, Madras.—21. *Regalia*, Cape; *Velore*, Shanghai; *Medina* and *Isabella*, Singapore.—22. *Thomas Worthington*, Shanghai; *Carib*, Singapore; *Adriana*, Calcutta; *Dorosina* and *Lintin*, Bombay.—25. *Leidmar* and *Ambrosine*, Cape.—28. *Flora*, Shanghai.—29. *Heroine*, Port Philip; *Orissa*, Bombay.—31. *Monarch*, Shanghai; *North Pole*, Manila; *Jumna*, Calcutta.—Nov. 2. *Lucas*, China; *Miapore*, Calcutta; *Francis Spaight*, Bombay.—3. *Agnes Ewing*, Bombay.—7. *James Matheson*, Hong-Kong.—8. *Anne Mary*, Bombay; *Llewellyn*, Ceylon.—13. *Coaxer*, Calcutta.—18. *Penrith*, Bombay.—19. *Hesperus* Hong-Kong; *Balfour*, Bombay.—23. *Emendale*, Calcutta.

From the Downs.—Oct. 24. *Georgiana*, Algoa Bay, *Bromleys*, Cape, *Thalia*, Ichaboe.—25. *Emerald Isl.*, Cape and Madras, *Brothers*, Ceylon; *Catherine*, Cape.—26. *Oriental Queen*, Mauritius.—27. *Olive Branch*, Aden; *Kelso*, Calcutta.—28. *Brisk*, South Seas; *Albion*, Cape.—30. *Thomas Snook*, Cape and Mauritius.—Nov. 4. *John Watt*, Calcutta; *John Hullett*, Mauritius; *Aden*, Hobart Town; *Ophelia* and *Anne*, Cape; *Acorn*, St. Helena; *Ann Grant*, Sydney.—6. *Adventure*, South Seas.—18. *Prince of Wales* (from Shields), Bengal.—19. *Rookery*, Bombay.—20. *Nereid*, Aden.—21. *Sir George Seymour*, Launceston; *Duke of Wellington*, Calcutta; *Vohunter*, Mauritius; *Susan Crisp* (from Berwick), Cape; *Sultana*, Sydney; *Jane Cotherine*, Newport and Ceylon; *Nemesis* (from Leith), Calcutta; *Sterling*, Calcutta; *Gurli*, Batavia.—24. *Devonshire*, Batavia, *Orpheus*, Madras.—25. *Indian*, Cape, London, Bombay.

From Bordeaux.—Oct. 30. *Marmion*, Madras.—Nov. 9. *John King*, Mauritius.

From Cork.—Nov. 4. *Herald*, Sydney.

From Swansea.—Nov. 14. *Tyrim*, Ceylon.

From Shields.—18. *Margaret Cook*, Calcutta.

From the Clyde.—Oct. 29. *Herald*, Cork and Sydney.—22. *Fame*, Calcutta.—23. *Fleur-de-lis*, Cape.—26. *Flora Muir*, Bombay.—29. *Catherine*, Cape.—Nov. 8. *India*, Hong Kong.—11. *Queen*, Batavia.—13. *Margaret Skelly*, Calcutta.—14. *Dani Clarke*, Bombay.—17. *Lochinvar*, Cape.—21. *John Wood*, Mauritius.

From Portsmouth.—Nov. 29. *Anni Jane*, China.

WATERLOO, Nov. 12.—The *Lucinda*, Scollay, from the Clyde to Bombay, has put in leaky, and with loss of bolts, nails, deck load, &c., and strained in upper works.

WEXFORD, Nov. 9.—The *James Matheson*, Cushing, from Liverpool to China, got on shore in the North Bay this morning, and is full of water. crew saved.

LIVERPOOL, Nov. 18.—The *Ugent*, Goodwin, from China to this port, went on shore yesterday morning, near Carnarvon. crew saved.—21. Has been got off, and is in tow of a steamer.

PASSENGERS.

Per *Great Liverpool*, from Southampton to Malta and Alexandria.—For Malta—Lord Lorton and friend, and servant; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Allan; Miss Stewart, Mr. Maitland, Mr. K. Maitland, Mr. and Mrs. Strickland and child. For Alexandria—Mrs. and Miss Godfrey, Mrs. Ravenscroft, Col. and Mrs. Sandwith, Mr. Hart and child, Mrs. Jefferys, Lieuts. Lodwick, Gordon, Ramsay, Stenhouse; Mrs. Dawson, Misses Weeks, J. Weeks, Taylor, Roome, Barton, Shaw, Tindall, Grad, Eaton, E. Wray; Mrs. Gray, Sandys, Urmsom, Holder, Ewens; Lieut. Col. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Cust, Capt. and Mrs. Doherty, Mr. and Mrs. Hialop, Capts. Impett, Carless, Clifford, Bethuen, Heatley, Mackenzie; Major Gen. Welsh, Mr. and Mrs. Sharpe, Mr. and Mrs. King, Mr. and Mrs. Leeson, Mr. and Mrs. Cresswell, Messrs. Barr, Wallace, Balkwill, MacLachlan, Macleod, Campbell, James Hogg, Martin, Walkinshaw, Rogers, Grey, Fife, Robertson, Woolter, Ince, Mercer, Sibold, Smith, Carr, Wise, Russel, and Robinson.

Per *General Newitt*, to Sydney.—W. F. De Salis, Esq., J. L. Montefiore, Esq., and two brothers; Mrs. Lintott and daughter, Mrs. Stewart, Mr. Walker, lady, and six children; Mrs. Miller, Mr. Brown, lady, and two children; Mr. Clark, lady, and child; Messrs. J. Carter, Smith, Jones, Green, Samuel, H. J. Reid, M'Laren. Intermediate—Mr. Bates, Mr. Spencer and family, C. D. Brown. Steerage—G. Smith and wife, Mrs. Blakey and family, Mr. Elliott, wife, and family; J. Steele, Blanchard and niece, Hardman, Mary Price, Whitney, wife and family.

Per *Kelso*, to Bengal.—Capt. Strace, Lieut. Crawley, Ens. Cross, Rev. Mr. Farebrother and lady.

Per *Jannet*, to Mauritius.—Lieut. Broke, royal engineers; Mrs. Swainson, Mr. Corby, and Mr. J. Ives.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>via</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>via</i> Marseilles.)						
Aug. 5	Sept. 9	35	Sept. 16 ..	42	Sept. 20 ..	47
Sept. 6	Oct. 11	35	Oct. 13 ..	37	Oct. 17 ..	41
Oct. 6	Nov. 15	40	Nov. 21 ..	46	Nov. 24 ..	49
Nov. 4	Dec. 11	37	Dec. 17 ..	43	Dec. 20 ..	46
Nov. 15	Dec. 23	38	Dec. 30 ..	45	Jan. 1	47
Dec. 6	Jan. 11	36	Jan. 17 ..	42	Jan. 19 ..	44
Jan. 6, 1844 ..	Feb. 11	36	Feb. 16 ..	41	Feb. 19 ..	44
Feb. 6	March 13	36	March 19 ..	42	March 21 ..	44
March 6	April 11	33	April 14 ..	39	April 16 ..	41
April 6	May 12	36	May 13* ..	37	May 17* ..	41
May 6	June 6	31	June 14 ..	39	June 15 ..	40
June 7	July 9	33	July 16 ..	40	July 17 ..	41
July 6	Aug. 6	29	Aug. 12 ..	35	Aug. 16 ..	39
Aug. 7	Sept. 7	31	Sept. 16 ..	36	Sept. 18 ..	38

A Mail will be made up in London, for India, *via* Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and *via* Marseilles on the evening of the 7th December, if not postponed.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Oct. 2	<i>Berenice</i>	Nov. 6	35	Nov. 13 .. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	46
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	47
Dec. 1	<i>Sesostris</i>	Jan. 5	35	Jan. 15	45
Jan. 1, 1844 ..	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 8	38	Feb. 14	44
Feb. 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	March 8	36	March 13 .. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
March 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	April 5	33	April 9	39
April 1	<i>Victoria</i>	May 5	34	May 11	40
May 1	<i>Berenice</i>	June 5	35	June 11	41
May 20	<i>Cleopatra</i>	July 4	46	July 10	52
June 10	<i>Akhbar</i>	Aug. 2	44	Aug. 10 (per <i>Lady Mary Wood</i>)	52
July 31	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Sept. 11	42	Sept. 16	47
Aug. 27	<i>Akhbar</i>	Oct. 3	37	Oct. 7	41
Oct. 1	<i>Victoria</i>	Nov. 5	36	Nov. 10	41

* Per steamer *Bentick*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Zemindar</i>	706 tons.	King	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 10.
<i>Maria</i>	460	Lonsdale...	—	

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Curraghmore</i>	381	Ball	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 2.
<i>Sir Edward Paget</i>	482	Barclay ...	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 2.
<i>Hong-Kong</i>	412	Dodds	—	Dec. 10.
<i>John Fleming</i>	616	Rose	—	Dec. 20.
<i>Tartar</i>	600	Gregson ...	E. I. Docks ...	Dec. 26.
<i>Letitia</i>	564	Malcolm ...	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 1.
<i>Mary</i>	533	Grant	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 7.
<i>Plantagenet</i>	806	Domett ...	E. I. Docks ...	Jan. 10.
<i>Essex</i>	850	Brewer ...	—	Jan. 20.
<i>Bangalore</i>	889	Nelson ...		
<i>Madagascar</i>	951	Weller	E. I. Docks ...	Feb. 10.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Ann</i>	665	Stevenson..	E. I. Docks ...	Feb. 1.
<i>Mary Ann</i>	500	Darke	W. I. Docks ...	Feb. 1.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Clara</i>	368	Crow	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 4.
<i>Glenelg</i>	868	Luce	E. I. Docks ...	Dec. 15.
<i>John Calvin</i>	510	Knox	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 20.
<i>Ann</i>	800	Thorne ...	E. I. Docks ...	Jan. 5.
<i>Berkshire</i>	600	Clarkson ...	—	Jan. 10.

FOR CHINA.

<i>Bangalore</i>	383	Aiton	St. Kat. Docks	Dec. 1.
<i>Arone</i>	300	Covacevich	—	Dec. 15.
<i>Palmira</i>	465	Campbell...	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 1.

FOR SINGAPORE.

<i>Passenger</i>	300	Watson ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 4.
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FOR CEYLON.

<i>Fortitude</i>	640	Christmas..	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 10.
<i>Symmetry</i>	450	Machwood .	—	Dec. 30.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Pauline Houghton</i>	241	Ratsey ...	W. I. Docks ...	Dec. 9.
<i>Caroline</i>	330	Williams ...	—	Dec.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Emily</i>	180	Carrew ...	Lond. Docks...	Dec. 4.
<i>Columbian Packet</i>	214	Sampson ...	—	Dec. 5.
<i>Charles Buchan</i>	123	Sweetland..	—	Dec. 20.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. XV.

THE military operations in the Kolapore territory (commonly, but improperly, called the Southern Mahratta country) present almost the sole feature of political importance in the intelligence brought by the December mail. The result of these operations had been the capture, by storm, of the fort of Samanghur, occupied by a body of insurgent gudkurries (garrisons of *guds* or forts), and the defeat of another body of insurgents, who had approached the fort, with the view of relieving the garrison or raising the siege. The events are not in themselves of much moment, the enemy having been in no great force, and having offered no formidable resistance; but the state of the country, which appears to be in complete insubordination, has inspired the Bombay Government with some anxiety, if we may judge from the number of troops (between 8,000 and 10,000) poured into the Kolapore territory, and the insurrection was unsubdued at the latest date.

The history of this outbreak is not distinctly stated in the Indian journals, which seem ill-instructed as to its origin. The Rajah of Kolapore, we believe, was emancipated from the control of the Peishwa, when the power of the latter was overturned by the British army in 1818, and his state was placed under what is termed British "protection," surrounded by Poona, the Concan and Southern Mahratta Country, which were then annexed to our possessions. On the death of the rajah, a short time back, his two sons were minors, and the British Government, in the quality of protector, assumed the guardianship of the young rajah. A writer in a Bombay paper,* professing to form a "conjecture as to the causes of the disturbance in the Southern Mahratta Country," states that, in consequence of the maladministration of the Kolapore state by the advisers of the senior Bhacc, the regent, new karbarries, or ministers (Brahmins, unconnected with the durbar), were recently sent from our territory to govern the country, and that, supported by our authority, they have introduced new arrangements, and endeavoured to assimilate the revenue and police systems to those of the Company, a proceeding which has given great offence to the leading men.

However much foreign interference may have been disliked by the chiefs and hereditary servants of the Kolapore state, whose power we

* The Bombay Times.

have for the present subverted, yet it is not likely that any open resistance would have been offered to our authority if our measures had been in conformity to the ancient usages of the country ; but our contemplated reforms affect the interests of a large class of the latter, who consider we have no right to interfere. And now it is asked by many, what remains of a Murathee raj ? It is said that the immediate cause of the opposition which we now encounter has arisen from our Kolapore karbarries having deputed revenue officers to the forts, to deprive their commandants of the powers they had hitherto exercised, and with orders to assume the same themselves. Doubtless it was expected by both parties that the new district managers would display activity, and promote the revenue ; that probably they would ascertain the extent of land allowed by deed to each of these gudkurries, the quantity actually enjoyed, and would claim revenue to the state for all excess. It is supposed that the gudkurries apprehend their lands may be taxed ; or, under new masters, that they may be subjected to new rules, by direction of the Bombay Government. They, therefore, resist innovation at its outset, and will not allow the revenue officers attempted to be imposed on them by the Bombay Government to enter the forts and deprive the commandants of their anciently enjoyed authority over the fort and its districts. But as the mahalkurries, under our patronage, attempted to establish their position by force, they were resisted by the gudkurries, and driven away by force ; and thus, it is said, have the gudkurries been driven into rebellion in defence of their ancient rights. The gudkurries, in their own words, say, “we are under the governance of our naiks ; we will not allow mahalkurries to establish themselves in our forts ; we will submit to no new customs.”

It appears from the same writer, that the gudkurries, or ‘fortress soldiers,’ who hold the *guds*, or forts, are men to whom and to their descendants the defence of the forts is committed—the son succeeding by right of inheritance to the office and estate of his father. Most of them are paid for this service by allotments of rent-free land lying immediately round the fort, granted to them by deed when it was built ; whilst some are paid partly in land or grain, and partly in money.

A certain number of villages are attached to each fort, the revenue of which is assigned for keeping it up and the payment of carcoons and civil officers. This revenue is collected from the non-combatant settlers in these villages, and the entire management of the revenue, as well as the chief authority, civil and military, in the fort and villages dependant on it, has from time immemorial been vested in the commandant. These hereditary garrisons of the forts, consisting of havildars, naiks, and gudkurries, claim to be of more ancient origin than even the dynasty of the Kolapore rajahs ; and though the gudkurries acknowledge that they hold the fort in the name of the Kolapore rajah, yet they say that all that appertains to their internal management belongs to them—

selves, and that the rajah cannot remove them elsewhere, assign them other duties, or alter the charter (as it were) of their constitution.

This account affords a probable explanation of the insurrection, as well as of its peculiar character, and, if correct, we agree with the writer, that it is a very questionable policy to urge, against the wish of so large a proportion of the community, reforms which may, after all, be abrogated by the rajah when he attains his majority.

Other accounts, however, ascribe the rebellion to the proceedings of the chief minister of the state, a Brahmin, named Dajee Punt, the Akbarnavoc of our Government. The conduct of these Mah-ratta rulers, who, it is said, introduced dancing-girls and prostitutes into their councils, and cruelly oppressed their subjects, led the Bombay Government to interfere in the nomination of their chief minister, as the means of checking their misrule. One of the most remarkable of these ministers was Ram Rao Bheemajee, who had the reputation of being an honest man, but his reforms were ill-received, and he was at length removed from power. The present minister, Dajee Punt, a man of talents and energy, has made himself equally obnoxious, and, endeavouring to enforce his measures by the sword, excited this rebellion. The insurgents seized both him and the young rajah, whom they treated with great indignity.

The country is represented to be hilly, and studded with forts, two of which, near Kolapore, are of great strength. Six of these forts, most of them very large, are in possession of the rebels.

It appears that our force broke ground before Samanghur on the 29th September, but the badness of the roads impeded the progress of the guns from Belgaum, and the strength of the fort, as well as the apparent determination of the enemy, made the commanding-officer cautious, and unwilling to indulge the desire of the troops to make a dash. Some casualties occurred during the siege; Lieut. Irvine, of the Madras Artillery, fell, and Lieut. Shakespear, 2nd European regiment, nephew of Sir Richmond Shakespear, was mortally wounded. On the 5th October, the insurgents proposed terms; but they were inadmissible. Meanwhile, the insurrection appeared to be spreading, especially in the neighbourhood of the capital. A body of troops of the Kolapore rajah, about 1,000 in number, sent to co-operate with our force, treacherously deserted, and joined the insurgents at Kolapore, who seized a talook which had been ceded by the late rajah to the British Government.

At length, the guns having arrived, after two days' breaching of the fort, it was stormed at daylight of the 13th October. The garrison were taken by surprise, and in half an hour the storming party

(consisting of two columns, the first under Capt. Jones, the second under Capt. Gillanders, the whole under Major Clemons) were in possession of the fort, their loss being only one sepoy killed. After the fall of the place, a large party of armed men made their appearance, who were charged, broken, and cut up by the left wing of the 5th regiment of Madras Cavalry, under Capt. Græme. On both these occasions, the enemy suffered great loss in killed and prisoners (1,100 to 1,200 in all), including several chiefs and influential men.

Lieut.-Colonel Outram (who had been appointed political agent in the Southern Mahratta Country), on the 13th October, joined the force in Kolapore, under Major-General Delamotte, which marched from Samanghur, on the 24th October, towards the capital. The young rajah and his ministers had been rescued from the hands of the malcontents, and placed under our protection, a detachment under Colonel Brough having taken up a position within six miles of Kolapore. Colonel Outram, it is said, was about to proceed on a tour through the country to inquire into and redress the grievances which were the ostensible causes of the outbreak. No man is better qualified for this office; and it may, therefore, be hoped that further effusion of blood, in a quarrel wherein we are rather auxiliaries than principals, will be spared.

Tranquillity happily reigns throughout the rest of India. Bundelkhund has at length a prospect of permanent quiet, the ex-rajah of Jeitpore, Pareechut, having surrendered upon the very favourable terms offered to him, namely, Rs. 2,000 a month, and restriction to residence on the other side of the Jumna. Phulwan Sing, Kummoda Sing, and other "plunder-chiefs," have likewise given in their adhesion, and placed themselves under the control of Col. Sleeman, at Jhansi. There is, therefore, an end of the insurrection and of its consequences.

We do not, of course, affirm (says the *Agra Ukhbar*) that no other disturbance will ever occur in Bundelkhund, for rajahs will again, as they have done before, oppress their ryots; younger sons will rise against their more fortunate brothers, and the Boondelas will often prefer to plunder rather than to plough; but we believe the day is very far distant when the people will, as in the year 1842, unite to attack the villages in our possession, simply because they belong to the Company, whilst the neighbouring villages of foreign states were carefully spared; and this our belief is grounded on the fact that our moderation is better understood, and our disinterestedness is more observable at this time than when the meddling policy was so much the fashion in that province.

The only incident worthy of notice amongst the political occurrences in foreign India is the death of Dewan Sawun Mull, the nasim or governor of Mooltan for the Maharajah of the Sikhs, but whose proceedings, since the distractions in the Punjab, evidently betrayed a design to throw off his dependence upon Lahore. The mode of his death was remarkable, and, combined with the suppression of the fact for some time, generated a suspicion of his assassination at the instance of the young minister of the Sikh state; but it now appears, that he was shot, on the 20th September, by a criminal, under examination before him, who drew a concealed pistol, and discharged it at the nasim. His son, Lalla Moolraj, a man of reputed talent, has been appointed his successor. This event will probably relieve Heera Sing of the apprehension he must have felt at the location of a formidable adversary in that important government, which contributes about half a million sterling to the treasury.

The removal of Sawun Mull, it is supposed, is an event not unfavourable to our interests, for he is represented to have entertained hostile feelings towards the British. Whatever may have been his intentions with respect to the Lahore Government, it is not likely that he would have favoured our movements against the Punjab, if circumstances should require it.

The difficulties of the young Rajah Sahib at Lahore are gradually diminishing. It seems that a reconciliation has been effected between him and his uncle Goolab Sing, the powerful chief of Jumboo,—a fact which by no means contradicts the suggestion we threw out last month, that the hostility of these two personages is merely pretended and illusory; that they have really a common object, though, from policy, they affect to be antagonists.

The ostensible causes of disunion between the chiefs are these. Goolab Sing has espoused the cause of Peshora Sing, who, he maintains, has a nearer and juster title to the throne than Dhuleep Sing. These two princes are supposed to be put forward by the uncle and nephew as mere tools for their own purposes. But Goolab Sing's most arguent motive of resentment towards Heera Sing is attributed to the fate of his last surviving brother, Soochet Sing, who fell in support of the claims of Peshora, and Goolab is reported to have made no secret of his resolution to revenge his death, to which object he is incited by the importunities of the widow of Soochet Sing. Peshora Sing, however, has denied the imputation of being in league with the Jumboo rajah. One report from Lahore announces that Goolab Sing had been pronounced a traitor by Heera Sing and

his Council (in which the pundit Julla has great influence), who had determined to march an army to Jumboo, and that the troops were put in motion on the 12th October. On the other hand, Goolab Sing tells his sirdars that his nephew was preparing to make war upon him, in order to increase the tax upon his jaghire, which would eventually fall upon them. The latest intelligence announces the departure of Jowahir Sing, brother of Heera, on a friendly mission to Jumboo. The approaching season of the *Dusseera*, it is supposed, will be the crisis of the Punjab's destiny.

At Gwalior, the late attempt upon the life of Ram Rao Phalkeea was the principal topic of interest. It appears to have been of more importance than was at first supposed, unless the minister has attributed to it an undue magnitude, in order to suit his own views: he is reported to be desirous of involving the Bhace in the plot. The originator of it is said to be a petty chief, named Ramchunder Punt, who had engaged 2,000 discharged sepoy, and employed agents to corrupt the Mahratta troops. The object was to destroy Ram Rao, confine the other ministers, and raise thirty new regiments to meet contingencies. A forged *kureeta*, or letter, purporting to be from Tara Bhace to the Governor-General of India, bearing the state seal, was likewise a topic of discussion at the durbar. This paper fell into the hands of Sir Richmond Shakespear, who had a conference with the Bhace upon the subject. Her highness disclaimed all knowledge of the missive, which was placed by the resident in the hands of the ministers, in order that the author might be discovered. The two parties in the state reproach each other with its authorship; the Bhace's friends charge the forgery upon the ministers, and especially Ram Rao, as part of a scheme to remove the Bhace; the partisans of the present order of things do not conceal their belief that the paper is genuine. Meanwhile, the durbar was engaged in the agreeable office of adjusting the amount of the salaries and allowances of the ministers. It is believed that the Prime Minister, Ram Rao Phalkeea, will draw Rs. 5,000 per month, Bhow Mamma 3,000, Oodajee Ghatkeea 2,000, Rajah Moonshee Bulwunt Row 1,000, and Moollajee, treasurer, 1,000. These chiefs, besides, all hold princely jaghires, and are said to enjoy other indulgencies, such as the receiving of bribes, drawing salaries from the state for servants in their private employ, holding forests and meadows, the produce of which they freely dispose of.

Nothing is known respecting the state of Afghanistan beyond the fact that both Dost Mahomed Khan and his son Akhbar Khan were at Cabul; so that the recent accounts of the invasion of his territory

must have been inventions. Some fighting seems to have taken place at Bameean, but who were the combatants, and what were the causes and objects of contention, are secrets respecting which we must be content to remain for the present in the dark. Rumours are afloat of negotiations between the British authorities at Loodiana and Cabul, which are not deemed improbable by the Indian papers, our Government having pledged itself to recognize the ruler of Cabul when he should have established his authority, and should evince a desire for a friendly intercourse.

There are still complaints of sickness amongst our troops in Scinde, more particularly at Shikarpore and Sukkur; but the country is undisturbed, and its prospects are greatly improved. The revenue in all departments is increasing, and already yields considerably more than ever reached the treasury of the Ameers. The sentence upon the mutineers of the 64th Bengal N.I. was carried into effect, at Sukkur, on the 11th September. A letter from that station furnishes the following particulars of the execution:—

This morning, the whole of the troops at this station were paraded to witness the execution of six of the mutineers of the 64th N.I.; thirty-nine were tried, and thirty-eight sentenced to death—the Commander-in-chief confirmed the sentence on the six worst; that on the others was commuted to transportation—twenty for life, six for fourteen years, and six for seven years, but not across the seas—twenty are to go to Kurrachee for life. The parade was formed up by half-past five, in the following order:—the right wing of H.M.'s 13th, 380 strong, on the right, but to the rear of the gallows; Forster's battery, unlimbered (and, I believe, loaded with grape), ready for action; the left of the 13th—this formed the east side; the 64th in front of the 13th, with two or three companies of its left wheeled up to the right, to form the north side of the square; the 4th N.I. formed up in the same way at the other end of the square. The gallows was a triangle. Had the 64th attempted a rescue, we were pretty well prepared for them; but, thank God! nothing of the kind took place. The culprits were escorted by a party of the 13th; they asked if their pay and money had all been sent or arranged for their families, and being answered in the affirmative, they shouted a little and then ascended the drop, put the ropes round their own necks—one swung himself off before the drop was let go: in a minute, the poor wretches were launched into eternity. The 4th and 64th marched past, and went quietly home, and thus has ended the third mutiny of the 64th—it is to be hoped it will be a salutary lesson to them.

The corps is represented to be reduced by these severe examples to a state of complete submission.

Sir Henry Hardinge is earning the cordial good opinion of the

Calcutta community by the urbanity of his manners, and his patronage of the various institutions. Whilst he has accepted the office of President of the Asiatic Society, he has, at the same time, intimated his intention to present a cup of Rs. 1,000 to the races. He distributed the prizes at the Martiniere Institution, and the Cameron and Lyall prize medals to the native students at the Hindu College, and in the course of his address, on the latter occasion, he encouraged the native "nobility and gentry" to co-operate in the cause of education, assuring them that "in no better mode could they evince their patriotism than by fostering the cause of education, and striving to diffuse intellectual improvement among their countrymen." A Minute, or Resolution, by the Governor-General, on the state of education in Bengal,—of which, it has been remarked that "it is, perhaps, the most powerful impulse which the cause of education has received during the last twenty-five years,"—has produced sentiments of applause and of gratitude throughout the different classes of the Anglo-Indian and Indian communities. This document declares that the Governor-General, being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford every reasonable encouragement to education, by holding out a fair prospect of employment in the public service, has resolved that, in every possible case, a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated at the institutions founded by Government and private individuals, of late years, for the instruction of the people of India, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein. He accordingly calls for returns of students fitted for public offices throughout the provinces of Bengal, and similar returns of meritorious students from other scholastic establishments, which, after due inquiry, will be incorporated with those of the Government institutions. These returns are to be printed and circulated to the heads of all Government offices, with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the persons therein named, "and in filling up every situation, of whatever grade, in their gift, to shew them an invariable preference over others not possessed of superior qualifications." With a view further to encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes, the Governor-General also directs that, "even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that, in every instance, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot."

This resolution is undoubtedly the most liberal, and promises to

be the most successful, measure that has yet been adopted to bring the educational establishments into useful operation :—

It makes the seminaries the nursery of the service, and the service the stimulant of the seminaries. It introduces into our Indian administration the enlightened principles adopted by European governments, of recruiting the public service in every department from those who have earned distinction in the public schools. At the same time, it will be found instrumental in the highest degree in the general elevation of the country ; it will transplant into the interior that European knowledge and science which have hitherto been confined to Calcutta, and diffuse their influence through every district ; it will gradually place men of enlarged minds in situations of the highest trust and responsibility throughout the country, and provide willing and well instructed agents to assist in the task of Mofussil improvement.*

The liberality of its spirit is indicated in the extension of its benefits to those who have been taught at institutions not supported by Government, whereby exclusive principles and party distinctions are not permitted to interfere with them. Not the least important part of the measure is that which provides for the education of the persons chosen to fill the lowest offices. We are told that, in the various courts in Bengal, there are upwards of 10,000 peons, not a tenth part of whom can read the writs or summonses they are employed to serve ; and these situations are in great request among the natives, not merely for the pay, but for the importance they confer.

Hitherto, the positive refusal of the Government to pledge itself to any preference of educated natives for public employment has operated very detrimentally to native education. Other impediments have existed, which may obstruct the success of the present measure. We are told† that many public functionaries are not merely indifferent, but decidedly hostile, to native education, and that “not a few of them would prefer the ignorant to the instructed.” Several reasons are mentioned ; one is, that the educated youths are less servile than the others, and do not approach the “*Huzoor*” with closed palms, and address the great functionary as “*Khodawund*.” It is not improbable that a native youth, with a tincture of European instruction, may be somewhat conceited, and less supple than one uneducated ; but this is a slight drawback upon the advantages of superior competency and greater honesty.

Whilst upon the subject of education, we may notice that the connection between Seal’s College and that of the Jesuits, called St.

* *Friend of India.*

† *Bengal Hurkaru.*

Xavier's, at Calcutta, has been dissolved, owing to some alleged interference with the caste prejudices of the students at the former. Baboo Mootee Lall Seal, the founder of Seal's College, assigns as the reason for the dissolution, that viands were distributed amongst the Hindu boys, repugnant to their rules, in violation of a distinct pledge. The superior of the Jesuits' College, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, attributes the occurrence, at which the parents of the scholars took offence, to the scholars themselves. Seal's College is now placed under the superintendence of the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, the converted Hindu, who, better acquainted with the peculiar prejudices of his countrymen, will be more wary of offending them.

A compliment paid to Sir George Pollock, on his arrival at Calcutta, to take his seat at the Council Board, was made the occasion of an unseemly eruption of hostility against the late Governor-General. The health of the gallant officer having compelled him to decline a public entertainment, a meeting was held at the Town Hall, on the 7th October, to vote an address to him, and which voted also a resolution, "That a gold medal and sum of money (to be determined by the amount of subscription raised), to be called 'The Pollock Prize,' be presented annually to the most distinguished cadet of the season at Addiscombe, to commemorate the name and services of Sir George Pollock." The address, which recapitulated, in very encomiastic terms, the operations directed by Sir George Pollock for the last invasion of Affghanistan, contained a passage which seemed to imply that a part of his proceedings was "in compliance with superior authority." This was objected to and expunged, whilst a passage, referring to the General's despatch of the 13th May, 1842, which "had been mislaid, it seems," conveys an indirect reflection upon Lord Ellenborough, the bad taste of which (to say nothing of its injustice) has been properly commented upon.* One of the deputation appointed to carry up the address to Sir George Pollock declined to do so, on the express ground that "it contained a paragraph calculated to convey an unjust imputation upon Lord Ellenborough."

It is a gratifying evidence of the gradual progress of rational opinions amongst the native aristocracy of India, that the entertainments called *nautches* are falling into disuse. Only six of the leading baboos of Calcutta opened their houses this year to these silly exhibitions, upon which large sums are often lavished for no other object than mere ostentation. In the *Poojas*, again, a wholesome change is taking place. The two wealthy rajahs, Radhacant Deb

* *Englishman*, October 9.

and Kalikrishna Bahadur, instead of sets of dancing-women and a Bow-bazaar band, introduced the European amusements of a comic opera, music, singing, and, for the inferior classes of their guests, rope-dancing. However trivial these matters may appear, they are tokens of an impression made on native manners, which, in time, and in conjunction with other causes, will produce a beneficial result, if it be only by detaching the bulk of the people from recreations too closely connected with their worst superstitions.

An extension of the banking system in the north-western provinces is announced in the last papers. A new bank has been formed at Delhi, called the Delhi Bank, another called the North-Western Bank of India: so that Agra, Delhi, Simla, and Mussoorie have banking establishments; and it said that a branch of the Mussoorie bank is to be fixed at Meerut. If these establishments are constructed upon sound principles (and such principles are now well understood), and are properly managed, there can be no doubt of their prosperity, for no real dearth of capital exists in India, and there are abundant channels for its profitable employment: what is wanted is a machinery for its safe distribution.

An interesting narrative appears in the *Delhi Gazette*, from the pen of Ibrahim, an Affghan (we believe), who was sent to Bokhara by Capt. Conolly, and brought from thence some notes from Dr. Wolff, which have been published. This narrative furnishes a detailed account of the fate of Colonel Stoddart and his companion, as from the King of Bokhara himself, in a conversation with Dr. Wolff. The latter is represented as having asked the king why he had put to death the vakeels of England. The king replied, that he had put no vakeels to death; that the two officers had no *sun-nud*, or paper shewing that they were vakeels; that Col. Stoddart, on his arrival at Bokhara, did all he could to conceal the fact of his being a European, hiding himself as long as he could; that he (the king) sent for him, and inquired who he was, and why he came to Bokhara; that Stoddart replied, he was a traveller, desirous of seeing the country, whereupon he ordered him to be thrown in prison; that the ameeers of the court represented that it was dangerous to keep a European in such circumstances in the country, unless he became a Mahomedan; that he proposed to Stoddart that he should become a Mussulman, when he should be released, and might reside at Bokhara, where he could make many friends, and he (the king) would be one of them; that Stoddart consented to the proposal; that some time after, Capt. Conolly arrived at Bokhara, representing himself to be an envoy from Shah Shooja, but he had

no credentials, and could not prove he was an envoy ; that he took up his residence with Stoddart, and both began to correspond with the Ameers of Farung concerning the affairs of Bokhara ; that Stoddart, when Conolly went to live with him, forsook the Mahomedan faith, whereupon he (the king) summoned the ulemas and moolvies, and questioned them as to what punishment a person merited who, having been converted from the Koofur to the Mahomedan faith, renounced Islam, and returned to the Koofur creed, and they replied, he deserved death ; that he (the king), after this sentence, kept Stoddart in prison for some time, thinking he might be a vakeel of the King of England, and made strict inquiries as to this point ; but as they proved fruitless, he was at last obliged to give an order for his execution ; that when Stoddart was about to be put to death, he (the king) asked Conolly if he would become a convert to the Mahomedan faith, in which case his life would be spared ; but he refused, and was consequently executed. Ibrahim adds, that Dr. Wolff obtained the bones of both these unfortunate gentlemen. This narrative tallies so well with previous accounts, that there is little reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. It appears that an English officer, named Hart, reported to have been in the service of Shah Shooja, had found his way to Bokhara, in the disguise of a moollah, and that he had left that city in company with Dr. Wolff. The *Dilhi Gazette*, some time back, reported that a Bombay officer, named Hart, had proceeded beyond the Indus ; and letters from Bokhara had mentioned that a European officer, named "Hatta," had reached that capital. We may soon expect to receive an authentic report of all these transactions from Dr. Wolff, who, by the latest accounts, was at Teheran.

The judicial records of Bombay have, of late, been deformed by some remarkable criminal cases, and none is, perhaps, more so than the case of Aloo Paroo, whose trial and conviction are reported in the last Bombay papers. This man was a native Mahomedan merchant, carrying on an extensive trade with China, Arabia, and Persia, in which he had realized about £70,000. With so little temptation to crime, he engaged with others to defraud the underwriters by burning the ship *Belvidera*, and recovering the supposed value of the property insured in her. In the course of the trial of this man and two of his confederates, an extensive system of commercial fraud was exposed, which consisted in effecting large insurances upon goods purporting to be far more valuable than they really were, and also in insuring to a large amount goods really valuable, and secretly unshipping them immediately before the ship

left the port. The captain of the *Belvidere* was selected as a proper man to complete the scheme, and, for a large sum of money, he agreed to fire his vessel. The ship was burnt in Singapore Roads, in October, 1842, in the course of her voyage to China, to which country she was consigned. The entire amount of insurance effected upon the cargo did not appear at the trial, but insurances have been discovered to the amount of £75,000, of which a large proportion was made by the conspirators. But the most surprising part of the affair is, that the articles on board were proved to be of good quality, and mostly insured for sums below the ordinary value. To gain one lac of rupees, which was the most he could possibly have acquired by the successful completion of all the objects comprised in the plot, Aloo Paroo hazarded the fearful odds of an ample fortune, his liberty, his family—in a word, all! The chief parties engaged in this scheme quarrelled about their share of the spoil, and the animosities which arose from thence led to the disclosure of the fraud. Two of the conspirators were admitted to give evidence; but there was documentary proof which brought the crime home to the prisoners. Aloo Paroo was sentenced to transportation for life; the other two were more leniently dealt with. "That an individual of so highly esteemed a class as our merchant captains," observes the *Bombay Courier*, "should have been found to lend his aid to a scheme of fraud so wicked, must be a matter of deep regret; it is, however, satisfactory to learn from the trial, that he realized but a very small portion of the gains he expected; for the men he had leagued himself with, not content with defrauding the underwriters, defrauded him of a great portion of the amount he had stipulated to receive as the price of his crime."

FROM KHĀKĀNĪ.

بهند اندر بسنگي در نبشته است
 که ناخوبي زخوبان نيک زشت است
 هر آن خوبي کزو ناخوبي آيد
 بدان کورا کسي بيگانه گشت

SKETCHES ILLUSTRATIVE OF BURMAN MANNERS.

NO. 1.—CIGAR-GIRLS.

THERE is a class of damsels in the streets of every large town in Burmah whose members derive a prodigious profit from a slender capital by the sale of cigars to the passers-by, and almost as certainly provide themselves with sweethearts, and perhaps husbands. They usually enter upon their speculative calling at twelve or thirteen years of age, and continue the lucrative trade until they are married, and not unfrequently after they have become wives. The day they spend in the preparation of the materials, consisting of the green leaves of the banyan, which act as envelopes to a mixture of chopped tobacco and wood, and so much industry and address do they exercise in the manufacture of their wares, that the least adroit and the most indolent can earn more than they can spend without extravagance.

At an early hour in the evening, having waited impatiently for the setting of the sun, the cigar-girl commences the delightful operation of her toilette; smears her face, and indeed every exposed part of her person, with the fragrant cosmetic called *thanaka*; dons her necklace (if she has one), and arrays herself in her silk petticoat and velvet jerkin. Thus attired, she takes her wooden tray filled with cigars, her stool and torch, and proceeds to the most frequented thoroughfare near her own home. Having sat down, she kindles her torch, and places it in such a position as to throw the light upon her face and the shade upon the tray before her. The truth is, that she is there less to sell her cigars than to shew off her own countenance, and to enjoy the sweet converse of her admirer; the reason, therefore, for keeping the former in dim obscurity, and the latter in the full glare of torch-light, is a good one; her face, she hopes, is the most attractive of the two, and she believes will bear the closest scrutiny; at least, she has bestowed more pains upon its adornment than upon the fabrication of the flimsy trash before her; and whether she sells the cigars or not, is a matter of minor consideration, as long as she has a lover at her side pouring a mixture of tobacco-smoke and love into her ear,—the smoke drawn from one of her own cigars, which she has duly made the swain to pay for, in order to test his liberality, and which he is expected to praise, flimsy and bad though it may be, in order to prove his devotion and the strength of his endurance; and the love composed of set phrases of admiration, and promises of future happiness, which he fully intends she shall never realize. As every man in Burmah takes particular pains to destroy his digestion by immoderate smoking, it is not surprising that the habit has led the women, the young ones especially, to become retail dealers in tobacco. They gain in three ways by the trade: the first gain is pecuniary, which, *malgré* what I have said before, is not altogether a matter of indifference to them; the second is the admiration of their

lovers ; and the third is the envy of their companions,—the most acceptable and sweetest of the three ; for what, in truth, is the admiration of a man worth to a woman, if it brings not with it the envy of her friends ?

If, however, the gains are all *Ja* the women's side now, the pains hereafter are theirs too. They wash, bake, and cook every day of their lives, and so little to their husbands' satisfaction do they do these things, that a storm of words, sometimes a beating, is the running commentary upon their daily labour. They who were wont, as maidens, to make such excellent cigars, cannot, as wives, make one worth the smoking ; their lords, therefore, betake themselves, as in times past, to the thoroughfares and corners where sit the cigar-girls, and there inhale the fragrant weed with that degree of contentment which can never be done at home.

What the old apple-women are to the young boys of England, the young cigar-girls are to the grown men of Burmah ; every corner has one—every cross-street half-a-dozen, at least. The boy who has at length rid himself of a burning hot halfpenny, and got in exchange a couple of stale apples, is not more content with his bargain than is the amorous Burman youth who has paid two thousand per cent. above the value of his shrivelled cigar, half leaf, a third wood, and the rest tobacco ; in both cases the badness of the articles is their chief recommendation. But, besides the shocking bad cigar, the Burman has something else to give a relish to his purchase ; he reflects upon the useful purpose to which his future wife's thriftiness shall be applied after their marriage, when all his pleasures shall spring from her toil ; and if he doubts her constancy (a thing, by the way, that he has some cause to do), the assurance of her unalterable attachment is all he wants to render him the happiest of mortals : he puts *that* into his pipe also, and inhales the grateful thought with a satisfaction that leaves him nothing to wish for. In this manner are half the matches in Burmah made ; the mothers look with pride upon the dawning industry of their daughters, whensoever they observe them employed in making cigars, as it indicates a desire to *come out*, and the only difference in the mode of presenting the beauties of this country and those of Europe consists in the place where the ceremony is performed ; there they are all exhibited in the streets, instead of in the ball-room ; and when this form has been observed, the match-making begins, which, alas ! for the inconstancy of Burman women, frequently ends in nothing but smoke !

NO. II.—FORESTERS.

In the southern provinces of Burmah, at least a third of the men are foresters, and perhaps every labourer in the country twice or thrice in his life takes a trip into the woods. Six months in the year the foresters labour at their craft,—ringing, felling, and floating down the teak timber to the coast ; the other six are with them a season of relaxa-

tion, or, more correctly speaking, of dissipation,—opium-smoking, gambling, and other kinds of profligacy, being the way in which they contrive to kill the time they are compelled to pass in towns. If we accompany them to their labour, we shall behold them in a more favourable light, beguiling the time with those pursuits which, above all others, contribute to form the peculiar character of the Burmese. Their canoe is no sooner laden with the requisite supply of articles of food, than they start off on their voyage, each taking an oar, and using it with a dexterity and power unrivalled by any people of the East, save alone the natives of the Malay islands. When the canoe is fairly launched into the middle of the stream, and the tide has set in, the steersman begins one of the numerous boat-songs of the country, the men keeping time with their oars to the measure of his voice. When they have outrun the tide, they select an open spot near the bank of the river whereon to prepare the evening meal, and the boat being made fast to a tree, the crew disperse themselves about the neighbouring wilderness in search of game, turtles' eggs, and fish; fuel being at hand, the repast is soon prepared, and, the stragglers having returned, the whole party sit round the lacquered dinner-trays, with which every canoe is provided, and soon despatch their simple fare. They then light their cigars; return the dinner-trays, cups, and cooking vessels, into the boat; throw fresh fuel upon the fire, and draw round to tell stories or sing songs until the return of the tide, when they renew their voyage. As soon as they reach the point of debarkation, the supplies with which they have come prepared, consisting of opium, salt, tobacco, and rice, are conveyed to the rendezvous, and the canoe is dragged on shore. Their first duty is to construct a hut, wherein to shelter themselves from the rain, the tigers, and the noon-day sun. Each, armed with his *dah*, or cleaver, falls to work upon the part allotted to him; one fells stakes, another cuts down bamboos, a third and fourth split and weave bamboos for the floor, a fifth plait leaves for thatch; and with such diligence do they labour, that in a couple of days a spacious and comfortable dwelling is erected, the floor of which is always eight or ten feet above the ground, to secure its inmates from the wild animals, and the miasma, which at all seasons floats upon the surface of the soil. Being well settled, they sally forth to their work; or, if the day is wet, remain under cover, preparing bird-traps, mending fishing-nets, and making baskets. If the evening is fair, one takes an old musket, and, climbing into a tree, patiently awaits the approach of his quarry; another, with a pointed stick in his hand, betakes himself to the banks of the stream, and carefully probes the sand in search of turtles' eggs, their presence being indicated by the stick coming up discoloured with the contents of a broken egg; two or three others carry a sieve to the river, and drag the shallows for fish, and another goes in quest of roots, honey, and fruits, with which the jungle abounds. When they re-assemble at night, they talk over the adventures of the day, and recount to each other their prowess and success in the various

pastimes in which they have been engaged: one points to a peafowl, another to a basket of fish, as the result of their exertions; and, while they enjoy the story of their capture, felicitate themselves upon the additional comfort which their possession will afford,—a dry house, good store of provisions, abundant recreation, light labour, and merry hearts.

The Burman foresters, as they sit over their midnight fire, can think of no other enjoyments so exquisitely attractive as their own. They praise the fecundity of their rivers, the fertility of the soil, the invigorating climate, and as they sink to slumber, contemplate even in their dreams the surpassing charms of a sylvan life. But this sunshine of the heart is too often obscured by accidents exclusively attendant upon their occupation; some fall victims to the endemic fever of the jungles, and others are cut off by beasts of prey, which pounce upon them while at their labour; until at length, what with the loss of companions and the mere weariness of pleasure, the survivors are glad to return to their homes, there to taste the happiness of flaunting through the markets in rustling silks, and loitering near the temples, to criticize the beauties of the town. But, at the end of a brief period, in sickness and poverty, they embark once more upon a voyage to the woods, to revel in the perilous enjoyments incident to their craft. It is this predilection for the woods that marks the peculiar character of the Burmans; to them there is no occupation so sweet as that of hewing down some stately teak tree, and the saw being a comparatively modern introduction, the whole operation is performed with an axe or cleaver, even to splitting the trunk into logs. This hardy exercise produces a full development of the muscles, so as to render the people remarkable among Asiatics for robustness and vigour of body; lithe of limb, with expansive chests and swelling arms, with flat features, the forehead lofty and the cranium remarkably thick, they present a striking contrast to the natives of India. Nor do they differ more in their athletic frames than in their habits of life. The puny, swarthy Telinga sings only when he is sad, and courts under the noon-day sun, at the risk of his life, the sleep which makes a heaven of his existence; wrangles until he is breathless about the merest trifle, and looks on in silent apathy while a murder is being committed; whereas the Burman is ever joyous and happy, eats tea-leaf to keep himself awake, spends his money like a lord, and is as fond of fighting on the weak side as a knight-errant.

TRANSLATION OF PERSIAN POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR :—It may amuse, as it will surprise, those of your readers who take an interest in Oriental literature, but who are not themselves Oriental scholars, to learn that the *doings* into English of Persian poetry—whether in prose or verse—scarcely or never convey the correct sense of the original, to say nothing of the *curiosa felicitas* of the style and expression. Translations from the Greek or Latin, or from the modern languages of Europe, may be more or less elegant; but they seldom fail to give the sense of the author with sufficient accuracy, so that, on comparing one with another, where the versions have been made by several hands, the reader sees at once that the original must be one and the same. But let any one read a translation of an ode of Hafiz, for example, such as we are sometimes favoured with in the pages of your Journal, and which may have also been *done* by others, he would be puzzled to account for the extraordinary discrepancy between them. What can this be owing to, and what chance, therefore, has the mere English scholar of ever knowing what Persian poetry is? No great loss, perhaps, it will be said, if he never does.

Annexed are translations of an ode by Khakani, by two celebrated Orientalists, now deceased, Jonathan Scott, and Dr. Gilchrist. The first version is in prose, as published by another Oriental scholar, Mr. W. C. Smith, in his edition of the *Persian Moonshee*, and the second is in verse, as given in the *Oriental Linguist*. As the *Persian Moonshee*, by Mr. Smith, professes to be a revised and corrected edition, and as the ode in question has been selected by himself, and added to the original work, it may be presumed that he considered Mr. Scott's translation to be accurate. When it is compared with Dr. Gilchrist's glowing paraphrase, some notion may be formed of the fidelity of "*Translations from the Persian*;" and this will be still more apparent on a comparison of both with the simple prose translation, which I also annex, the accuracy of which may be depended on.

AN ODE FROM KHAGANEE.

Translated by Jonathan Scott, Esq.*

O! ruby face, jassin bosom, waving cypress, who art thou?
 Flinty heart, cruel tyrant, life-destroyer, who art thou?
 I have seen thy cypress-like stature; I have heaved a deep sigh;
 I have seen thy narcissus' eyes; O! inspirer of souls, who art thou?
 From the walks of the garden, bordered with hyacinth, the sweetness of
 the sugar-cane is excluded. O! rosebud-lipped, who art thou?
 You walk spreading snares; you move flushed with wine;
 You go taking aim; what fatal bow art thou?
 Thy eye-brow, like the new moon, has robbed the full of her splendour:
 attend, oh! torment of life, what torturer art thou?

* From Smith's *Persian Moonshee*, p. 222.

Khaganeh, thy slave, is intoxicated with the wine of thy beauty.
I could sacrifice life for thy name; what animating soul art thou?

Verily, the classical scholar must admit that there is nothing for beauty to be compared with the above in his favourite authors, and that the learned Orientalist and editor of the *Persian Moonshes* has selected a most *splendid* specimen of Persian poetry. But stop a little and listen to the inspired production of Gilchrist's muse:—

From the *Oriental Linguist*.*

Say, blooming maid! with bosom fair as snow,
High o'er our heads, like some majestic pine;
Whence comest thou, and whither dost thou go?
To kill, unfeeling, with thy form divine.

In flowery meadows, if thou heedless roam,
Each fond narcissus lifts its eyes to view,
Thy mouth more luscious than the honeycomb,
Or virgin rose-buds set with pearly dew.

Like some keen fowler, here you plant a snare,
And wanton there, with kisses raise a flame;
Then with portentous glance thy bows prepare;
Hold, archer! say, what means this cruel aim?

Thy jetty eye-brows lunar crescents seem
In beauteous arches o'er bright stars to bend;
Whence rays like fatal arrows swiftly gleam;
Ah, spare me now, and to my prayer attend!

Khaganeh, angel! is thy captive slave,
A prostrate victim of thy matchless charms;
Say who art thou, and snatch him from the grave,
To clasp thee, grateful, in his longing arms.

To render the following simple translation more intelligible, it may be premised that the poet, in a despairing or envious mood, is addressing himself to some unknown fair, saying, "The object of whose affection art thou?—whose heart bleeds for you?—who has the happiness of being thy lover? I envy the happy man," &c.

Correct Translation.

O ruby-faced, jasmin-bosom'd, whose walking cypress art thou?
O flint-hearted cruel tyrant, whose life-destroyer art thou?
Having seen the cypress of thy stature, I have heaved a sigh (deep and straight like the letter *ālf*).

O thou the narcissus (i.e. the pupil) of my eye, say whose moving (or living) soul art thou?

From whose garden art thou sprung up, thou nosegay of fresh narcissus?
Thou (from thy sweetness) hast blasted the reputation of sugar—whose rosebud-lipped fair one art thou?

With thy locks thou hast spread snares, as thou movest, flushed with wine,

Thou hast taken a full aim—whose sharpshooter art thou?

Thy crescent-like eye-brow has won the wager against the new moon (as to which was the most beautiful).

Hear me, O tormentor of my soul, whose life-tormentor art thou?

Khankaunee, thy slave, is intoxicated from the cup of thy love;

He will sacrifice his life for thy name,—O! whose soul of soul art thou?

I will conclude by remarking, that the Persian text in the *Persian Moonshee* is very incorrect, and that some of the lines are lame, and will not scan. The measure is *moofaa-iloon* مفتعلن, four times repeated—that is, sixteen syllables in each line.

The following is a correct copy of the Persian text:—

لعل رخا سمن برا سرو روان کیستی
 سنگدلا ستمگرا آفتِ جان کیستی
 سرو قد تو دیده ام آه الف کشیده ام
 نرگس دیده ام بگو روحِ روان کیستی
 از چمن که رسته نرگس سبزه بسته
 قدرِ شکر ستکسته غنچه دهان کیستی
 دام نهاده ز مو مست زباده میروی
 شست گشاده بگو سخت کمان کیستی
 ابروی تو چو ماه نو برده زماه نو کرو
 آفتِ جان من شنو فتنه جان کیستی
 خاقانی غلام تو مست شده زجام تو
 جان بدهد نبام تو روحِ روان کیستی

I remain, Sir, your occasional Correspondent,
Shalimar North,
 21st Nov., 1844. THE OLD JUDGE.

THE BARON DE BODE'S "TRAVELS IN LÚRISTÁN AND ARABISTÁN."

ALTHOUGH there is nothing very new or very attractive in these volumes, they contain a *great* portion of information of a geographical and an antiquarian character, which, if not communicated for the first time, is neither stale nor uninteresting. Few districts of Persia have been altogether unexplored by European travellers, but much remains to be accurately investigated there in all the departments of archæological science,—history, antiquities, philology,—as well as regarding the settlements or migrations of the early families of mankind. The discovery, partial and limited as it is, of a key to the interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, has opened a vast field for retrospective research into the records of remote ages which have been thus secured from the ravages of time, and skill or accident may light a torch (if it be not done already) that shall reveal to us the secrets of the cuneiform inscriptions. The attention of able investigators and profound scholars have been of late years directed to the latter object, and if once a clue be gained, we need not despair of ultimate success. The Arian characters, decyphered by the late Mr. James Prinsep, were once as mysterious as the arrow-headed, and it is understood that Major Rawlinson has succeeded in reading some of the latter.†

The Baron de Bode has had the advantage (for so we collect) of having resided some time in Persia; he is, therefore, not a raw traveller,—one who rattled through the country merely for the purpose of saying he had been there, and manufacturing a book from the labours of others, with slender and equivocal aid from his own crude notes. He appears to be a man of observation, learning, and judgment, and to have written this book not for the sake of mere distinction, but in the interest of science.

The Baron assumes,—justly enough, we have no doubt,—that, "with the exception of those who have travelled in the East, or who have made geography their particular study," there are not many readers who will know where *Lúristán* is situated, or who will not confound *Arabistán* with Arabia; and he accordingly describes the former as embracing the greater portion of the mountainous country of Persia, extending from the Turkish frontier on

* *Travels in Lúristán and Arabistán.* By the Baron C. A. DE BODE. Two vols. London, 1845. Madden and Co.

† We learn that Major Rawlinson has very recently made some important discoveries in the extensive inscriptions found at Bisutum, which are said to contain a portion of the history of ancient Persia, under the Kyanian dynasty.

the west, to the limits of Isfahán and Fars on the east and south-east; and the latter as the low country lying to the south of this chain of mountains (the Bakhtiyari range), commonly called Khuzistan, but denominated Arabistán from its including the *stán*, or 'country,' of the Cháb' Arabs. These regions, which now offer, in general, the melancholy spectacle of decay and desolation, in former times teemed with an industrious population; this fact is attested not only by history and tradition, but by the vestiges of ruined towns. The country south of the great chain is supposed to be the site of the Elam of Scripture (the Elymais of profane history), a nation in the time of Abraham. "Ahwaz, the winter capital of the Arsacidæ, or Parthian kings, is a heap of ruins; the plough is levelling with the soil the only remaining mounds which point to Joudi-Shapúr, while Susa, the rival of Babylon and Ecbatana, the vernal residence of the king of kings, hides its ancient ruins under thick grass and waving reeds."

The Baron de Bode left Teheran, towards the close of the year 1840, on a visit to the ruins of Persepolis, a journey of 450 miles. At Isfahán, he took up his residence under the hospitable roof of M. Eugene Boré, "who has willingly given up his worldly prospects, the comforts and pleasures of his native land, to toil, the cross in hand, for the spiritual regeneration of his benighted brethren in the East." M. Boré, it appears, has established a school at Julfa (a suburb of Isfahán), in which Musulmans are received, who are taught by a Persian moollah, though the majority of the scholars are Armenian Christians. The fact of Musulmans sending their children to a Christian institution at Isfahán, the seat of Moslem orthodoxy, argues, as the Baron remarks, tolerance in religious matters, of which even the chief priest set an example. Other causes have likewise influenced the Musulman clergy; namely, the progress of Sufeeism, which is now openly professed; the predominance which the secular power has gained over the clerical, and especially the blow inflicted upon the Lutis, a band of unprincipled men, which has materially weakened the Isfahán clergy.

In his progress to Persepolis, the Baron examined the antiquities known as the Takht-i-Suliman, or Throne of Solomon; the Zindan, or Fire-Altar, and the Tomb of Cyrus. The former, he thinks, with Sir William Ouseley, represents the throne of the ancient kings of Persia, or at least the place where they used to sit in public. He mentions the discovery by a Catholic missionary of the Propaganda of some hieroglyphics among the marble slabs on the

Tomb of Cyrus; but not being aware of the fact at the period of his visit, he did not verify it. The Baron gives a short account of the sculptures at Nakshi-Rustam, and of the royal tombs, which he explored with some risk, and bestows a passing remark upon the *kosti*, or cincture, of the fire-worshippers, with relation to the action of the figures in the sculptures.

The appearance of the remains of Persepolis gratified him beyond his expectations; "the nearer we approached," he says, "the more majestic the relics rose before us." When he had ascended the platform, by the magnificent staircase of black marble, the sight of the ruins filled him with a kind of rapture. "I moved from one group to another, like one under the influence of wine; my head felt quite giddy; not that each separate monument was a master-piece by itself; it was the *tout-ensemble* which kept the mind and the imagination in a continual state of excitement." The feelings which took possession of him were inspired by the associations connected with the solemn scene, as well as its aspect:—

The chaste simplicity of the monuments, beautifully harmonizing with their gigantic proportion; the Titanic rocks of marble and granite, evidently piled up with the presumptuous thought of struggling with Time, as to who should have the mastery; and although nearly vanquished by the latter, the lofty columns still rearing their proud heads toward the skies. The mystery attached to the origin and design of Persepolis; the isolated position it now occupies; the awful silence that breathes around it; the generations of men and empires which have rolled over its head, and sunk into oblivion; the events it has witnessed; the vicissitudes undergone; the noise and bustle of which once it must have been the centre, compared with the unearthly quiet which at present pervades its clustered pillars and pilasters, were all fit subjects for meditation, and capable of raising the soul above its ordinary level of indifference and apathy. Nor could the eye, while gazing on these memorials of past grandeur, help casting a look up to the Throne of Omnipotence, where all was immutable and eternal. The pure, bright sky of the East, which had smiled upon the birth of Persepolis, and witnessed its pristine glory, was the same which now looked down on its fallen grandeur,—still pure, bright, and serene as the Spirit which dwells there!

At Shiraz, the Baron made preparations for the journey to the Bakhtiyari country; before leaving that city, he visited the tomb of Madame La Marinière, an eccentric French lady of a noble family, of whom some of our readers may not have heard:—

This French lady had resided for a number of years in Persia. She was rather an eccentric woman; and the fact alone of having come to

this country by herself, would be sufficient to stamp her character with originality ; but though singular, she had many excellent qualities, with a warm and generous heart, which few were aware of, and therefore knew not how to appreciate her worth. Among some of her oddities, I may mention the following :—

Whilst in the service of Abbas Mirza, the Naib Sultan, or heir-presumptive, in the quality of governess and teacher of the French language to his sons, Madame de La Marinière had contrived to cast the moulds of the wrists and ankles of all those young women of his and his sons' harems who were most remarkable for their slender forms, and carried them about wherever she went. Had this curious collection been preserved, it might have formed an interesting study of this branch of the human form, but unfortunately the Persian chaldadars, or muleteers, who are no respecters of persons' limbs, on unloading their animals one fine morning, flung down on the ground the chest which contained these precious relics, and the cover being opened, lo ! they presented one sad heap of desolation. At the time the cholera raged in Persia, Madame de La Marinière shewed much courage and self-abnegation in attending on the sick, and ministering to their wants as much as lay in her power, although she was just herself recovering from the same complaint. The death of Madame de La Marinière is ascribed to her own imprudence. She had already once performed the journey from Tabriz to Shiraz, and had written a description of her travels, with an account of the remains of Persepolis, in Persian, which she presented to the Shah, together with many sketches of the ruins drawn by a native artist, whom she had engaged to accompany her to Takhti-Jemshid for that purpose. In the spring of 1841, being at Isfahan, she formed the project of exploring Fesa and Darabjird, notwithstanding the weighty objections that were raised by her friends to dissuade her from undertaking the journey, or, at least, to engage her to postpone it during the unhealthy summer season in these hot districts. But Madame de La Marinière was not a woman to be easily dissuaded when she had once made up her mind, and found to her cost, when it was too late, that the warning she had received was well-grounded. She had not been long in those parts before she was attacked by the prevailing fever of the country, which put an end to her existence on her return to Shiraz.

He left Shiraz 18th January, 1841, and notices cursorily the sculptures at Shahpúr, so fully described by preceding travellers, and which have been recently visited by MM. Flandin and Coste, whose delineations of the ancient monuments of Persia are expected with impatience. He explored a cave, which we do not remember to have been before noticed, in which was a prostrate colossal statue of Shapúr.

He now entered the country of the Mamasehi tribes, professional robbers, and from thence into that of the Koghilú. The former are divided into four principal sections, or clans, and are said to exceed

4,000 families. The Khogilú tribes, as wild and lawless as the Bakhtiyari mountaineers, consist of five great clans, numbering in the aggregate 14,000 families. The Khogilú, the Mamaseni, and the Bakhtiyari clans, belong to the great family of Lurs, who, with the Leks and Kurds, are supposed to be the oldest settlers, if not the aborigines, of Irán. Mirza Kúmo, the governor of Behbehán, whilst in power, ruled the Khogilú tribes, who are, however, under the immediate control of their own petty chieftains, and some had thrown off his authority altogether.

The rapid progress which the Baron was obliged to make through the country of these advocates of the "simple plan" of property,

That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can;—

did not permit him to investigate their manners and customs. They dwell in tents, and outwardly profess Mahomedanism, but have a very faint idea of religion. They are a hardy race; their chief occupation consists in tending their flocks of sheep and goats, like the other wandering tribes of Persia. Their usual food is cakes made of the flour of acorns, or the paste eaten raw.

At Behbehán, the Baron had learned from Mirza Kúmo that there were some curious sculptures and inscriptions about twenty-six miles off, in the Behmie mountains, at a place called Teng-i-Saulek, whither Europeans had not yet penetrated. The sculptures turned out to be bas-reliefs carved on isolated rocks, accompanied by inscriptions. The Baron de Bode observes that in their style the bas-reliefs (of which he has given plates) appear different from those of Persepolis, Nakshi-Rustam, Shapur, and other places; and that the character of the inscriptions differs from the arrow-headed. In fact, the copies exhibited by him shew that the characters have no sort of affinity to what are called "arrow-headed," and resemble the old letters met with in Southern India. M. Boré asserts that they belong to an alphabet "having affinities with the Pehlvi, the Sabean, also called the Mendeian, presenting at the same time analogies with the graphical system of the Chaldeans and Phœnicians." From this list of analogies, we infer that M. Boré can know little upon the subject. It is curious, however, to find a new character in a country identified with the ancient Elymais.

From the Bakhtiyari country, our traveller determined to proceed by a new route to Isfahán; but he found the mountain chiefs very uncourteous,—ruder, indeed, than the rude Mamaseni. In

this route he crossed several steep shoulders of the Bakhtiyari mountains by a stone pavement :—

This causeway, although much impaired by time, and in several places scarcely passable, from the huge stones which have been disjoined by the rushing torrents from the heights overhanging the road, produces still in its dilapidated state a grand idea of the man who had conceived and executed the vast project of carrying a stone road, worked in mosaic, across stupendous mountains, which otherwise would have remained as nature had formed them, insurmountable barriers to the traveller; whereas now it is, and has been for ages, the high road for caravans. No man, however little inquisitive he may be, can visit this stone causeway without asking himself the question, By whom was it constructed? Has the past left us no records concerning it? History, which in general is so prolix in commemorating events that carry in their train devastation and destruction, has it set apart no page whereon to inscribe the name of the man who has deserved so well of posterity? The causeway, it is true, goes by the name *Jaddehi-Atabeg*, or the high road of the Atabegs; but can it be possible that the petty chiefs of Luristán, who bore that appellation from the 12th to the 14th century, should have left behind them a monument which might do honour to imperial Rome? They may have repaired what time and the elements, those two inveterate foes of the works of man, had conspired to destroy; but it is not likely that they should have been the original conceivers of that vast enterprise.

The pavement may be from eight to nine feet in breadth, and between every fifteen or twenty blocks broad slabs of stone are laid across the way, to keep the intermediate masonry firm. These are, as it were, the ligatures of the causeway. Although this pavement is now in some places much dilapidated, it is, on the whole, in better preservation than the much more modern causeway of 'Abbas the Great, in Mazanderán; and it can be easily accounted for. The pavement of 'Abbas has given way more rapidly on account of the more yielding soil on which it was erected, and the greater moisture near the Caspian.

The Baron refers this stone road to an earlier age than that of Alexander,—perhaps to that of Chaderlaomer, king of Elam,—observing that the Greek writers relate that the followers of the former met with stone pavements in the mountains, to which they applied the Greek name of *climax megale*, or 'great ladder-road.' Further on, he met with another stone causeway, which he is "inclined to think the more ancient of the two, perhaps the very one alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, as the ladder-road over the mountains."

Some antiquities (bas-reliefs and inscriptions) were met with at a place called Shikáfti-Salmán, of good execution, particularly a

female figure, whose features are delicate and regular, and her head-dress somewhat resembling the chaste style of the Grecian statues.

Our traveller has supplied pretty full details of the Bakhtiari tribes, who appear to differ little from the other nomade races abounding in Persia. They have a very bad reputation even there for duplicity and bad faith. His account of the Chá'b Arabs he has derived principally from report, having been unable to visit their country when very near to it.

At Shushter, the Baron returned to comparatively civilized society—

The aspect of the town is original. The dwellings are generally two stories high, with spacious terraces surrounded by parapets. In the interior of the courts, lofty covered passages run along the walls of the buildings. The vaulted cells of the houses are deep and capacious; thither, in summer, the inhabitants retire during the heat of the day, resorting to their high terraces at the approach of night.

The *ark*, or fortress, stands apart on a rising ground facing the Kúren, which, lower down, passes under a stone bridge of forty-four arches, built by the Sasanian monarch, Shapur D'hu Laktáf, which serves likewise the purpose of a dyke. In modern times, this bridge has been repaired by the late Muhammed Ali Mirza, son of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, and, still more recently, by Manúcher-Khan, the present governor-general of the province.

The inhabitants of Shúshter have the reputation in Persia of being very quick and witty in their repartees, and resemble in this respect the Isfaháni. I was witness one day at Kernanshah of a contest between a Lúti (buffoon) of that city, and a lad not more than fourteen years old from Shúshter, which of them could best advocate the cause of his native town, and depreciate that of his rival. The contest, which lasted a considerable time, was carried on with great spirit, each attacking and parrying in swift succession. The victory was unanimously awarded to the Shúshteri boy, although the other was no mean performer.

As the inhabitants are of a gay, lively character, the town abounds in buffoons, dancers, musicians, and jugglers of all descriptions. Among the latter, I met with an old blind conjurer in the Shah's camp at Hamadan, in 1840, who certainly acquitted himself with great ingenuity, and succeeded in imposing on many credulous persons.

But if the Shúshteri are remarkable for their wit, they are no less so for their profligacy; and although the Persians in general cannot boast of paying great attention to strict morality, the inhabitants of Shúshter are reckoned to be more than the rest deficient in that respect.

He visited the ruins of Shush, the ancient Susa, where is the tomb or shrine of the Prophet Daniel. The ruins, it is well known, con-

sist of mounds, with marble fragments, bas-reliefs, and arrow-head characters.

The Lur country is described at some length. It is one of the most hilly countries in Persia, not excepting Kurdistan. It is a most unruly province, and the authority of the Persian sovereigns has always been precarious there. Luristān was formerly governed by its own atabegs, a title changed by Shah Abbas the Great to that of vali. The Lurs, like the Bakhtiyars, are greatly addicted to plunder, but our traveller was not molested by them, though he never had more than three or four men with him. In their customs and habits they resemble the Iliyat tribes, leading a nomade pastoral life. They outwardly profess Mahomedanism, being of the sect of Ali, but they are in a great measure ignorant of, and indifferent to, the tenets of their faith.

Here we may terminate our notice of the work, which is by no means deficient in interest to those who are curious to learn the past and present state of Persia.

FROM KHAKĀNĪ.

شرف در تو باید نه در اصلِ تو
نسب بر حسبِ کت نباشد دلیل
که زاید ز بد نیک و ز نیک بد
نبیل از سفیه و سفیه از نبیل
چو خاکستر از آتش آتش ز سنگ
چو کنعان از نوح زآذر خلیل

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SENTINEL.

CHAPTER V.

WITH all our love of comfort,—a love reputed perfectly *unique* of its kind,—there is in the English character such a singular passion for make-shifts, that it is hard to say whether the disorder of the picnic or the compact *mise* of a well-organized domestic establishment stands in the highest degree of favour. The remarkable fertility of resource exhibited in enforced *al-fresco* existence is, perhaps, but an application of that science for rendering the *ménage* perfect which makes an Englishman's house superior in its quantity of self-contained enjoyments to the houses of other people; but the expedients to which we resort upon *voluntary* pleasurable excursions can only result from an inexplicable predilection for "things in the rough." POONA, in 1820, was but a rude collection of bungalows, compared with what it has become under the "permanent settlement." Bamboos, cadjans, matting of various kinds, mud and grass, were the component parts of most of the edifices in the cantonment. It was as emphatically the *régime* of *cutchra* work, as this is the era of *pukka* architecture; for the officers were few in number, and not reputed wise (though the event has exposed the libel), who laid out money upon brick pillars, tiled roofs, and chunam floors. Numerous were the schemes resorted to with the aid of canvas, carpets, and mats, to give an air of comfort and durability to the residences of the "division;" and as military life in India is proverbially a life of leisure, the expedients adopted furnished an amount of occupation that, for the time, effectually banished *ennui*. Yet, as if it were not enough to be perpetually put to shifts in the ordinary course of existence, the greater portion of the residents were constantly devising picnic parties to the vicinity of some hunting-ground, where there was not the slightest vestige of accommodation, and where it was often necessary to be content with the "short commons" resulting from improvidence. But what a temptation there was to indulge in these privations! The grey boar of the Deccan, in those days, actually rushed through the camp, daring the Nimrods to the chase and the combat in the neighbourhood of his frank. To encounter him there was glorious sport,—and in such formidable numbers did the sounders appear, that it became necessary to organize a force for the *pastime of destruction*. Clubs were formed, with the odd appellations of "*The Deal-Table*," "*The Claret*," &c.; songs were made and roared at every mess-table, hurling defiance at the bristly denizens of the sugar-cane plantations and the baubul jungles; and the late Major Morris, called "Tom" by his familiars, was the recognized Dibdin of the hour. To hunt the pig was as gallant an achievement in the Deccan, in 1820, as to fight the French in Portugal, in 1809; and while he who shrunk from the mortal encounter in the latter fray was branded as a coward, the youth who quailed before the charge of the grey boar was stigmatized as "*A Timber!*"

The clearance of the jungle and the industry of the hunters have of late

years greatly diminished the number of wild swine in the Deccan, but the sport is still pursued with enthusiasm, and I believe every old Indian gives it a preference over any other. And no wonder. It includes all the elements of noble excitement;—ardour in the pursuit, emulation in the race, danger in the charge, and triumph in the death! In the *idea* of the chase of so fierce and powerful an animal as the tiger, there is undoubtedly something sublime. The amazing strength of the animal, its huge jaws, its flashing eyes, and its terrific roar, seem to invest it with a power of attack irresistible by feeble man. We all have read of Mr. Munro, who was carried away by the tigers of Saugor Island, and we look upon those of our countrymen abroad who voluntarily penetrate the haunts of those “savage monsters,” and disturb them in their lairs, as people who are very badly off for excitement, and unpardonably indifferent to their heirs, successors, administrators, and creditors. But here, as in every thing else, we exaggerate; we magnify the danger of the enterprise, exalting the courage of the hunter, and deprecating as rashness what is the very acme of prudence and precaution. The tiger! Pooh! Picture to yourself a dozen elephants, surmounted by their howdahs, little wooden fortresses, each of which contains a stout gentleman and his domestic, two or three rifles, a large supply of ammunition, and a commissariat of biscuits, brandy-and-water, cheroots, cold ham, and half-a-dozen of Allsop’s pale ale; fancy this formidable array of huge beasts and armed men, marching down in line upon a patch of jungle where it has been previously ascertained a royal tiger has been gorging himself upon a buffalo. Disturbed in his repast, the animal rises, growls, snarls, spits, wags his tail, and bolts; a few shots, however, delivered from different howdahs, at nearly the same moment, arrest his career, and he falls a victim to the power of science over speed and vitality. It may be, it often, indeed, is the case, that the unfortunate animal is not so completely under the dominion of repletion as to be incapable of resistance. He will then fiercely turn upon his foes, and regardless of the heavy odds, charge one of the elephants; but it would be a reproach to the skill of our sportsmen to say, that he is suffered more than once in a hundred times to get within springing distance. Pierced by a score of balls, he rolls over, some yards from the object of his attack, and his unwieldy carcass is soon flung across the back of a pad elephant (an elephant unencumbered by a howdah), and conveyed to the residence of one of the party of sportsmen, where his skin is rapidly converted into a hookah-carpet or couch-rug, while his skull grins a trophy of the unerring aim of a battery of rifles. Is there any excitement in this? Have we displayed much courage in opposing to a solitary beast, armed only with claws and teeth, an array of brutes, each of which could trample him to death or strangle him with a proboscis, and a strong rifle corps comfortably stockaded with a day’s supplies and a rich magazine? Yes, such, and no more, is the amount of daring displayed on these expeditions, unless we allow something to the adventurous spirit that can brave the fierce Indian sun and the pestilential swamps, with all their

consequences in the shape of fever, diseased livers, and cholera morbus, for the sake of killing a tiger, or seeing him killed by a brother-shot. Now and then it *does* happen that the tiger gets on to the elephant, and lays hold of the leg of the mahout or driver; but the instances of these close-quarter conflicts are so rare, that they are rather to be named as singular exceptions to the monotony of the chase, than as establishing the rule of risk. Besides, it is not to be forgotten, that the nearer the tiger gets to the man with the loaded rifle, the greater the chance of his receiving his death-wound. Still, with all this dreary attempt at sport, there are men who wind themselves up to a wonderful pitch of enthusiasm about the tiger, and have even been known, in the ecstasy of reminiscence, to allow themselves to commit poetry descriptive of some emotions which they fancy possessed them. Here are some lines—admirably parodying a popular song—which an excellent friend of mine suffered himself to perpetrate in a frenzy of delicious recollection. Reduce it to matter of fact, and what does it all come to? A man saw a tiger one night, and he slew it. It is cruel to subject verses to such an analysis, but in grappling with a case, we must lay hold of the strongest illustrations:—

The hunt, the hunt, the exciting hunt,
And the tiger off with a roar in front,—
With a roar, with a roar in front!

As we follow his track, not a single thought
Intrudes in our breasts save of manly sport,
And our spirit mounts high, and our hearts are light
As the cloudless skies on a starry night,—
As the cloudless skies on a starry night.

I'm in the field,—I'm in the field;
I am where I will never yield,
With the game a-head, to friend or foe,
In following hard wheresoever he go;
And though he charge with a savage roar,
What matter?—what matter?—we love the sport the more;
What matter?—what matter?—we love the sport the more.

I love, oh how I love to ride
On my elephant's back by the jungle side,
When guns are cocked and brows are bent,
And anxious glances from under them sent;
While from the huntsman not a word
Escapes as the cry of 'a tiger' is heard.

I have followed the hounds full many a day,
And cheerily hallooed them on their way;
I have shot on the moors of my father's land,
With untiring feet and with steady hand,
But they lacked the charm of all charms for me;
So I sought,—I sought the tiger wild and free;
So I sought,—I sought the tiger wild and free.

The heavens were dark, and the storm raged high,
 The eventful night,—the eventful night when first, when first mine eye,
 By the lightning's flash the fierce tiger spied,
 As he ranged the woods with a monarch's pride ;
 And I slew him then, and I shouted wild,
 With the joy and the pride of a huntsman's child.
 Full oft since then have I followed the chase,
 With hound and horn in maddening race ;
 Full oft have I joined in other sport,
 But none save this did I ever court ;
 And while I live, to me—to me
 There is nought—there is nought like the tiger fierce and free !

To resume my narrative. I was now a writer, *keranee*, or *licknee wallah*—for by those three appellations the clerks in the India Government offices are known. My duties were light—so was my salary—and so, to a certain extent, was my heart. I was under no further obligation to appear in the livery of service—the blue jacket, of which I had once been extremely proud—nor compelled to attend parades, nor encounter the impertinence of non-commissioned officers, nor submit to confinement within certain limits after eight o'clock at night—nor sustain a thousand other annoyances inseparable from a subjection to military control. In fact, but for the assurance that I was still borne upon the non-effective list of the artillery, and liable to be returned to duty in the ranks if I at any time incurred a sufficiency of the displeasure of the paymaster to warrant so severe a measure, there was nothing to make me feel that I had not obtained complete emancipation from military slavery.

My first step, after arriving at Poona, was to find a covering for my head. There was no difficulty about this. The principal clerk in the office, a married man, with a dark wife and coffee-coloured children, had been precisely in the same situation with myself. A fellow-feeling, superadded to a desire to be at once on a good footing with a colleague, induced him to offer me a room in his bungalow, and the use of a bed, until I could arrange for myself. The “room” consisted of six square feet of the veranda, separated from the remaining space by a canvas partition ; the “bed” was a rattan cot, with four rickety posts supporting a quantity of limp gauze, through which the mosquitoes had free and uninterrupted passage at all hours of the night. To *lodging* was added the hospitality of *board*, and the unlimited use of the cellar, which was composed of not less than three bottles of various liquids—to wit, brandy, gin, and arrack.

Mr. Brown—for so was the head-clerk called—had a fund of interesting conversation, turning upon the important nature of his functions—the respectability of the clerks' vocation, as compared with that of conductors of ordnance, who were “a set of vulgar upstarts,”—and the service he (Brown) had performed in the field during the Mahratta war. Mrs. B. could retail all the gossip of the cantonment. She knew when Mrs. O'Malley was going to manufacture a large quantity of

guava jelly, and how Mrs. Harrison contrived to give a sweet flavour to her *chutney*, and when the daughters of all the clerks, sub-conductors, sergeant-majors, &c. would be of an age to "make marriage"—fourteen being the suitable period for such an arrangement, according to Mrs. B.'s ideas of the fitness of things. To me, her injunctions were frequent to settle myself comfortably in life—a bachelor's home was so dreary—there was no one to make tea, and look after linen, and control servants; what would answer for one would serve for two—and then, a married man was always considered so much more steady than a single gentleman, and, *par consequens*, so much the more trustworthy. But I was proof against all the worthy dame's injunctions, and not very much edified by the "discourse" of either her husband or herself. Yet I could not leave their abode, for I had not the means of furnishing a small bungalow for myself. There were no furniture dealers in Poona who sold articles on credit to humble keranees, and I had not more money than would suffice to carry me through the month until pay-day. In my extremity, I consulted a *purvoo* (native writer) in the office, and he recommended my asking another *purvoo*, reputed to be wealthily connected, to obtain a loan for me, which could be repaid by monthly instalments.

The progress of the negotiation for this loan was so exactly like the proceedings in a score of cases of a similar nature in which I was afterwards personally concerned, or became acquainted with, that it is worth the relating, as illustrative of the native manner of doing business of this nature. I have found since, that the Hebrew fraternity in Europe practise much the same kind of method, and that it has been happily satirized in Sheridan's *School for Scandal* and Murphy's *Citizen*:—

"Mister Balcrustna," said I,—for then I thought every native gentleman was entitled to the prefix—"Mister Balcrustna; Bappojee tells me you have some rich friends, and that perhaps you would speak to one of them to grant me a loan of money wherewith to buy a little furniture." "Certainly—certainly," answered Balcrustna. "Must be got—you very good gentlyman—must be have. How much you want?" "Why, Sir, I should be able to manage with Rs. 200; but I should be better pleased to get Rs. 300." "Three hundred rupees! This very much money. Ah, I see—you want make *tumasha*—all same as one civilian gentlyman!" "Well—but will you get it?" "Must be—I got one cousin-brother. He dam rich. I speak him for the Rs. 200; but you must pay me litty commission?" "Oh, certainly; any thing to shew my thankfulness."

The next day I awaited impatiently Balcrustna's arrival at the office, that I might know the result of his obliging intercession. But I was too sanguine. He had not seen his cousin-brother; but he should do so that evening or the next day.

The two days rolled away, and the rich relative had not been seen. On the fourth day, Balcrustna was absent on sick leave, and the fifth day was Sunday. This was tantalizing, very; but it proved a mere

foretaste of the procrastination yet in store. At length, it was arranged I was to see the intended money-lender at his own house, and thither one evening Balcrustna escorted me.

Succaram Bimjee lived in the town of Poona, in a narrow street, remarkable for filthy drains, pariah dogs, and ophthalmic children. There was room for one hackery to pass without actually tearing away the chunammed brick ledges or benches which fronted the domiciles; but as a large, sulky, overfed, treacherous brahmanie bull generally occupied the centre of the street, the thoroughfare was not very clear even to the solitary cart. On arriving at Succaram's house, which had a heavy, rudely-carved door, painted a flaming red, my *cicerone* preceded me upstairs, desiring me to remain under a species of portal, a subject of curious investigation to a Mahratta chowkeydar, who amused himself with glaring upon me, while he twisted his mustachios and masticated paan and betel. In a few minutes, I was called to the "presence;" and in a small narrow room, with whitewashed walls, decorated with singular paintings, on glass, of George IV., when Prince of Wales, all blue coat and brass buttons, and the late Queen Caroline, in a turban and feathers, found the "cousin-brother." Succaram was seated on a species of *nummud*, or felt carpet, covered with a calico sheet, his back supported by a large pillow. He had divested himself of his turban, tunic, slippers—in fact, of every thing but an apology for unnameables, a white scarf, and a pair of spectacles. He did not rise on my entrance—alas, for our then relative positions, the humble European borrower before the proud Hindoo lender!—but salaamed with a ghastly attempt at an amiable grin, and motioned me to a solitary chair that had long cut all acquaintance with bees'-wax, turpentine, and other renovators.

The introduction over, and the mind of Succaram satisfied as to the state of my health, my opinions upon India in general, and Poona in particular, we came to business.

"My cousin-brother Balcrustnajee—he very good man, and like to you very much—he tell me you are wanting the one hundred rupees." "Two hundred, Sir, if you please," I said, interrupting him. "Two hundred! That too much money. Arré, my master, this time is too bad. Company take all money—nobody got." I saw that this was a dodge to enhance the importance of the loan, and expressed, in a rather irritated tone, my resolution not to become a borrower of a less sum.

He resumed. "Why you angry? I not make force you. Suppose you like to take, very good—suppose not, never mind." I threw in a mollifying word. "Well, then, I must to lend you the two hundred rupees. Certainly must be. You very good man—soon you be governor or commissioner—then that time you not look the face of Succaram. He very poor—you one *burra sahib*." I protested that no possible change of circumstances could make me oblivious of those who served me in my need. It would, on the contrary, be my pride to help them. He shook his head, as well he might, and indulged me with a long

story regarding the number of men, now great *captains* on the staff, whom he remembered subs, hard up for a few rupees. I urged him to come to the point—and ~~he~~ thus went on.

"Two hundred rupees you want. I very sorry that in this bad time I no got myself; but my ~~one~~ friend he will lend me, your sake.—What security you give?" I had been drilled by Balcrustna to offer a life-insurance. "That very good. Englishman come this country, he all the same as one *chirang*—one littly wind blow out his life." Here Balcrustna laughed immoderately, and I joined in the mirth. It was very funny, exceedingly, to think that existence in India was so uncertain. I really quite enjoyed the entertaining conceit of going out like the snuff of a candle. "Yes—one *chirang*," and he laughed himself at the pleasing metaphor. "Then you pay interest at twelve per cent. yearly?" "Certainly." "And my commission for getting money from my friend?" "Good gracious!—you will leave me nothing!" "What for you make angry? I no force you. Suppose you want, you take,—suppose—" "Oh, very well." "Then you give one order to paymaster for monthly instalment—twenty rupees."

Reader, were you ever in very severe and pressing want of a pecuniary supply? If you have always been independent in this respect, I shall find no mercy at your hands. None but those who have experienced penury, and found the wherewithal to satisfy an immediate want almost within their grasp, can comprehend or palliate the recklessness with which the suing borrower assents to all the hard terms a grasping miser takes the opportunity of imposing. Though my pay was, as I have said, but thirty rupees *per mensem*, I was too avid of the loan of Rs. 200 to hesitate about agreeing to give up two-thirds of my income in liquidation of the debt. I cherished some vague hopes of an early increase of my salary, and hoped, or more than hoped, that I should find in my native creditor an indulgent friend, who would hereafter relax the terms of the bond.

"Yes; I will assign twenty rupees *per mensem*." "Very well; then to-morrow I go my friend's house, and settle the business for you." We parted, and I considered the loan *un fait accompli*.

Two days passed, and I waited on Succaram. He had been unfortunate (of course) in not finding his friend at home. Another day—the friend had been seen, but was too busy on other matters to talk of the loan. A third, a fourth, a fifth day passed, and at last Succaram had persuaded the *inconnu*—a sort of Boz's Sairey Gamp's "Mrs. Harris"—to accommodate me. But he stipulated for another one per cent. interest; would I give it? What would I *not* give! Then the policy of insurance was taken out, the bond prepared on foolscap paper—the draft being drawn up by the wily lender—and a day fixed for the payment of the money. This was the fifteenth day after my first visit! How sick the "hope deferred" had made my heart, the reader can guess.

"Well, Mister Succaram, I have come for the money." "I very sorry, my good Sir; but my friend he not sent yet. Surely must be

come to-night, then I send you morning time in the Balcrustna's hand." I took my leave.

Where was Balcrustna the next day? Not at the office—nor at home. Where the day following? A note affected to explain:—

Honoured Sir: By the help of God, I am very sorry that the belly-sickness makes for two days the incapacitation for office business. If can be no perplexity for the medicine Thursday, then I will see to your honour's face, and must be conclusion the financial department of the Succaram business. Under existing circumstances of the case, I am, honoured Sir, with great respect and submissively, your lordship's most obedient servant,

BALCRUSTNA,
Prabhoo.

The secret of this was, that my office brother had received the money, and was lending it to some wretched shopkeeper in the bazaar, at a daily interest. But I resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion, and so proceeded to his house. After a time, I obtained admission, and when I had waited two hours (during which time Balcrustna had been to get the money out of the *soudagur's* hands), my friend appeared.

Pass we over the preliminary conversation, and come to the final settlement. "If you please to favour me, Middleton Sahib, to take one chair." I sat down, and Balcrustna, putting a small money-bag on the floor-mat by his side, began with a reed pen to make some calculations upon a slip of glazed paper. "Interest for one year, twenty-six rupees—commission—policy—um—um—um— Here; you take your money." I clutched the bag, which did not feel quite as heavy as I wished. "You got there justly one hundred and thirty-eight rupees." "And when shall I get the balance?" "What balance?" "The remainder of the Rs. 200." "*Wah! wah!* you got all, my master, very rightly." "Nonsense—how do you make it out?" "I shew you presently, all very proper. Look this. Interest on Rs. 200 at thirteen per cent., that Rs. 26. The policy of life is Rs. 12—that make 38. Then is the commission of Succaram to get the money from his friend, five per cent., that Rs. 48; then my commission is five per cent. to engage the Succaram—total Rs. 58—"

I gasped for breath—each item filled me with additional consternation. Usurious interest, payable in advance! commission to *two* rascals—and double payment for the policy! I could have thrown the money in the fellow's face. But there was the resolution of self-denial wanting to this effort of indignation. I *pocketed* the outrage, and rose to go away; I suddenly recollected, however, that all the items of charge had not been included.

"You said, 'total Rs. 58'—that would leave me Rs. 142, whereas you tell me there are but Rs. 138." "Master, the four rupees your poor Balcrustna's expense for going in hackery many times to Succaram house."

I turned sick, and left the house without saying a word. When I got to Brown's, and proceeded to count my monies, I found that the ras-

cality had not stopped short of extortion. There was one rupee deficient, two of the coins present were of domestic manufacture—a compound of the purest lead and a wash of silver—and a fourth had been sweated, as if it could not go the proper pace without judicious training.

I am telling the reader a *simple* fact, and I only hope that it may never be his lot to be obliged to have recourse to the *Balorustnas* and *Succarams* of the *Deccan*.

There was a proverb once current, that it would take three Jews to make a Genesee, and three Genoese to make the devil. A money-lending Hindoo may be safely backed against the genius of evil himself.

In a day or two after the conclusion of the transaction I have attempted to describe, I went forth to purchase furniture. It was early in the morning, and as I crossed the parade-ground, I saw the European regiment, in full-dress, marching to its usual ground for, as I thought, purposes of review. I stopped for a short time to witness the evolutions, but soon found that the object of assembly was one of a graver nature than the mere pomp and bustle of a field-day. The triangle of halberds was there; the drum and the drummers in their shirt-sleeves were there; and there also was the major in command, with a roll of papers in his hand, and a guarded culprit before him. The regiment had formed three sides of a square. It was a punishment-parade, and a man was about to be flogged. I heard the crime—that of pilfering from a brother-soldier—the finding and the sentence read aloud. I saw the man stripped, and heard the drummers receive the usual order to “do their duty.” I turned away, and walked rapidly to the road, but for many seconds I could hear the lash, the tap of the drum, and the groans and shrieks of the sufferer. It was sad and sickening—but it was necessary.

No subject in connection with military discipline has been so much canvassed of late years as the expediency, or otherwise, of abolishing corporal punishment in the British army, and perhaps there is none upon which, to this moment, the opinions of experienced officers are so much divided. The opponents of the system stand upon a kind of vantage-ground, for they at once enlist the sympathy of the unreflecting and inexperienced by an appeal to the *humanity* part of the question. There is something revolting to the civilized mind in the idea of a bleeding back, and it is exceedingly difficult to make men believe that a substitute punishment, of which excoriation of the cuticle forms no part, is not quite as cruel to the criminal and fruitful of injury to the service. But it is, nevertheless, true that the balance of humanity is in favour of the flogging system; and, as regards the interests of the military community, the advantage of that description of punishment greatly preponderates over every other. I speak only as a private soldier. Though no longer in the army, and removed for the last twenty years from the ranks, I can recal the feelings and the sentiments which possessed me, and nearly all with whom I served, at the period of this simple history; and these most decidedly inclined to the flagellating

practice. Since then, I have read and heard much upon the *vetata questio*; I have seen the usage abolished, with very doubtful advantage, in the native army, and been made acquainted with the sentiments of the officers examined before a military commission respecting its continuance in the European branches, and I still remain of opinion that its retention is of great importance to the ends of discipline. But in these days, men ask for reasons for the faith that is in those who speak oracularly; and as I have plenty to offer, original and borrowed, the subject shall be treated in my next chapter.

THE RUTH FESTIVAL AT JUGGERNAUT.

THE Rev. J. Peggs has forwarded to us copy of a letter received by him from the Rev. C. Lacey, missionary at Cuttack, Orissa, dated September 10th, 1844, of which the following is an extract:—

You have ere this seen my journal of the last Rut'h festival. It was, you will perceive, a time of awful mortality. It was one of the surges of superstition, and bore on its foaming surface many thousands of poor and destitute Bengalee females, whom it hurled to destruction. The scenes of harrowing misery which we witnessed appear now more like some frightful dream which I had two months ago, than facts of real life. From the ordinary painful occurrences of life, in which a little, though it be a very little, of the sympathies of humanity soften and alleviate the pangs of the dying hour, we are tempted to suppose that such destitution as that seen in the high places of idolatry could not occur—much less could they be the triumphs of religion—the boasted specimens of what a religious system produces, when it operates in perfection. But it is true; and the sick, the dying, and the dead, lay about in the streets and corners of the most holy places. The ties of nature and relationship dissolved, the sufferers were left to their unhappy lot to mingle with the spirit of the universe, throwing off the dull load of matter. So far from exciting sympathy, they were said to be the only blessed; and jokes, and laughter, and frivolity mingled in strange dissonance with the groans of the dying and deserted! The mangled and the dead, the bloated corpse and the fleshless skeleton, formed a strange contrast with joyful crowds dressed in gay attire, bent upon their pleasures on a festive occasion. My heart sickened as I beheld a set of wretches dragging a woman by the heels to the next golgotha, through scenes of music, gaiety, and mirth. When the blood bursts from the bursting veins of the victim under the wheels of Juggernaut, he is reported to be so delighted, that smiles are detected upon his face; and surely his worshippers have imbibed his spirit.

But the Pooree people had this year unusual reasons for joy, for besides the Government donation of about Rs. 60,000 per annum, the tax is abolished, and the pilgrims are allowed to come in free, with their money about them; and this money, with all their other money, the pundahs are allowed to squeeze from them; so that this festival the people at Pooree have made many lacs of rupees.

GENERAL NAPIER'S "CONQUEST OF SCINDE."

THIS volume is announced as the First Part of a work, to consist of three distinct parts, treating of the political, military, and administrative proceedings of Major-General Sir Charles Napier. The object of publishing the first portion *separately*, at this time, is declared to be that of "rebutting the malicious accusations made against a successful general, in the hope of wounding through him a nobleman under whose auspices he conquered a great and rich kingdom, and relieved a numerous people from a miserable state of slavery." The author is the historian of the Peninsular War, whose connection by blood with the gallant conqueror of Scinde affords a security for the authenticity of his sources of information,—some of which are the letters of Sir Charles himself,—and whose high character, as an author as well as a soldier, is a guarantee for his fidelity in the use of his ample materials. We may add to the author's other qualifications, an unflinching, intrepid honesty, which makes him speak out, and utter the plain truth, without considering whether it be unpalatable, and without being very scrupulous about the terms in which he conveys it.

Major-General Wm. Napier begins by disencumbering his relative of a load of most unmerited obloquy, which has exhibited that gallant soldier as "a ferocious warrior, seeking with avidity the destruction of men." The truth is, that non-military persons are but indifferent judges of what is or is not an unnecessary effusion of blood; an act of prompt severity is often, in military operations, an act of humanity. When war, in itself an evil, becomes unavoidable, he is the most merciful warrior, generally speaking, who brings it to the speediest conclusion. There have been cases, undoubtedly, in which human blood has been shed through mere wantonness; but there are cases, likewise, wherein leaders of armies have been stigmatized as sanguinary and ferocious, when their sole motive has been to spare blood, and their timely severities have accomplished that object. The major-general shews, from the past career of Sir Charles, that "peace and the arts of peace have ever been the aim and study of the man who fought so sternly at Meeanee and Hyderabad."

Sir Charles Napier, having reached Bombay in 1842, was appointed to command at Poona, and quickly detected, according to his brother, "the vices, civil and military, which had acquired such

* The Conquest of Scinde, with some introductory passages in the Life of Major-General Sir Charles James Napier. Dedicated to the British People. By MAJOR-GENERAL W. F. P. NAPIER. Part I. London, 1845. Booms.

strength under Lord Auckland's government, if they did not originate with it, that the total destruction of the Indian army and the ruin of the Indian empire seemed to be hastening on with giant strides." The major-general states that the views of Sir Charles were communicated to competent authority at home, and drew forth the remark, "Too true a picture, drawn by a master hand." At this moment, he observes, Lord Ellenborough came, "to curb the nepotism of the Directors," and to "raise the spirit of the army, sinking under insult and the domineering influence of grasping civilians." Sir Charles hastened to offer his lordship his opinions upon the military operations, and give him a general plan of campaign for the second Affghan invasion:—

The principal points were the relief of Sir Robert Sale,—the restoration of Dost Mohamed,—the evacuation of Afghanistan,—and the occupation of the left bank of the Indus. To effect these objects, he recommended an attack on the Kyber passes in front from Peshawar, and the simultaneous turning of them by both flanks, while a force advanced from Candahar to Cabool, and assailed the passes from that quarter also. He treated each operation in detail, and finished with this declaration: "The chief cause of our disasters is this,—When a smart lad can speak Hindostanee and Persian, he is *made a political agent*, and *supposed to be a statesman and a general*." What influence this memoir had upon Lord Ellenborough's judgment, or whether it merely coincided with his own previously formed opinions and plans, is known only to himself; but the leading points were in union with the after operations of Nott and Pollock, and with that abatement of the political agency which gave so much offence in India to those who profited by the nuisance.

These are strong observations; but, assuming the complaints to be just, the evils are too serious to be commented upon in holiday terms. Some of the occurrences in the first Affghan war, perhaps, too nearly resemble practical illustrations of their truth.

Amongst the "errors in the organization and discipline of the Indian army," exposed by Sir Charles, our author mentions a regulation by which "every soldier was ordered to have a large box, in addition to the usual baggage of an Indian army! The 22nd regiment, acting under this preposterous regulation, marched for Scinde with 1,300 of these boxes! A camel can carry only four, and thus more than 300 camels, each occupying five yards in theory, but in practice ten yards, on the line of march, were added to the '*impedimenta*' of a single and rather weak battalion." This absurdity, we infer, no longer exists. "Truly," adds the major-general, "the strong hand of Lord Ellenborough was wanting to

lift our Indian Government from such a slough." He goes on to declare that Sir Charles sought not any active command beyond the Indus, and he assigns reasons for this indifference, which, unless there be some solid and substantial ground for them, an officer of his rank and reputation cannot suggest without a risk of character:—"He was disgusted," the major-general says, "with the shapeless system foully pervading all branches of the public service, a system which he, having then no experience of Lord Ellenborough's great qualities, could not hope to see overborne, supported as it was by factious persons of influence in England, and by the Directory."

In August, 1842, he was selected to command the troops in Scinde and Beloochistan, and he seems to have been inspired with better hopes by the explicit instructions received from the Governor-General, and by having entire control given to him over all the political agents and civil officers. The incidents of his entrance into Scinde are related in detail from Sir Charles's own letters, as well as the position in which he found himself in that country, whilst General Nott was isolated at Candahar, Cabul and Ghuzni were in the hands of the Affghans, General England, repulsed, was retreating by the Bolan passes, and the Belooches of Scinde, princes, chiefs, and followers, were alike hostilely inclined. "This critical state of affairs demanded the instant exercise of the general's sagacity and energy, —and he was ready."

The interview between the Ameers and Sir Charles Napier is described in a picturesque manner. The gorgeous display made by the former contrasted strongly with the simple appearance of the "General Sahib," who had been an object of so much interest: "a small, dark-visaged old man, but with a falcon's glance, must have disappointed their expectations, for they knew not then the heroic force of mind which was so soon to invalidate their wild strength and furious courage on the dreadful field of Meeanee." Aware of their deceitful character, he was proof against the flattering attentions of the Ameers, and "while the flow of their politeness seemed to invite friendship, he frankly and honourably gave them an austere, but timely and useful warning." The warning, however, was fruitless; the Ameers, reduced to the alternative of an honest policy or a terrible war, "chose dishonesty and battle; they tried deceit, and were baffled by a superior intellect." The major-general then proceeds to shew that, "in despite of his relation's earnest wish and indefatigable exertions to preserve peace, the

war was of the Ameers' own seeking," and that this was no isolated event, but the "tail of the Afghan storm."

A sketch of the relations between British India and Scinde shews the conduct of our Government towards the Ameers in no favourable light. The treaty of April, 1838, obtained "under pretence of a friendly interest in the affairs of Scinde," the major-general characterizes as "the first open encroachment on the independence of the Ameers. It is impossible," he adds, "to mistake or to deny the injustice." And again; "this treaty, by which Lord Auckland placed a loaded shell in the palace of the Ameers, to explode at his pleasure for their destruction, was, abstractedly, an unjust, oppressive action."

The supposed "designs of Russia," which were the incentive to the harsh policy pursued towards Scinde, the major-general treats as a bugbear; the invasion of Hindustan by a Russian army as a chimera. But, on the supposition that the projects of the autocrat were directed against British India, and that its invasion was practicable, he censures the whole policy of Lord Auckland and his advisers, especially the setting up of Shah Shooja, and provoking a collision with Russia in the steppes of Tartary, instead of encountering her on the sea, in Europe. "This conception of the Anglo-Indian Government," he observes, "applauded and urged on by the Whig Government at home, so nearly allied to madness, was executed with consistent absurdity:" and the author offers a variety of arguments, of the soundness of which military critics must judge, in support of this averment. "For a time, success seemed to attend the unjust aggression,—the brilliant, ill-requited Donnic sustained it by his talents; but when he and the intrepid Sale marched to Jellalabad, error succeeded error, not unaccompanied by crime, with fearful rapidity, until an entire destruction of the invaders closed '*the tragic harlequinade.*' The system of making smart young men, who could speak Persian, political agents, and supposing them generals and statesmen, failed. England lost an army by the experiment."

The Ameers were meanwhile called upon, under the tripartite treaty, to which they were no parties, to pay a large sum of money, in consideration of the relinquishment by Shah Shooja of his claims to their country, which they did not admit. Other causes of dissatisfaction increased the alienation or hostility of these princes. They were charged with violating commercial treaties, which they were required to respect, whilst we cast them aside. Military measures of coercion were employed; and another treaty, of a sterner cha-

rafter, was imposed upon the Ameers, under which a subsidiary force entered Scinde, "and the political obligations of its rulers became totally changed."

The original injustice remained in all its deformity, yet, being admitted by treaty, without public protest or stroke in battle, became patent as the rule of policy, and new combinations, involving great national interests, were thus imposed on Lord Auckland's successor, demanding a different measure of right from that which should have governed the Anglo-Indian Government's intercourse previous to these treaties; for, amongst the many evils attendant on national injustice, not the least is the necessity of sustaining the wrong-doer's policy, thus implicating honest men in transactions, the origin of which they cannot approve. Some abstract moralists hold, indeed, that governments stand in the same relation to each other that private persons do in a community, that, as leaders and guides of nations, they should be governed by the same rules of morality as the leaders and guides of families. It would be well for the world were this practicable; but when private persons wrong each other, they have a tribunal to control them and to enforce reparation, or they may voluntarily amend the wrong. Apply this to nations. Their tribunal is war. Every conquest, every treaty, places them on a new basis of intercourse. The first injustice remains a stigma on the government perpetrating it; but for the nation, for succeeding governments, new combinations are presented, which may, and generally do, make it absolute for self-preservation, and therefore justifiable, not only to uphold, but to extend, what was at first to be condemned.

This is a doctrine to which our assent would not be given without clear demonstration of its soundness. We doubt whether it is so generally admitted as the major-general evidently believes from the manner in which he lays it down. If it be sound, the process of shewing that our treatment of the Ameers of Scinde was just would be very much simplified.

There is a distinction between the cases of Scinde and Afghanistan pointed out by the author, which, supposing both countries to have experienced injustice at our hands, very much mitigates the evil in respect to the former: in Scinde, although the Ameers might complain, the people gained by the change of rulers; whereas the invasion of Afghanistan was undertaken to force a tyrant upon a people who detested him.

Following up the history of our transactions with Scinde, where we had gained three military stations, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Shikarpore, besides the sea-port of Kurachee, whereby, in conjunction with the last grinding treaty, and the subsidiary force, the Ameers were in our grasp, Major-General Napier arrives at the year

1842, when Lord Auckland quitted India, "leaving it in all the confusion, terror, and danger, necessarily flowing from the political immorality and astounding incapacity which had marked his mischievous career." Lord Ellenborough, on his arrival, found the public mind confused with terror, the finances embarrassed, the military depressed in spirit. With respect to Scinde, he from the first held a firm tone towards the Ameers, promising to confide in their fidelity and in their friendship until he had proof of their faithlessness and hostility; in which case he announced to them that "their sovereignty would pass from them." Major-General Wm. Napier reminds his readers of the different position in which Lord Ellenborough stood in relation to Scinde compared with his predecessor,—namely, the latter had no international right of meddling with the Ameers, whereas the former stood on treaties acknowledged and acted on for three years; treaties, however, which the major-general admits were unjustly extorted from the Ameers. Major Outram informed the Governor-General that "he had it in his power to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers to such an extent as might be deemed sufficient to authorize the dictation of any terms to those chiefs, or any measure necessary to place British power on a secure footing."

Lord Ellenborough was, at this time, occupied with the movement in Cabul, and with "choking off the civil and political leeches who were sucking the public." Meanwhile, Major Outram was employed in collecting proofs of the hostile disposition of the Ameers, and grounded on them (disposed under ten heads) a proposal for a new treaty. This proposal Lord Ellenborough rejected; but fresh offences on the part of the Ameers led his lordship to consign Scinde and its troubled affairs to Sir Charles Napier, with the following instructions, in fulfilment of the warning he had given to the Ameers four months before :—

Should any Ameer or chief, with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, have evinced hostile designs against us, during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct; but the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most complete and convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused.

Relying upon the honour and humanity of Sir Charles, and giving him a wide discretion, Lord Ellenborough, as the major-general acknowledges, "threw the moral responsibility of any action to

which he might be provoked by the report of the general, upon the latter." Sir Charles, twelve days after his arrival at Sukkur, had prepared a catalogue of offences committed by the Ameers, which proved a settled design for war on their part. Although Lord Ellenborough knew the "odious process" by which the previous treaties had been obtained, the General did not; "he could only look at the treaties as contracts, voluntarily made, and which he was in Scinde to uphold, both as a political agent and as a military officer." According to the hypothesis of the author, however, this made no essential difference. Under these circumstances, Sir Charles Napier made his report to the Governor-General, on the 17th October, 1842 (which is found amongst the Parliamentary Papers on Scinde), in which he argues, from public engagements violated, from designs notoriously cherished, and from policy towards the people of Scinde, the general interests of the world, as well as of the British Government, that the Ameers should be coerced. He was authorized to offer a new treaty for their acceptance. It was tendered and refused. A sudden recourse was had to arms, and, if they had had to deal with a general less firm and less prepared, the impetuous bravery of the Belooches might have been successful.

It must not be understood that we subscribe *ex animo* to all the opinions expressed by Major-General Napier, still less that we adopt his severe strictures upon public men, which amount in some cases to vituperation, and will materially mar the effect of his book. A temperate history of the transactions connected with the occupation of Scinde, accompanied by an uncompromising criticism of the conduct of those who were engaged in them, would, at this moment, have been highly acceptable; but there will be many who share the sentiments of the major-general in regard to the injustice which his relative, as well as Lord Ellenborough, has experienced, who will revolt at the harsh and offensive expressions employed by him in speaking of the civil service of India, of the "politicals," of Major Outram, of the press of India, of the Court of Directors, and of Lord Auckland.

"JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL."

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER IX.—THE KOONCH.

THE bugle has again pealed forth the war-note, and every blast bears it along from Cape Comorin to the Hymala. Orders are out for a mighty armament to assemble on the confines of British India, and whether for aggression or defence no one knows. A formidable list of battalions, brigades, and divisions looks portentous, and many wise-heads prophesy, that as such a force cannot be spared it will never assemble, save on the sheet of the general orders. A few, and only a few, differ from this general opinion, and these latter speculate freely whence the programme of the "Army of Reserve" emanated. It is placed to the credit of the "Iron Duke." No sooner has this idea been caught up, than those who at first had been loud in condemnation of the measure, change like weathercocks, and see through a long vista of deep plans, judicious managements, and brilliant results.

Let the original plan emanate from whom it might, the execution, by far the most difficult part to accomplish, devolved on Lord Ellenborough and the Commander-in-chief, and the result of the measure to British India will (I venture to affirm) be chronicled in the page of history as evincing in his lordship military talent of the highest order. It was deemed an impossibility to assemble a fresh army of 30,000 men, capable of aggression or defence, at a time when two such forces as those under Generals Nott and Pollock had drained India of her troops; a chimera which could only be the production of a head sadly wanting. Yet it was accomplished, and the moral effect upon foreign states and disaffected subjects produced by it was no doubt of the utmost consequence to India.

But the programme is not one entirely on paper; it is all to be, and long ere the matins of the village chanticleer, the low hum of voices, gradually swelling into a general murmur, warns the light sleeper that some one is on the move, the bazaar is off to ensure an early market for the morrow; the smothered striking of the tent-pins of the bunya's booth, albeit contraband, reaches many an ear, yet fails in reaching his whose special care it is. Another hour, and the low stealthy hum of the bazaars has given place to the more legal assembly of camels and their drivers; tap, tap, tap, is the general sound; the crackling noise tells that the half-dressed sepoy has fired his bed of Indian corn-stalks; the harsh, remonstrating groan of the camel tells that the sirwan is a-foot. These are unpleasant sounds at 2 A.M.; the cold wind in gusts making the *konsats* quiver, with a knowledge of fifteen minutes being allowed to dress in, and every inclination to sleep again. Or mayhap the camel's bray, the mallet of the calashie, or the crackling of *kirtee* stalks have failed in rousing him who at the mess-table of the previous night had drank "to a bloody war and sickly season," and towards the close of his dream, in which he has fought sundry campaigns, seen

brother officers pass away, mounted the captains' ladder himself, without ever once signing himself "brevet," lived the life of an idle major, at length enjoying the "*otium cum dignitate*" of a magnate rejoicing in the "*off reckonings*," the vision (in every way equal to reality save in duration) is dispelled by Clement Jones's bugle, followed by the sharp rattle of the drum.

"*Sahib, sahib, pyla bugie gya*," whispers the trusty sirdar, poking his head under the purdah of the tent, and admitting a stream of air that extinguishes the lighted candle he is carrying. Despatch, however, being invaluable in the domestic economy of a soldier and a soldier's servant, without reference to this little accident, and whilst his master is in boots and shirt, and recking no more of the said master than if he were a clodpole, the calashie or tent-pitcher, with half-a-dozen tugs at the lashings, lays the *konnats*, or walls of the tent, level with the ground; the candle, however, has been relit, but not having engaged to burn without a lantern, rehearses its part, and is blown out accordingly. But, accustomed to such minor mishaps, the trousers are slipped, one leg at a time, in a wonderfully short space, and frock coat, sword-belt, and sash soon follow. Peer Bux, the kitmutgar, has managed to make a cup of cruelly hot coffee for his master, and as, cup in hand, he awaits the conclusion of the toilet, the Arabian berry's aroma is wafted at such intervals as the wind lists to the craving senses of the exiled sub.

Now look around! and fifty fires are blazing; the second bugle hath sounded, and, round each blazing heap, the murky figures of the sepoy are flitting, the scarlet coat and brazen accoutrements occasionally disclosed by the gleam. Crackle, crackle, crackle,—tap, tap, tap,—roar, roar, roar,—and tent-pitchers, beasts of burden, and camp-fires do their very best to make a hubbub. The adjutant's voice is heard; one after another the sepoy's desert the cheerful blaze; syces, and grasscutters, and followers, huddle over it in succession, lingering, with shivering hands, o'er the embers, which in fifteen minutes more must be left to die alone. The column is organized, the commanding officer's hoarse voice is heard from van to rear; responds thereto the clatter of a thousand bayonets; "carry arms, shoulder arms, quick march;" and onward it moves, to "St. Patrick's Day," or "The Girl I left behind me." Bom, bom, bom, Mahadeo passes along the line of murky soldiers; the officers get into their saddles, and the native officers, each after a fight with his tattoo, rejoin their companies at a furious pace; the camp-fires that have been deserted gradually lessen in number and in size, and at length an undulation shuts their flickering struggles from the sight.

The first pale warnings of day are faintly lighting up the eastern sky, the air assumes a piercing sharpness, such as at no other time is felt in Hindostan; nor does it yield until the sun has attained some altitude. The intermediate stages between the first gleam of dawn and sunrise so rapidly succeed each other, that, although surpassingly beautiful, they are gone ere half their beauties are known. That ancient and guarded banian tree, a few minutes since, was an indistinct and sombre mass of

neutral tint; already is every scathed limb finely depicted on the sky-ground, each gigantic tendril made clear, and the ravines, furrowed and coloured by centuries on its venerable bark and trunk, are laid bare and open. It is day—an Indian day—and, with its flood of light, thousands are now in pursuit of their daily tasks.

A mile onward, and from yonder serai's frowning gateway, a motley group is issuing. The bylee, or bullock-waggon, with scarlet purdahs and brazen-studded wheels, chulls along, for the cattle are fresh, and toss up their bell-adorned heads, cheering the fair inmates who, ever and anon, present a foot or portion of a face, just to shew the passer-by as little as possible. This is the zenana of the well-conditioned merchant, who bestrides the proud plump tattoo immediately in their rear. He seeks the mela at Thanosur, there to wash out dishonest gains and defaulting accounts. The wild, untamed figure by his side, with match-lock and tulwar on his saddle-bow, is an Indian moss-trooper, hired to protect the party, himself not the most unlikely man to encroach upon the shroff's exchequer. But he sees the Feringee sahibs approaching, and deems it incumbent on him to make a corresponding appearance. See! how he boastingly plunges his heels into the flanks of his Roman-nosed, swan-necked charger, and deems himself a type of the chivalry of Hindostan: but his shield hanging carelessly from the right shoulder, and his dirty crimson *pugree* loosely flowing from his head, have, with all their deficiencies, an appearance of consequence and protection; that is enough, the reality matters little, "*Deckna-ke-waste*" is all he cares for, and cock-a-hoop the ghee-eating bunya pursues his way, fearful of losing his dignity, and looking down on the humbler traveller with pride such as none but a Hindoo hath, "the pride that apes humility."

The bunya passed, the advance-guard of an Arab horse dealer approaches—five, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty nags of great bone and iron muscle; what a noble line of them! The high-capped fellow, with jet black beard, toddling alongside of them on the strong Toorky pony, has come from Baroda; the shores of the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, the jungles of Guzerat and plains of Katywar, furnish through such as he the Indian horse-market. How elegant is that flea-bitten Arab, with his high crest, compact body, and fairy-like head! Aye, admire the head, how hollow in the forehead, and how enormously expanding in his lower jaw! methinks the wight were a sorry judge of horseflesh who could not recognize in him the true blood of the desert. Shall we accost the grim beard on the Toorky, and ask the price of the flea-bitten? no, it is useless, for the sheikh will demand for him three thousand rupees, and in three months a thousand will buy him.

The ground is sandy, with undulating grassy slopes for miles fringing the road on either side. The sepoy regiments' advance-guard is just discernible; a pattering of hard light feet, rapid and numerous, falls suddenly on the ear, and followed by the hollow clatter of horses' hoofs, o'er sandy turf. A black antelope, the patriarch of his clan, with spiral horns thrown back until almost horizontal with his spine, bounds o'er the road, and straight in his wake the frightened does pursue him.

"Well done, Pat!" "Yoicki, Mars!" "Onward, Juno!" and sweep past cheerily the light-hearted ensigns of a native regiment. Then comes a sirwan, or camel-driver; he heralds a line of beasts of burden, long as the eye can command; each attached to each, they plod their monotonous way from the temperate valleys of the Hindoo Koosh to the arid plains of the Doab; and are loaded with apples and little boxes of grapes, to tempt the palates and rob the pockets of the "*Feringees logus*;" three months have they spent on their journey, and have forded in succession the five rivers of the Punjaub. What rascally-looking fellows these Afghan sirwans are! and see with what confidence they come into our country at the very time our troops are meeting in enmity with their fathers and brothers.

But we are at the gateway of the serai, through which the road leads, and a fine old mass it is. He who has travelled in British India, where the Moslem rule erst was highest, must deeply regret the neglect that allowed the decay of such useful edifices: it was the pride of the chiefs of the "Faithful" to build and keep them in repair. Many yet remain, in various states of preservation; but hundreds of noble quadrangles, immeasurably valuable to the humble traveller and weary pilgrim, have been by "the most civilized nation" delivered over to the "moth and rust." So gigantic and noble in construction have many of these buildings been, that their ruins present the appearance of a decayed city; a mouldering gate, with many a turret, staircase, and abutment, at one place; a few solitary cells at another, and fragments of pillars, arches, and minars throughout, fill the beholder with regret at their decay, and admiration of the feeling that led to their construction.

We are at the gateway of Doura-ke-Serai, large, massive, and studded with huge iron bolts, to resist its being forced by elephants: a portal similar to this gives exit to the high road at the further end. The halting-place of the weary traveller is arched in the sides of the quadrangle, in single, double, and triple tiers, like the cells of a monastery, and a guard at either gateway protects the inmates from those marauders so common to Asiatic countries. The walls are built as though intended to last for ever, and of a brick remarkably small, and burnt almost to vitrification. No such masonry comes from the hands of the modern workman; the art is lost. The serai is partially fortified, and well calculated to resist cavalry, which was the only force likely to attack it. Within the square is a small mosque, and a magnificent well; that source of purity, and comfort, and general resort, to Moslem and Hindoo, lies half-concealed beneath the leafy foliage of a clump of tamarinds. At sunset every evening the gates are closed, and with the earliest dawn may be seen, issuing therefrom, a crew motley as he of Canterbury painted; from the pilgrim in rags, urging his patient limbs from Hurdwar or Benares, to the wealthy bunya, the possessor of granaries and warehouses.

Doura-Ke-Serai looks as if it had stood for many centuries, and seen more modern edifices crumble; and so, perhaps, it has; and the aged

Faqueer, who lives on the parapet above, has been the presiding genius of that old archway for more than sixty seasons; he would sooner yield life than change his abode. He has counted, over and over, every brick upon its wall, and is in himself the only chronicle of the deeds and scenes enacted there; moreover, he has a charge, a family of monkeys, who, mischievous to all others, are kind to him, and he feels that they have become essential to him. Dearly does the hoary and ragged priest, the man of sackcloth, love the serai's old portal, and the shoots of the young peepul tree, that force their growth between the bricks, claim from him especial care; it is his home, and, go where he may, he scarce can see a nobler. Upon the brick platform of the well, some straggling sepoy have drawn water; one is smoking his narial, and another is indulging his native vein of satire at a fat mahajin's expense, who sits shivering in the little doorway opposite, for he is too fat, and sleek, and lazy, and wherewithal has too much coin, to be induced to take the road earlier. A group of females, neither prepossessing in feature nor clean in apparel, pass by, each with an earthen vessel on her head, and carrying one similar under her arm, balanced nicely, and resting on the side. There is a damsel, who, nothing loth to be gazed upon by a Feringhee, whilst turning suddenly her head, and drawing over her face her muslin chudder, forgets that her ankle and silver ornaments are peeping from the folds of coarse drapery that hang from her left shoulder. A strict silence is observed by them whilst passing, but no sooner have they gone a little distance, than a clamour characteristically feminine ensues.

Again is the traveller on the lonely plain; the serai is far behind, and the ground is broken here and there by ravines, upon which the scanty tamarisk shrub gains a stunted existence. The ravine to the right looks as though it might harbour deer. Ay! there is a light creature with horns like a unicorn's, and tapering to a point; how it dashes along the path that threads the dry bed of yon watercourse! Another, and another, and another bound past, like tennis-balls. Crack! and the leader rolls over; one plunge more, the eye is upturned and glazed by approaching death—the heart's blood of the black buck has reddened the sward around. The whirring noise of the rifle-bullet has already scared from his morning meal the vulture and the carrion kite; the timid hare of the ravine starts from the babool shrub, runs a short distance, and stops, and runs again; the grey partridge pipes forth his usual "whirreet," and gains the open plain; the skulking jackal hies late to his burrow, and looks anon suspiciously around him.

Ere this the sun has gained strength, and the wayfarer is speculating on the comparative distance between himself and camp; the buffalo herds are seeking the tanks and jeels; the argeelah, or adjutant-bird, mounts into a temperate atmosphere, where, diminished to a speck, he passes the day in never-ending gyrations. The road is empty, far already has pilgrim and bylee gained the hospitable serai, and in yon tope of tamarind trees the soldier's canvas home is ready. The tents are pitched no great distance from a town of some importance; and follow-

ing that native into the bazaar, which, in every Eastern city, town, and hamlet, forms the resort of the seeker of adventure and candidate for fashionable reputation, the arcaded street, crowded with filthy stalls, redolent of every disgusting scent; the abominable Mussulman butcher's shop, and that of the scarcely less loathsome dealer in sweetmeats, whose skull-capped owners incessantly ply their fans or hand-punches to keep off the hordes of flies and hornets that ever hover near them, recal to memory the stolen hour when the potent spell of the *Arabian Nights* clothed the stalls of an Asiatic bazaar in shawls from Cashmere, brocades of Benares, Dacca muslins, and carpets from Moultan, and when the "silken-loom" of distant China furnished it forth with satins and velvets, and golden tissues; and looking now around with nostrils compressed, vanish the phantoms of that magic romance. They vanish, however, only to return, for as the eye becomes accustomed to them, and the knowledge of Eastern manners becomes more complete, the fidelity of portraiture in that astonishing compilation is pleasing, indeed; every feature of artificial Asiatic life, and manners, and customs, are therein most minutely delineated, though, perhaps, less faithfully depicting the bad qualities than the good. And to look for a still more true and simple record of the Eastern manners of past ages existing in the present day, the "water-carriers" of Holy Writ, "the two women grinding at the mill," and the expression "Take up thy bed and walk," are found wherever you can turn.

The regiment to which I was posted, being ordered to Ferozepore, to form an item in the great Army of Observation, was fixed on for escort duty, and, in conformity with that order, made a *detour* by Bhar, at the foot of the Simla range, from thence taking the road by Rupur and Loodiana. This route, though difficult from want of roads, is perhaps one of the most beautiful in the world. I think it was on the first march from the old Hindoo town of Munnymajara towards Rupur, that, upon starting with the column, and finding the track intersected every few minutes by mountain water-courses, rendering it neither convenient nor pleasant to keep with the regiment, and moreover, with a vein of meditation on board, I was not sorry to linger, and alone enjoy a scene that I might never behold again, for the moon was full, the hard October sky of Upper India clear above me, and the intense blue wall of the Himalaya, as it were, close upon my right hand. I had journeyed alone for some time, threading my way among the beds of torrents, and fine old wood, so plentiful in the neighbourhood of Munnymajara, when a most remarkable banian tree, close to the road-side, drew my attention; I had never seen a more magnificent specimen of this very singular tree, and by the moonlight I rode among the thousand tendrils pillaring the space it shaded, and the venerable limbs, some lightning-stricken, threw forth here and there semblances to fiends and giants, magnified and heightened by the peculiar light only at times admitted. It was such a tree as the goblin huntsman of the forest might harbour under, and marshal his fiend-dogs and quaff his goblin cup; and a score of vampire-bats, that took wing upon my approach,

flapped round and round, and among the tendrils, occasionally tapping my cheek with their wings, and now and then fastening on a branch, would crawl loathsome and foul to its extreme point, looking hateful against the sky. A large grey owl came swooping towards the tree, and the vampires whizzed, and he hooted in unison; and leaving "Bowantree's back," I sat down and listened to his hooting, and thought of the owl's-nest in the old belfry of my village church, and thanked the owl for reminding me of home.

I was about getting once more into the saddle, when I discovered on the further side of the tree the tent of a European, and from the small establishment accompanying it, of a couple of horses picketed in front, I judged rightly that he was journeying alone. Between the horses a syce and two grasscutters were sleeping, and curiosity prompted me to rouse them and inquire their master's name. On learning it, I approached the tent, having first given my horse to one of them, and I entered without warning. I needed none, for he was my cousin; but I only remembered him as the auburn-headed boy of twelve summers, coming to enjoy, along with me, a Saturday's freedom from school, and who had mounted sky-high upon the ignition of a pocket-full of gunpowder, for I had not seen him since then; and I expected to see a soldier. I entered the tent, wherein no light was burning, unannounced, when the inmate, easily disturbed, or mayhap not asleep, started from his bed and inquired "Who enters?" I spoke to no attendant, and instinct alone could have told him that the intruder was a white man; and as every European has many attendants, and it is no uncommon thing for any of them to enter his master's tent uninvited, I could not avoid being struck by such a challenge, and the voice of the speaker was not such as I could fancy his. I approached his bed, and, telling him my name, I took his hand in mine, and instantly dropped it, for its morbid heat absolutely burnt me.

"How strange!" he said, "that I should have been thinking of you all night, and wondering how we had never met, and if we would meet or no, and that you should find me out in such a solitary district as this!" The pleasant anticipation I had begun to indulge fled in an instant; I again took his hand, placed my finger on the attenuated wrist he held towards me, and ere the light was brought I counted a hundred full-thrilling pulsations. "This, poor boy, is our first and last meeting in India," thought I, as he proceeded to tell me that he had been sojourning in the hills for the last season for his health, and was now *en route* to join his regiment at Loodiana. He expressed himself as "much recruited," but acknowledged having still a "slight cough," and that "light exertion heated him." The bearer brought a light, and it disclosed to me the hectic cheek I had made up my mind to see, the China complexion, and wasted form of the confirmed and lingering subject of disease; and confirmed also the hopelessness of his case by his seeming ignorance of danger. "My dear D., would you like to take a trip to England, and recruit a little more beside your mother?" This was said with a view of recommending what, if communicated as a

formal opinion, might have caused him alarm, and lucky it was I did so, for he expressed astonishment that I should deem it necessary. I not only thought it necessary, but thought it also useless, for the worm of the grave had well nigh got his meal. Nevertheless, I could have felt glad that, through my representations, he had died within his mother's arms. Our routes to Loodiana were not the same, and I left with the determination of seeing him on my arrival there, and hastening his departure for England. The faculty at Loodiana fully confirmed my views of the case, and in fourteen days more he was on his way down the Sutlej, accompanied by a friend whose disease was most strangely similar to his own. At that time, hostilities had not taken place between the Scinde Ameers and the British Government, and no personal risk existed in this route. Poor D. was not fated to see his mother and his home; he died three days' sail from Sukkur, and his friend brought in his body only to die himself. They were buried side by side, beneath a clump of palms that skirt the cantonment, for there is no consecrated ground in which to place the dead.

The misunderstanding with the Ameers of the Indus having given rise to the battles of Hyderabad and Meeanee, a large Bengal brigade was ordered to occupy Upper Scinde. In that force it was my fortune to be, and during the dull and melancholy time I passed at the Golgotha Sukkur, I sought and found their unrecorded grave; as a tribute I placed the following beneath the stunted and scorched turf that covered them, better haply than a cenotaph, as being from the heart.

Mate of my boyhood, is it thus I view
The mound that marks where thy remains are hid?
No gentle mother was there here to strew
A mother's offerings on thy coffin's lid.
The foot now resting on thy narrow bed,
In years bygone had meted thine in play;
The eye whence now a glistening tear hath sped,
Sparkled with thine in boyhood's thoughtless play,
And bounded then our hearts as o'er the rock the spray.

Since then I have met with one, the sister of him who died last; she was deeply attached to her brother, and felt his death the more, that he had died away from all who cared for him, and with what melancholy gratification did she look upon one who had marked the sad tale and knew where her brother lay!

INCREASE OF THE SALT TAX IN MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR :—You noticed in your last number the formidable insurrection of the people of Surat against the attempt that was made to double the salt tax in the Bombay presidency. That movement, it appears, was put down in consequence of a threat by the collector that he would fire upon the people if they did not disperse. Under the influence of that threat they did disperse ; the collector, soon afterwards, upon his own responsibility, suspended the obnoxious law, and the government of Bombay followed up this act of conciliation by a proclamation, in which they promised the repeal of town duties, and other taxes which were said to press upon the people. In this way the insurrection is said to have ended, but it did not so end ; the consequences of it remain, and will shew themselves upon some future occasion. We have taught the people this dangerous lesson, that the sure way of obtaining a redress of grievances is to rise in array against the government. I, for one, am extremely glad that the people did oppose the most strenuous resistance to this most unrighteous impost, for the silent submission of the people of India to injustice I consider to be the greatest of evils, particularly silence under an impolitic tax, because, unless warned by their resistance of the truth, we may, in our attempts to collect it, undermine our own resources, as well as impoverish the people. It is far better that they should spirt out their indignation against the government, than brood over an unredressed grievance.

Nevertheless, it is a fearful thing to drive them to such an extremity ; and why have they been so driven ? Is there not an obvious cause ? Is it not in consequence of the faulty composition of the Supreme Council ?—a council which dictates in all the domestic concerns of the minor presidencies, without having any more knowledge of those concerns than a London gentleman ! Is it not transparent, that if there had been in the council an individual cognizant of the affairs, and interested in the concerns, of the Bombay presidency, the moment this monstrous proposition for doubling the salt-tax was mooted, that person would have exposed, in his place, the absurdity and iniquity of the proposal ?—its absurdity, because, from the competition to which the Bombay government was exposed from the cheap salt manufactured at Goa, and from the spontaneous salt produced in large quantities in Cutch, they had great difficulty in realizing the existing tax ; that the salt revenue was, nevertheless, on the advance ; that the sure way of arresting its progress, and of defeating the object for which the double tax was to be imposed, viz. increase of revenue, was to enhance the price, because such enhancement would inevitably drive the consumers to cheaper sources of supplies ;—and the iniquity, of pretending to benefit the people by repealing duties which are paid only by the better classes of the community, and laying on a duty upon a necessary of life, which would be felt only by the poorest classes. It may be that

the Bombay government made such representations, but there is a wide difference between a communication by letter, and an opinion given *ex cathedra*, urged by the influence of the person who gives it, and supported, if necessary, by his vote and protest. Whatever representations the Bombay government made were thrown to the winds; the first intimation they had of a law which affected vitally the interests of the people committed to their charge was the promulgation of that law in the *Gazette*, and the first notice the people had of the burthen which was thrown upon them was the demand for a double price of salt in the bazaar.

It is a standing rule, that, before any law is passed in India, a draft of the proposed enactment should be published for general information, in order that the public may be warned of what is coming upon them, and have an opportunity of giving their opinions upon it. In this case, this wholesome precaution was entirely disregarded. I have heard an attempt made to justify this proceeding by likening it to the practice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, it is said, keeps his financial plans a secret until he promulgates them; but this is an absurdity. The chancellor may keep his plans secret, but where does he promulgate them?—in the House of Commons, where the people are heard by their representatives, and, if necessary, by petition, and it is with the consent of the people that the law is passed. But of this law, doubling the salt-tax, the people knew nothing until they began to smart under its operation. Why was this? It was professedly for the benefit of the people that other duties were repealed and this impost upon salt substituted; why then was not the ordinary precaution taken of asking them whether they would consider it most for their interest, that the other duties should be maintained, or an additional tax upon salt imposed instead of them?

There is no country in the world where public opinion may be so easily collected as in India, for in every village they have representatives identified with themselves in interest, and no one who really knows them can question their competency to give a sound opinion upon matters affecting their own interests. Let me remind your readers of the opinion of the great statesman, Sir Thomas Munro, upon this very question, viz.—the practice and expediency of consulting the people before we tax them:—"The right of the people to be taxed only by their own consent has always, in every free country, been esteemed amongst the most important of all privileges; it is that which has most exercised the minds of men, and which has oftenest been asserted by the defenders of liberty. Even in countries in which there is no freedom, taxation is the most important function of government, because it is that which most universally affects the comfort and happiness of the people, and that which has oftenest excited them to resistance. Although we can never leave entirely to the natives the power of taxing the country, we ought to intrust them with as much of it as possible, under our superintendence. We ought to make them acquainted with our objects in taxation, and with the principles upon which we wish it to be

founded, in order that, in communicating their opinions to us, they may not be guided by the mere object of raising the revenue, but of adapting the revenue to the wants of the state and the circumstances of the people."

The government made no attempt to ascertain the feelings and wishes of the people with respect to the salt tax, but the people tendered an opinion to the government. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Bombay presented a memorial to the Bombay government, praying for the repeal of that tax, and the substitution of one which should fall directly on the rich. Their request was thus summarily disposed of:—"The Governor in Council cannot admit that the additional duty of four annas per Indian maund, which has lately been imposed upon salt, will bear heavily upon the people at large; and he is satisfied, that it will be more than compensated by the abolition of town and other duties, which pressed with great weight upon all classes of the community. I am further directed to inform you, that the measure of the Supreme Government, of fixing the duty at twelve annas per maund, having been adopted under the authority of the Court of Directors, it must be considered to be final, and will be strictly carried out." Such an answer was calculated to awaken irritation and disgust, because it was an insult to the common sense of the people. Every individual of the petitioners knew well that the duties which were to be repealed were either duties upon luxuries consumed in large towns, which affected, therefore, only a small proportion of the better class of the population, or taxes upon arts and professions, the only direct imposts paid by the mercantile and trading classes; it was insulting, therefore, to tell them that the repeal of such duties would be a compensation for a tax which affected every individual of the community, and which fell with severity only upon the very poorest class. They knew well, too, that, only a few years before, a duty of eight annas upon salt had been imposed as a substitute for the transit duties, and when they saw an equal amount of duty laid on, as a compensation for the loss that the revenue was to sustain from the abolition of the town duties, which did not amount to one-fifth of the revenue from transit duties, they could only see in the new impost a plan of the government to increase the taxation, and of relieving the rich at the expense of the poor, whilst professing to benefit the whole community.

It is very far from my intention, in these remarks, to arraign the taxation of salt; on the contrary, I consider that a salt tax, even a high salt tax, is one of the best sources of Indian revenue, because, unless excessive, it cannot fall with much severity upon any class, whilst not an individual in the community can escape it. It is only when it becomes excessive that it is a cruel tax, because it is then felt only by the poorest classes. The poorest man in India consumes as much salt as the richest,—nay, if he can command it, he consumes more, because it is his only condiment. The rich man can never consume beyond a certain quantity, and that quantity, at the highest price, must absorb so trifling a portion of his income, that it never can be a matter of consi-

deration to him whether the price be high or low. But it is a matter of vital importance to the poor man, whether he pays one month's wages or two for the pinch of salt that is to make his food palatable and wholesome.

Contemporaneous with this attempt to double the salt tax at Bombay, was an order by the Supreme Council to raise the price of salt at Madras from 105 to 180 rupees the garce, an increase at once of 71 per cent. It was in vain that the Madras government protested against this cruel measure; it was in vain they stated that the invariable result of enhancing the price of sea-salt was to drive the poorer orders of the Madras presidency to the use of earth-salt, a most unwholesome and unsavoury condiment; it was in vain that they pointed out the injustice and impolicy of repealing duties upon luxuries, and of adding immensely, at the same time, to the duty upon a prime necessary of life; it was in vain that they solicited permission to retain the duties upon luxuries, and to raise the price of salt only from 105 to 127 rupees the garce, which together, they said, would furnish all the revenue that was necessary to make up what would be given up by the abolition of the transit duties. All these remonstrances were unheeded; the obnoxious law was promulgated, with a direction from the Supreme Council, that if the tax should prove to be too high, it might be lowered; but that if fixed too low at first, it might be very difficult to raise it. Is it proper, I may be permitted to ask, that the Supreme Government, in absolute ignorance of the condition of the people of Madras, without making an effort to remove that ignorance, should thus experimentalize upon them in matters of finance; should try how heavy a burthen they can bear without crying out? But for the timely interposition of the Court of Directors, the people of Madras would have been thrown into the same state of ferment as the people of Surat.

Let us see now how this impost operated upon the mass of the people during the brief period of its continuance. "The abolition of the transit duties"—I quote from a letter addressed to me by an old native officer of the Tanjore district—"is certainly a great relief to those who suffered by the oppression of the Sayer servants; but the laying of the revenue derived from this source on salt, which is now as dear as 180 rupees the garce, is a great evil to the poorest of the population. The coolies, who labour the whole day, get only one and a half measures of paddy, three-eighths of which they formerly gave in exchange for a supply of salt for their food; three-fifths of a measure is necessary to procure that quantity now, and with the remainder they find it extremely hard to support their families. If (nearly) half of their earnings goes to procure salt, how are they to supply themselves with other necessities of life, such as chillies, tamarinds, onions? The abolition, therefore, of transit duties can never compensate for the misery which the high price of salt has brought upon them. In this province, as in every other, the poor are more than the rich; consequently the misery must

exceed the relief." It was in this way, and with this intimate knowledge of the effect of the proposed tax, that the people of Madras reasoned; it was in this way that their government reasoned; but nothing could drive the Supreme Council from the opinion they had taken up, that duties which fell only upon the comparatively rich were a greater burthen upon the community than a tax which fell with severity only upon the poorest of the poor. The professed object of repealing these duties was, that there might be no impediment to trade from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Even if this freedom had been accorded as a boon, it would have been of comparatively small value. When goods are liable to be stopped and examined in transit from place to place, the impediment to trade is serious, and the vexations and annoyances to the trader uncensuring; but the levy of a duty only at the place of growth no more hampers trade in India than the excise duty upon malt has that effect in England.

The Court of Directors have relieved the people of Madras from a large portion of the burthen which had been thrown upon them by the Supreme Council, by ordering the price of salt to be reduced from 180 to 120 rupees per garce, sanctioning at the same time the repeal of the town duties; the price of salt at the pans is now, therefore, less by 7 rupees the garce than the price proposed by the government of Madras, when it was intended to retain these duties; but in Bombay the Honourable Court have sanctioned an increase of 4 annas a maund, which is equal to an increase of 50 per cent. upon the original tax. They have, I am afraid, laid upon the Bombay horse the weight which will prevent him from rising, and upon his neighbour at Madras, the feather that will break his back; for it will not, I think, be difficult to prove, that any, even the least, increase to the tax at either presidency, is a financial blunder, as detrimental to the pecuniary interests of the government as it is to the happiness and comfort of the people.

The ground upon which an increase to the salt tax has been made is, that as salt is very much higher in price in Bengal than it is at the other presidencies—that as the people of those presidencies do not, therefore, contribute as largely, in proportion to their numbers, as the people of Bengal to the salt revenue, it is perfectly fair to raise the price in Madras and Bombay as a set-off against the revenue to be lost by the repeal of the transit duties. It is true that the price of salt is three times as high in Calcutta as it is at Madras, but is there not a cause? Is not the price of coals higher in London than it is at Newcastle? Coals are the natural produce of Newcastle, as salt is of Madras. The cost of its manufacture at Madras is a trifle—in Bengal it is heavy. From time immemorial, the people of Madras have been permitted to enjoy the advantages which their position gives them, and to consume their salt at a comparatively low price. Has Bengal no peculiar advantages? Have the other presidencies the same rich alluvial soil, the same magnificent channels of communication, the same favourable assessment of the revenue?—above all, are the prices of the necessaries of life the same in Bengal as in the other presidencies? Notoriously not:

so that if the people of Madras have the advantage of cheap salt, the people of Bengal have the greater advantage of cheap grain. What shall we say, then, of a plan of finance which, overlooking the general condition and general taxation of the people on one side of India, contemplates an increase of not less than 100 per cent. in a single item of revenue—that item being a necessary of life—merely because the people on the other side of India pay a still higher rate of tax upon the same article? If the Supreme Council had only taken the trouble to divide the total amount of revenue of each presidency amongst the population, they would have found that, while the people of Bengal were paying less than two rupees a head, the people of Bombay and Madras were paying upwards of three, with not one-fifth of the capital to pay it from. If, therefore, it was the intention to square the other presidencies by the Bengal rule, the first step should have been to reduce the taxation of the other presidencies by the gratuitous abolition of the town and transit duties.

Against the propensity which has always existed of levelling every part of India by the same standard, Sir Thomas Munro gave this sage counsel :—" Let each presidency pursue the course best calculated to promote improvement in its own territory. Do not suppose that one way will answer for all,—that places a thousand miles from each other must be in every thing so much alike, as to require exactly the same rules of internal administration on every point. Let each presidency act for itself. By this means, a spirit of emulation will be kept alive, and each may borrow from the other every improvement which may be suited to the circumstances of its own provinces. If there is only one system, and if one presidency is to be the model of the rest, it will have no other standard to compare its own with ; and when it falls into a vice, it will, instead of correcting it by the example of others, communicate it to them." No one who knows any thing of the circumstances of the three presidencies can question the soundness of these remarks. Ireland is exempted from many taxes to which England is subjected, only because the circumstances of the two countries are different. It would be much more reasonable to square the financial system of Ireland by the English rule, than it is to squeeze Bombay and Madras into the pattern of Bengal.

I have said that the price of salt is very much higher in Bengal than in Madras ; but this statement requires to be qualified. The price is three times as high in Calcutta as it is in Madras, but it does not follow that it is so much higher to the general consumer, because against the high price in Bengal must be set cheap water carriage, and against the low price in Madras must be added a land carriage, so expensive, that what costs 105 rupees at the salt pans, costs 151 rupees to the inhabitants of the maritime towns, who are not twenty miles removed from the place of manufacture : at two hundred miles from the coast, the cost is 204 rupees ; at three hundred miles, 216 rupees ; and at three hundred and fifty miles' distance, 235 rupees. Besides, it is of importance to remember, that the excess of price in Bengal is not

occasioned by the duty which it pays to government, but by the first cost of the article. In Bengal, the rate of tax upon the original value of the salt is not much above 300 per cent. ; in Madras it was nearly 1,000 per cent., and is now near 1,200. It is the government tax, therefore, that so enhances the price of salt at Madras. Remove the government tax altogether, and the people of Bengal would still have to pay three times as much for their salt as the people of Madras. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact, that by raising the price of Madras salt 71 per cent., the Supreme Council actually made the price of salt 16 per cent. lower in the Cuttack province of Bengal than it was in the contiguous Madras province of Ganjam, for the price of salt had been but a few years before lowered in Cuttack upon the express grounds of the inability of the people of that province to pay as high a rate of tax as was paid in the other provinces of Bengal. But this wise discrimination was overlooked, when it was determined to raise the price to the people of Madras.

Another most important feature in the case was disregarded, viz. : that the salt trade with Bengal is free ; that any quantity of salt may be admitted into the ports of that presidency, upon the payment of a high duty ; that the price, therefore, is regulated not by the government, but by the amount of imports ; that these imports are gradually increasing, and are telling upon prices. The prices were, in

						R.	A.	P.	
1836-7 .	.	.	.	.	.	4	3	10	per maund.
1837-8 .	.	.	.	.	.	4	1	7	"
1838-9 .	.	.	.	.	.	4	1	0	"

So that the people in Bengal have a prospect of cheaper salt. At Madras, there can be none ; for if salt could be imported there with a profit, it would only be on account of the government. The government, therefore, has the complete command of the market, and without their consent there can be no fall in price.

As this letter has extended to some length, I shall reserve what I have to say for another communication.

I am, &c.

S.

"INDIA AND LORD ELLENBOROUGH."

NEVER before, in our experience at least, has there been an instance in which two contemporary works, professing to contain faithful narratives of recent occurrences and legitimate deductions from facts, exhibited such a spectacle of direct antagonism, as the "Conquest of Scinde," noticed in a preceding page, and the pamphlet we now propose to notice, "India and Lord Ellenborough." Political critics, in Parliament and in newspapers, do indeed take opposite views of the same transactions, and form conflicting opinions regarding the same agents; but an ordinary reader knows that they are but the advocates of parties, and with very little experience learns, by the application of certain principles, to strike a sort of balance, and after a few oscillations of sentiment, he settles down into a tolerably correct adjustment of the question. But deliberate compositions are subject to different rules. The writer of a book, especially one of a biographical or historical character, gives a tacit surety to the public that he aims solely to inform and instruct them. Yet if the future biographer of the Earl of Ellenborough had no other materials than are supplied by these two works for this part of that nobleman's career, he would be grievously embarrassed, for they neutralize each other. The only example which affords any thing like a parallel to the present case is the biography of the great Lord Clive,—also a Governor-General of India, and in his time abused rather more than Lord Ellenborough has yet been,—who is painted in the *Biographia Britannica* as an angel of light, and by Mill in his *History of India* as a demon of darkness. Those irreconcilable relations of facts and estimates of character were not, however, brought before the public in such odd contrast, at the same identical moment of time, staring each other as it were out of countenance. In all these cases it is commonly said that the truth is to be found between the two extremes; but, in the present, the extremes are so widely apart, and the outline is so irregularly drawn, that it is impossible to fix with any thing like precision the locality of the mean. The only safe course is to discard both publications; for if one writer ascribes to the Earl more than his fair measure of praise, the other robs him of his just share; if one is an encomiast, the other is a detractor. Let us, however, bear in mind that the author of the "Conquest of Scinde" (who stands in the most amiable light of the two, shielding the character of a great public officer) has boldly given to the world a guarantee of his sincerity in a name and reputation of no small value,—an important pledge

* India and Lord Ellenborough. London, 1844. Dalton.

where so much depends upon the honesty and fairness of an inquiry, in which the general class of readers, who cannot be expected to study volumes of tedious official papers, must take a great deal upon trust; whereas the writer of the pamphlet is unknown.

Public rumour, and the whispers of persons who profess to be all-knowing as to what passes behind the *pardah*, have led many to believe that the pamphlet has emanated indirectly from the Court of Directors; that it contains their defence of the measure which they will have hereafter, probably, to justify before Parliament. Without having any other ground for contradicting this report than that which appears upon the face of the transaction, we entirely disbelieve it. In the present position of a question wherein the public are very imperfectly instructed, for the Court of Directors to put forth, or indirectly sanction, an anonymous pamphlet, assailing Lord Ellenborough, not only with a bitterness that looks very like personal rancour, but with ridicule, in order to produce an *ex-parte* impression against him, would be an act of the grossest injustice as well as the grossest indecency. Having observed, upon previous occasions, the forbearance which the Court of Directors have manifested, at times when they have themselves been the objects of undeserved vituperation,—a forbearance which we have sometimes thought they even carried too far,—we cannot believe that they have abandoned that dignified position when its retention was most prudent,—most essential to their own character and to the ends of public justice. Having stated the reason why we regard this pamphlet as the work of a volunteer assailant of Lord Ellenborough, we shall so treat it.

Now, what is the point at issue? It is, whether the Court of Directors have discreetly and wisely, not for their own peculiar purposes or the purposes of the holders of East-India stock,—not from any private pique or personal difference, but for the interests of the whole empire,—exercised a great power intrusted to them solely for the latter object, by recalling Lord Ellenborough from the government of India. The first question which naturally arises is, for what act or acts has he been recalled? To this question no answer can be returned—the reasons of his Lordship's recall are not before the public; and our objection *in limine* to a discussion of the subject is, that it cannot be discussed fairly in the absence of the whole evidence. From a large collection of public documents, loosely thrown together, written at different times and by different persons, under circumstances constantly fluctuating, adapted to sudden exigencies and emergencies, it is not difficult for even an

unskilful writer, intent upon a particular object, to make selections and extracts which shall produce all the effects of deliberate perversion and misrepresentation on either side of the question. This is, indeed, a most unfair and disingenuous proceeding even in a pamphleteer; but it is the course pursued by the author of the pamphlet before us, which is not what it should be, a candid examination of the subject, but an attempt to enlist popular prejudices and excite popular anger against the Earl, through the medium of popular ignorance.

The right of the Court of Directors to recal governors in India is not only undisputed, but is universally known, and, with one singular exception, no one has ever questioned the propriety of clothing the Court with such a power, so long as they are in any degree responsible for the acts of these governors. Lord Brougham, in the House of Lords, struck by the apparent anomaly of an unseemly collision between her Majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, in a matter where the former incurred at least an equal share of responsibility, and had the best means of exercising a right judgment, thought it absurd that the Court should have an absolute power of recal, in opposition to the ministers of the Crown, when they had not an absolute power of appointment, and conceived that the giving such a one-sided power must have been an oversight. But the oversight was on his own part; the power was not at first intended to be given in the last Charter Act, and was not conceded by the Whig ministers till after discussion. The mere fact, however, of Lord Ellenborough's having been recalled, in defiance of her Majesty's ministers, and his return, one might imagine would be quite sufficient evidence of the right; yet the author of the pamphlet thinks it necessary to enter upon a formal demonstration of its existence, occupying no less than thirteen pages! An advantage is sometimes gained by a controversial writer from proving that which was never denied. This is the only reason we can assign for such supererogatory labour. Some precipitate readers of this pamphlet may be entrapped into the conclusion that, the existence of the right of recal being so triumphantly demonstrated, its discreet exercise in this case follows as a matter of necessary implication.

The writer, however, maintains that this power of recal is a power "inherent in the Company." We do not quite comprehend his meaning, and suspect here a little mystification. Does he mean that their right of recalling the governors of India stands upon the same grounds and reasons now as before the Act of 1833? It is clear that he has taken no pains to prevent his readers from falling into

such a mistake ; for, throughout all this long and superfluous dissertation, he has concealed a fact which (considering that he wrote for superficial readers) he should have brought prominently forward, namely, that neither the East-India Company nor the Court of Directors are what they were before 1833 ; that the Company are no longer a commercial body, with large trading funds under the control of their governors, nor proprietors of territory, in the good government and prosperity of which they have a direct pecuniary interest ; but they are holders of a limited quantity of stock, which is guaranteed to them ; and that the Court of Directors are little more than a government board (we use the expression of a director), through whom orders are communicated to the governors of India from a department of her Majesty's Government. To say that the power of recalling governors is inherent in the Company now in the same sense in which it might be said to be inherent in them at their first establishment, in the reign of Elizabeth, would be a direct fraud and deception upon the reader, and accordingly the writer does not *say* so ; but he leaves his readers to infer it from what he does say. He tells them that, when the first association of British merchants for carrying on an exclusive trade with India, obtained a charter from the Crown, in the sixteenth century, " whether with a view to benefit the Company or to promote the interests of an individual, the Queen's advisers recommended Sir Edward Mitchelbourne for employment in the proposed expedition ; the committee who managed the affairs of the subscribers—the germ of the present Court of Directors—refused their consent at the very moment when they were applicants for an exercise of royal indulgence ; when they hung on the breath of the sovereign for corporate existence, they repelled the attempted dictation of the Queen's servants as to the agents whom they should employ in the conduct of their affairs." That is, these merchants, who had not an inch of territory, and who dreamed not of ever being the depositaries of political power, did not choose to allow a needy courtier, whose estate might be out at elbows, to have the fingering of their money, for they had no other " affairs " to conduct. " They put in peril the grant which they sought, rather than compromise their independence," that is, the control of their own small funds. " The example thus furnished by the authorities of the East-India Company, when feebly struggling into existence, should never be absent from the minds of their successors ; " that is, the present Court of Directors, who have no commercial concerns to manage, no funds over which they have an unlimited control, but who are, as to all important matters, merely a

vehicle for the transmission of the commands of the India Board, in fact, what the first association of *merchants trading to the East-Indies* naturally and properly refused to be, subject to the "dictation of the Queen's servants,"—and in this very matter, too, for the Queen's servants have the virtual appointment of the governors of India! A discerning reader will easily perceive the disingenuousness which runs through the whole of this extract, and it is a good sample of the writer's manner.

We have always advocated the unfettered power of the Court to recal governors in India; but we wish it to be put upon its proper footing. There is no *inherent* right of recal in the Company, as at present constituted, and the Court is entitled to it so long only as they are not absolved from all responsibility in matters of government. The reasoning of the writer proves too much, for it would prove that the Court cannot properly execute their functions unless they had the free power of appointing governors, which they did not possess even when the governors managed the commercial concerns of the Company.

Another attempted mystification follows the one we have just noticed. Having demonstrated that the power of recal resides in the Court and ought to reside there, the writer next proceeds to shew that it has been rarely exercised; that the first instance of their recalling a Governor-General—in the case of Lord Ellenborough—"does not occur till sixty years after the government of India was placed on its present footing," which is not correct, for it was placed on its present footing in 1833, "and during that period the power of recal has been exercised only once with regard to the governor of a subordinate presidency"—Lord William Bentinck—whose name the writer does not mention, perhaps, because it would have reminded some of his readers that that "only" case was a case of notorious injustice. The object of insisting upon the rarity of this occurrence is obviously to make it appear, not only that the Court have shewn "discretion and moderation" in the exercise of this great power, but that they have always been on good terms with the governors of India, and that the case must be very bad that could make them quarrel with them, or treat them harshly. Strictly and literally, the Court of Directors have never before (except in the case of the ill-used Lord William Bentinck) exerted the power in the offensive and mortifying form of direct recal; but the writer must know very well that they have exercised it repeatedly in an indirect manner. This is a part of the subject infinitely more material than the existence of the right of recal, which nobody

denies; yet this writer, who has devoted thirteen pages to prove the latter point, disposes, in about thirteen lines, of a matter which has a direct and important bearing upon the question he is considering. Where the whole point is, whether the Court have discreetly used this delicate function; where the entire evidence respecting this particular case is not before us, and where a minister of the Crown of the very highest pretensions, unexceptionable in experience, judgment, and knowledge of Indian politics, has publicly denounced the act as one of gross indiscretion—in such circumstances, it would have been of vast moment to know how Courts of Directors have borne themselves to former Governors-General; whether in any preceding case the Court of Directors had erred in judgment respecting governors of India, or interfered improperly or indiscreetly with their acts. The silence of the writer upon this head, though it is prudent, is not candid. A partisan of Lord Ellenborough might write a very successful pamphlet upon the injustice and ingratitude with which Courts of Directors have treated governors of India, and especially those to whose merits and services the country is most indebted, and might establish upon that ground alone a strong presumption against them in the present case. Let us look at a few examples, and, for the sake of obviating all cavil, take them from the brightest characters in Anglo-Indian history.

Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquess of Wellesley may be regarded as the men to whom the country owes its magnificent Indian empire. The first, by his military talents, political foresight, and extraordinary resources, laid its deep foundation, and sketched the dim outlines of its plan; the second, by his administrative powers, his patient firmness and unwearied industry, brought together the detached parts of the fabric, and out of “a confused heap of indigested materials,” as he expressed it, produced order and harmony; the last, with enlarged statesman-like views, and a consummate sagacity, extinguished the elements of mischief, gave the labouring empire room to expand, and established a code of policy for the guidance of future Indian rulers. Each of these great men experienced the ingratitude, the persecution, nay, the personal hostility, of the Courts of Directors, whose faithful servants they had been. The first, with all his energies, sank under his trials; the last two lived to witness the Court’s compunction.

The “*Life of Clive*,” written by Sir John Malcolm, will inform the reader of the mean and ungrateful persecution which he endured from the Court of Directors of his day, and especially from the

Chairman, Mr. Sullivan, whose principles, Sir John says, "were those of the head of a commercial company, whilst Clive's were those of the founder and sustainer of an empire." The stopping of payments on Clive's jaghire, which yielded two-thirds of his income, was one of the measures resorted to by the Court to injure and mortify the man who had given them an empire to rule. The reason assigned was of course a public one; had it been so, they would hardly have been justified; but in the investigation before the Court of Chancery, a *private* and *confidential* letter from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Vansittart, the president of Bengal, was produced, which stated, in distinct terms, that the motive was a private and personal one! The distractions and corruptions of India, however, forced the Directors to "solicit" Clive's re-acceptance of the government of India, and they confirmed his jaghire! This victory, however, his biographer says, "laid the foundation of the future troubles of his life; for those over whom he now triumphed cherished their resentments, and their ranks were early recruited by numerous malcontents from India, whom Clive's reforms had either deprived of the means of accumulating wealth or exposed to obloquy." The Court, therefore, in this case, stood in no favourable light with reference to their conduct towards the Governor of India; they did not, indeed, recal him, but they refused to employ him till their necessities compelled them to do so, and their persecution of him sprung from secret and private motives, not open and public ones.

If the conduct of the Court towards the great Clive was so little to their credit, their treatment of Warren Hastings is still less so. Though placed in a position of unparalleled difficulty; though required to grapple with evils of the most destructive kind, pervading every branch of their administration in India, which the Directors acknowledged were "too deep for any partial plans to reach or correct," and which they encouraged Mr. Hastings to root out, pledging themselves that "he may depend on the steady support and favour of his employers,"—notwithstanding this pledge, the history of that time shews that he was subject to all the petty annoyances which those employers could give him, and which no man with less patience and temper would have borne. The Court did not actually recal Mr. Hastings; if they had done so, they would have surrendered their interests to the creatures of the minister; but they made the post as disagreeable to him as they could, and eventually deserted him. In 1776, he writes to his agent: "The letter from the Court of Directors,"—this was two years after they had told him he might depend upon their steady support and

favour,—“is the most partial that ever passed their seal ; it is replete with the grossest adulation of the majority,” that is, the nominees of the minister, “and as gross abuse of me, which is conveyed even in the language of my opponents. But I regard it not. If those who penned the letter,” i.e. the Directors, “hope by it to provoke me to give up the battle, they have erred most miserably : though ruin or death should attend it, I shall wait the event.” In 1783, however, he was compelled by the treatment he had received from the Court to forego this magnanimous resolution, and signified his wish to be relieved from the duties of an office in which he had ceased to enjoy their confidence. The convulsions produced by the celebrated India Bill averted this disgrace from the Court, by making the new minister the friend and protector of Hastings. Every thing short of recal was, therefore, endured by that great man, who was suffered to struggle through his succeeding persecutions with no aid from the Court, till the upbraiding outcry of public scorn made it disgraceful to withhold it.

But the example of the Marquess Wellesley is still more pertinent. Both Clive and Hastings committed errors,—if it be not presumptuous to call them so, considering the dark chaos of confusion and distraction from which they had to evoke order, and the powerful and malevolent spirits they had to coerce ; but the Marquess Wellesley is now acknowledged by the Court themselves to have approached as near to the perfect idea of a Governor-General of India as the inherent infirmities of the human character will permit. His policy, both in its theory and principles, and in its practice and mode of execution, is now characterized justly as great, comprehensive, wise ; his minutes and despatches are now regarded by the Court as depositaries of political science ; as the sources from whence their civil servants may draw lessons of wisdom which will teach them in what manner India should be ruled. And how was Lord Wellesley treated by the Court of Directors of his time—a much more recent date than the times of Clive and Hastings ? We answer, disgracefully. True, he was not actually recalled. The Court of that day were either too timid or too prudent to recal such a man ; but they sought to effect the same object by the indirect and despicable expedient of thwarting him in his views, reversing his orders, and putting personal indignities upon him, which rendered it impossible for the Marquess, without a sacrifice of character, to retain his post. This fact is proclaimed in the very work the study of which is now recommended to the young Indian civilian. In the fourth volume of the *Wellesley Despatches* the reader

will find a letter from Lord Wellesley to Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), the prime minister, dated in 1802, containing a narrative of the treatment he had suffered from the Court of Directors, which would dispose many to doubt very much the expediency of intrusting large discretionary powers to a body of men capable of such acts. It would require too much space to detail even the heads under which the Marquess ranges the wanton, irritating, and insulting treatment he received, and which had at length forced him to resign. In his despatch to the Court, notifying his resignation, he says, he had assigned no other causes than the successful accomplishment of his general plans for the security of the Indian empire, and the general prosperity of its affairs; but the real cause, he adds, was the usage he had experienced from the Court. A strong sense of public duty had induced him to remain, "under much vexation and disgust;" but he could no longer retain the government "with any prospect of private honour or public advantage." In one point, the reduction of the allowances of his brother (the Duke of Wellington), the Court, he says, "has offered me the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised. The ground of the order is as unjust and unwarranted in point of fact, as its operation is calculated to be injurious and humiliating to my reputation and honour." What the Marquess wrote in 1802 he must have adhered to in 1837, when this volume of his *Despatches* was given to the world, with his sanction. But more. It was the desire of the King's ministers that the Marquess should retain the government of India; it was the wish of Lord Wellesley himself, if he could do so with honour. What says Lord Castlereagh, president of the Board of Control? In writing to Lord Wellesley, he states that "every day afforded him fresh proof of the vigour and wisdom of the Governor-General's councils, and in proportion as he acquired information of his policy, the more deeply was he impressed with the value and extent of his services;" that though his Majesty's ministers were "most anxious to give a cordial and honourable support to his government," he regretted that there was not a corresponding disposition in the Court of Directors, and that "it would have exposed the Governor-General's name to unmerited coldness to have sought the Court's concurrence in urging him to continue in the government." Virtually, therefore, the Court *did* recal even Lord Wellesley, the ablest, the wisest governor British India ever had; the man to whom, in 1837, another Court voted a large sum of money, "to mark their sense of the transcendent services rendered to the Company, to the British nation, and to the

vast population of British India, by one of the most distinguished and high-minded statesmen that England ever produced;" and to whom, in 1841, another Court voted a statue, to be placed in their Court-room, "as a public, conspicuous, and permanent mark of the admiration and gratitude of the East-India Company!"

The ostensible reasons assigned for the treatment of Lord Wellesley by the Court of Directors, were his ambition, his extravagant projects, his profusion—in short, pretty nearly the same reasons as the writer of the pamphlet has suggested for the recall of Lord Ellenborough. What, however, were the *secret*, but *real* reasons? We are fortunately not left in the dark upon this point, for Mr. Auber, a Secretary of the East-India Company, who had official means of knowing the fact, had the candour not to suppress it. In his "History of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in India,"* he has developed the working of the secret motives of the unjust and insulting treatment of Lord Wellesley by the Court of Directors of that day, and we shall describe it almost in his own words:—

"The Proprietary of the Company," he says, "was at that time (1801) divided into three classes, each possessing a relative degree of power, which they could exert on given occasions—the Shipping Interest, the City Interest, and the Interest of the Agency Houses. The first two were at that time by far the most powerful, and of these the Shipping Interest preponderated. From the causes which bound the members of this interest together, and more frequently called it into operation, it presented a very formidable body." The equipment of the ships employed by the Company was a matter of much moment to them, and was brought to a high degree of perfection. Evils, however, of a very various and complicated nature, soon began to engraft themselves upon a system thus excellent and successful in many of its objects. Some captains, who had raised themselves to affluence in the service, obtained seats and considerable power in the direction. The outfit and equipment of the Company's ships employed a very large capital, and the persons interested in those concerns qualified themselves as voters. The consequence of these measures, and a combination of other secondary causes, were that, in process of time, the managers and owners of these ships, by combining together, obtained such an influence, both in the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, as almost to be able to direct the measures of the Company, not only in matters relating to the shipping concerns, but also upon great political

subjects which frequently formed matter of public discussion in the general court. Hence, various abuses prevailed," and Mr. Auber details a pretty long list of these jobs. The ministers of the Crown began to think that the exclusion of India-built ships, for the sole benefit of the shipping interest of London, was unjust; but "the opposition promoted by the shipping interest led to a conspiracy far from creditable to the ship-builders, by which the interests of the ship-carpenters in the river Thames were inflamed, at the moment when the feelings of the country were excited and alarmed by the state of the navy and the mutiny at the Nore." Lord Wellesley, however, confident that the measure, whilst beneficial to India, would work no real injury to the British shipping interest, proposed to hire, on account of the Company, India-built ships, to carry cargoes from Bengal to England. Mr. Dundas, hearing of his intention, declared it to be a measure of much wisdom, and added, "You need not be under any apprehension as to the result of it," namely, the resentment of the Court of Directors. He accordingly persevered, but encountered the opposition of the Court influenced by the shipping interest. "The measure," Mr. Auber says, "created a feeling strongly adverse to the Governor-General, which impression gathered additional strength from the question having involved the Court of Directors in extreme differences with the Board of Control, as it was expected to have led to an open rupture and an appeal to Parliament. The measure advocated by Mr. Dundas, and carried into effect by Lord Wellesley," continues Mr. Auber, "was calculated to promote the permanent interests of India."

Now we have quoted this from the work of a servant of the Court of Directors, as nearly in his words as possible (except by extracting the whole ten pages), and without the pamphleteer's invidious aid of capitals and italics; and we think it proves these facts:—1st. That the ostensible cause of the ejection of Lord Wellesley, with insult and indignity, from a government in which he was rendering "transcendent services to the Company, to the British nation, and to the vast population of British India," was not the real cause:—2nd. That the secret but real motive of his unworthy treatment on the part of the Court of Directors, was not a public but a private one:—3rd. That that private motive was one in which their own interests as individuals were preferred to "the permanent interests of India," the country which the Court, in a collective capacity, were appointed to govern. Yet there were writers of anonymous pamphlets at that time,—some of them are not yet swept into the limbo of forgotten publications,—in which the proceeding of the Court of Directors was justified, in the gravest tone, nay lauded,

upon public grounds, and the conduct of Lord Wellesley stigmatized in even bitterer terms than that of Lord Ellenborough has been.

It is scarcely necessary to say that we have entered upon this examination with no intention whatever of reflecting upon the present Court of Directors, whose straightforward exercise of the power of recal stands in honourable contrast to the indirect proceedings of their predecessors; but to supply a very important omission in the pamphlet before us, the writer of which gives his readers reason to believe that there has never been any wanton, indiscreet, and culpable exercise of their powers by the Court in reference to governors in India; whereas, even in the case of Lord William Bentinck, the Court acted indiscreetly, precipitately, and unjustly. He was recalled summarily, without being heard in justification, on the ground of having violated the religious usages of the natives. That there was no foundation for this charge is proved by the subsequent appointment of Lord William to be Governor-General, which would otherwise have been an insult to the whole native population of India. In this part of the question it is of vital moment to see what has been the conduct of past Courts of Directors towards governors in India—whether it has been constantly (as the writer of the pamphlet insinuates) open, just, wise, prudent; or whether it has ever been crooked, oppressive, selfish, and indiscreet. No one suspects the present Court of Directors of dishonourable motives in what they have done; neither did any one suspect the Court who displaced Lord Wellesley; even now, when the real incentives are laid open to us, we may charitably suppose that that Court took narrow and unstatesmanlike views of what they conceived to be the interest of this country—and so may the present Court have done.

Before we enter upon the political and military topics in which the writer of the pamphlet professes to find the cause of the Earl's recal (though he does let drop, mysteriously, that “there *may* be much more of which the public are ignorant,” and “there *may even be* reasons for the recal of which they have no suspicion,”) it may be convenient to advert to a reason which this writer does not notice, but which another, and an abler assailant of Lord Ellenborough, with more candour or better information, has noticed. The last *Calcutta Review* contains an article upon “The Administration of Lord Ellenborough,” in which the noble Lord's government, as well as his public character, is pulled to pieces with great dexterity. Towards the close of this criticism, the following passage appears:—

His avowed predilection in favour of the army, and the sincerity

with which he acted up to these avowals, is one of those marked characteristics which no limner should omit to portray. There are those who think that this falling "leaned towards virtue's side;" many more who think that it was no falling, but an absolute virtue. The truth appears to be this:—the civil service had for many years been a favoured service. It had fattened upon the golden eggs, and scattered the feathers among the military. It had not only appropriated all the large salaries, and divided almost all the honours of the state, but had, on every occasion, been permitted to ride rough-shod over the military. The Court of Directors had especially cherished this privileged class; and governors-general had been too prone to imitate this exaltation of one service at the expense of another. It was a just and a generous thing to raise the military, too long degraded, to their right position. Only a few months before the arrival of Lord Ellenborough in India, a new warrant had been passed, settling the precedence of the Company's servants, and giving to the mere boy-civilian a higher social rank than the grey-haired and decorated veteran officer. The new Governor-General, apparently resolving not to fall into this error of giving undue preponderance to a class, fell into the very excess which he desired to avoid, only giving to it a different direction. He exalted the military at the expense of the civil service. Had his efforts gone no further than a correct adjustment of the balance, he would have been entitled to all praise; but he carried his avowed predilections for the military class to an extent unbecoming a Governor-General, whose duty is to regard alike the interests of all classes. To equalize, as far as possible under the present unequal system, the honours and emoluments of the two services, would have been a generous and praiseworthy act; but to set aside the claims of deserving civilians, even to the extent of a rude and degrading supersession, in order that he might create vacancies to be filled by his military *protégés*, and publicly to declare that service in the field should ever be the first claim upon his patronage—these were not praiseworthy acts. It was right that, at such a time, the character of the military service should find a strong and powerful hand to raise it to its true social position; but it was not right that, in stretching out this strong and powerful hand, he should have manifested and avowed predilections which no Governor-General ought to entertain.

It is here admitted that the civil service of India were unduly exalted, and at the expense of the military; that the Court itself had "especially cherished" the privileged class, and that a correct adjustment of the balance would have been worthy of all praise. This reluctant admission of an adversary strengthens to a certain extent the averments of Major General Napier, who, upon the authority of his brother, we presume, imputes the treatment of Lord Ellenborough to the resentment of the civil servants. According to his Calcutta critic, his lordship was right in endeavouring

to lower the "favoured service," to make an equal division of eggs and the feathers, and to raise the military, "too long degraded." The question is, whether he really adjusted the balance, or made the opposite scale preponderate. This is a nice point, upon which civil servants and military servants will differ; but it is quite distinct from either Afghanistan, Scinde, or Gwalior. If we could suppose that Lord Ellenborough has given any just cause of offence to the civil service of India, we should desire no other reason for the severity with which he has been visited,—we must not say for his recal, for that would imply that the present Court of Directors were as passive to the influence of the civil service (who are large proprietors of East-India stock), as their predecessors were to the shipping and city interests. The civil servants of India are a body distinguished by the highest qualities of probity and talent. Their influence, however, is co-extensive with their high character, and Lord Ellenborough would not be the first sufferer from their resentment. In the same number of the *Calcutta Review* is a defence of Lord William Bentinck, against the strictures of Mr. Thornton, in his *History of India*. And what do we find there? Why, that Lord William was made the butt of a censure which has not yet exhausted itself, on account of his interference with the civil service.

We think it may be affirmed, without any breach of charity (says the Reviewer), that, at the period of Lord William Bentinck's arrival in India, the civil service required the hand of a vigorous reformer. With many bright exceptions of zeal and industry, as a body, it was marked by a growing inefficiency. Idleness and neglect of duty had almost ceased to be the exception; no "moral turpitude was attached to such misconduct, and it entailed no dishonour in the estimation" of a body which stood too much on the privileges of its "order," and had become far too independent of the controlling authorities of the State. It was indispensable, therefore, that the agents employed in the civil administration should not only be rendered more diligent, but should also be brought into a state of greater subordination to the higher authorities, and Lord William Bentinck undertook the ungracious duty, and thereby incurred a degree of odium which those who were not in India at the time will find it difficult to credit. We will offer one instance, out of many that we could adduce, of the intensity of this feeling. One of the oldest members of the service, who had been in the habit of covering the path between his door and gate with carpets, for his carriage to pass over, who, though only a judge of circuit, never moved out without a richly-mounted guard, on being asked whether he was not related to Lady William? replied, "No; unfortunately, to the brute himself."

Is it unlikely that, if Lord Ellenborough undertook the more

"ut gracious duty" of restoring the balance between the service that had "fattened upon the golden eggs," and been "especially cherished by the Court," and the "too long degraded" class, who had only the feathers, and over whom the other had been "permitted to ride rough-shod," he would incur a "degree of odium?" Nothing of this, however, is touched upon by the author of the pamphlet, who confines himself to a criticism upon the political and military transactions of Lord Ellenborough's administration, into which we shall follow him next month, observing, by the way, that we have already passed them in review, in our ample examination of the *Afghanistan*, *Scinde*, and *Gwalior* papers.

There is only one further point which we desire at present to notice, and that is the ungenerous turn given in the pamphlet to the incident of the dinner at Calcutta, whereby the military officers who tendered this mark of respect to a nobleman from whom they had nothing to fear or to expect, are charged with an act of insubordination. The entertainment was a private and personal one, without reference to political and military measures; the very first sentence of Lord Ellenborough's address upon the occasion marked this to be its character. The recal of the Earl must be vindicated, if at all, upon higher grounds than such a frivolous one as this, which seems to be only pressed into the account *ad invidiam*, and in order to mortify that gallant and "too long degraded" body, the officers of the Indian army.

Critical Notices.

Letters on the Augmentation of the License Fees paid by the Occupiers of the Crown Lands in the Colony of New South Wales. By EDWARD T. HAMILTON, Esq. London, 1844. Murray.

THESE are two temperately-written letters, by a gentleman who designates himself "one of the numerous squatters in the colony" of New South Wales, in defence of the measure adopted by the executive government, of exacting what is termed "license fees" from the occupiers of waste lands. He says: "Satisfied as I am that the necessities of the government are at this moment so urgent as to require an increase of the public burthens, and feeling that, sooner or later, whenever these necessities arise, the compensative exemption of the squatters from contributing to the public ways and means must cease, I see every reason to accept thankfully the mode in which the additional burthen is fixed upon us. The government might have taken the opportunity of its poverty for introducing an entirely new and ruinous system for the occupation of Crown lands; but by varying only the amount of our rent, it has practically adopted and stamped with the seal of permanence the principle of the old squatting system, by such I mean the enjoyment of pastoral lands on payment of an annual rent, as distinguished from the sale of the fee-simple at

any thing more than a nominal value, and this is the real foundation of the future prosperity of this colony. All that is requisite is, that the terms of our tenure should be fixed for a time certain—that we should not be exposed from year to year to the capricious exactions which any governor of this colony for the time being may think fit to impose upon us.”

A Brief Sketch of the Certain Danger of a Re-introduction of Corporal Punishment into the Indian Native Army with Characteristic Traits of the Sepoy. By an INDIAN OFFICER. London, 1845. Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE writer of this pamphlet, upon the supposition that the punishment of flogging is about to be re-introduced into the native Indian army, endeavours to show that “the intended measure is fraught with danger to our Indian rule,” and will have “the most pernicious effect on the character of that army.” It is clear that the re-introduction of a punishment abolished, because it was considered unnecessary and degrading, is subject to very different considerations from those which apply to the continuance of it whilst existing. As the subject of flogging in the Indian army will be treated, by a very competent writer, in our next journal, we shall abstain from further remarks upon it here.

A Grammar of the Cree Language: with which is combined an Analysis of the Chippeway Dialect. By JOSEPH HOWSE, Esq., F.R.G.S. London, 1844. Rivingtons.

THE structure of languages spoken by rude nations is a department of philology which has been too much neglected. This is a very copious analysis of the leading native language of all the tribes belonging to the British settlements in North America; indeed, in its different dialects, it is spoken over 60 degrees of longitude, from Pennsylvania, south, to Churchill River, Hudson's Bay, north; and from Labrador and the Atlantic, east, to the Mississippi, west. Historically, or as connected with the origin of nations, the language is also full of interest, and the author, accordingly, has furnished the philologer with means of comparing this leading language of the new with those of the old world, “at the same time exhibiting the internal structure and mechanism of a new system of speech,—a new plan of communicating thought.” Mr. Howse tells us that he has been for twenty years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, during that period, engaged in almost uninterrupted intercourse with the natives.

The work is not only highly curious in a scientific point of view, but of great value to those, especially missionaries, who have to communicate with the tribes who speak the dialects.

The Duties of Judge Advocates: compiled from Her Majesty's and the Hon. East-India Company's Military Regulations, and from the Works of various writers on Military Law. By Captain R. M. HUGHES, Bombay Army, Deputy Judge Advocate General, Scinde Field Force. London, 1845. Smith, Elder, & Co.

THIS is an epitome of the works of Tytler, Vans Kennedy, Simmonds, Hough, Ayle, Griffiths, and other writers, and of the regulations, extremely well methodized, succinct, and above all, clear. It will not supersede the other works (it is not so intended), but it is a fit companion for each; and, compendious as it is, contains matters not to be found in any one of them.

Correspondence.**PROPOSED SCHOOL AT SIMLA.**

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—I believe that the members of the services resident in Upper India have very generally felt the want of some establishment in their vicinity calculated to afford to their sons the same solid and superior education they have themselves received.

The climate of India does not generally agree with children beyond the age of five; but at that age parents most naturally regret much the being obliged to part with beings whom they have reared with such solicitude through the most dangerous period of youthful existence; and, moreover, they often find that it is either too expensive, or from other causes inconvenient, at that particular time, to send them home.

The climate of the hills in general, and that of Simla in particular, has been pronounced by medical men to be most healthy, and well adapted for rearing children at a far more advanced age.

Moreover, Simla is the largest and most frequented sanatorium in the hills; and by the close proximity of the stations of Kussowlie and Subathoo, is the most fitted for an establishment which might, at times, be visited by the parents during the course of their children's education.

Under these considerations, I propose to establish at Simla a proprietary school (in many respects similar in arrangement and rules to that recently brought into operation at Cheltenham), for receiving boys from the age of four to twelve.

It would be requisite to provide the means of instruction in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and the first branches of mathematics; Latin, and Greek. To this might be added French, German, natural philosophy (as applicable to the arts and sciences), and gymnastics. For this purpose a head master would be required from England—a man of ability and education, possessing gentlemanlike manners, and the highest moral recommendations. For, at the tender age at which the pupils are likely to be sent, they are peculiarly susceptible to impressions on these points, and any wrong direction or bias given to their minds would more than counterbalance the small degree of book-learning which they might be expected to acquire.

It would be essentially necessary that the head master should be married, and that his wife should possess, in every particular of manner and feeling, the qualities which are considered indispensable in the husband.

To boys of such tender age, the care and solicitude of a person qualified to take the place of a mother, would be invaluable, and most necessary. Many parents would, doubtless, send their sons to the hills and to this establishment more as a place where they could be boarded and taken care of, within reach, without prejudice to their health, than for purposes of study. And it is proposed that the vacation should only take place once a year; a long vacation, say from the 1st of December to the 15th of March, so as to afford time for the children to visit their parents or guardians.

It is supposed that about 20,000 rupees would be required to build the school at Simla, and about 10,000 more to meet the first expenses of the undertaking. This is, I think, the utmost we need calculate. I should myself be inclined to estimate these items respectively at 15,000 and 8,000, giving a total of 23,000 rupees; but as it is always better rather to over-estimate than under-estimate expenses, let it be supposed that 30,000 rupees are required to set the establishment on foot.

For this it is hoped that 100 subscribers may be found, each willing to subscribe £30 or 300 rupees. But were the proposal to meet with such support as to enable us to start with 200 instead of 100 subscribers, it would probably reduce the amount of subscription by a full third.

I estimate roughly as follows the probable yearly expenses chargeable to the subscribers for their nominees.

<i>Contingent Expenses.</i>		<i>Fixed Expenses.</i>	
Board, at 15 rupees per month,	Ra.	Salary of head master	Ra.
for nine months	135	and matron	2,400 or 3,000
Servants	35	Other masters	2,600 or 3,200
	<hr/>	To contingencies	1,000 or 2,000
	170		<hr/>
			6,000 or 8,200
		Total, divided by 100	
		gives.....	Ra. 60 or 82

I thus make the fixed expense to each shareholder, whether the nominee be sent or not, from 60 to 82 rupees, and the contingent expenses 170 per annum; total 252. The head master and his wife would probably require an advance of some £300 or £400 to enable them to procure their outfit and passage to India. He would of course be required to furnish proper security to the managing members that the money be not needlessly risked.

It may be considered that making any part of the yearly charges payable by the subscribers, whether the nominee be sent or not, would deter many from joining the undertaking.

This provision will, I apprehend, only be called into play during the first few years of the opening of the school; and once the establishment of scholars is completed might, if so considered advisable, be annulled or modified. But at first, and until the school is filled, this provision is indispensable, as otherwise the expense would fall entirely on those who filled up their nominations.

Should I find these proposals meet the approbation of many members of the services now resident in England, I shall propose that such subscribers, as may find it convenient, form themselves into a committee in London for the immediate carrying out of the project. Meanwhile, I earnestly request the cordial co-operation of every member of the services, and all others who may feel interested in the undertaking.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

C. GUBBINS, Bengal Civil Service.

*Bush Hotel,
Kemp Town, Brighton.
Dec. 17th, 1844.*

Address—Care of Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Cornhill; or—Care of Messrs. Colville, Gilmore, and Co., Calcutta.

ENTERTAINMENTS TO SIR HENRY POTTINGER.

The arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger in this country has been followed by a variety of entertainments given to that right honourable gentleman, as tokens of the satisfaction felt by the commercial community especially at his diplomatic services in China.

On the 11th of December, Sir Henry was entertained at Merchant Taylors' Hall, by the merchants of the city of London trading to China and the East-Indies, in order to testify their high approval of the distinguished ability and zeal displayed by him as British Plenipotentiary, in negotiating so successfully the commercial treaty with China. Covers were laid for 330. Mr. John A. Smith, M.P., officiated as chairman. Immediately on his right hand sat Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., the Marquess of Normanby, and Lord Palmerston, and on the left the Earl of Aberdeen and Sir James Graham.

After the usual preliminary toasts, the *Chairman* gave "the health of their distinguished guest, Sir Henry Pottinger," towards whom they were met to acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude. "We have known so little hitherto of that remarkable people to which the events of this day peculiarly refer," he observed, "that I believe we are as yet unable to acknowledge as we ought all that we owe to the firmness, the patience, the temper, and the forbearance of our distinguished guest. We do not know all the difficulties which beset his path; but we can understand and appreciate the conduct of him who, himself a soldier, knew that the only just end of war was honourable peace, and who in the consciousness of irresistible power found in the weakness and terror of his opponents the most irresistible arguments for mercy, moderation, and forbearance. There is one other circumstance to which I wish to call your attention, and to which I allude with peculiar pleasure. I believe that the interests of England forbid all exclusive selfishness. Her interests do not stand isolated and alone. I rejoice, therefore, that Sir Henry Pottinger, following the dictates of his own vigorous understanding and his own generous nature, extended to all other nations of the world whatever advantages the Chinese treaty conferred upon his own country. I rejoice that if it was ever thought England fought China for selfish and exclusive advantages, our illustrious guest dispelled that illusion and vindicated the motives of England to the world."

Sir Henry Pottinger, in returning thanks, took occasion to say, that the expedition up to Nankin was the most extraordinary event in the history of any country in the world. It surmounted physical difficulties which the Chinese themselves believed utterly impossible. "When the Bogue forts had been silenced at the mouth of the river by the gallantry of our troops, the Governor of Nankin, I know for a fact, wrote to the emperor, saying he might feel quite easy, for the expedition could never reach him. With respect to matters of trade, I believe the treaty includes every thing desirable for England and for China. I am now speaking impartially. Having reflected seriously on it since I returned to England, I really see no point in which any amendment of importance can be made. There are some points no doubt susceptible of amendment, but on all the leading important points it requires no alteration. It is one great advantage, that it is likely to benefit England and China in the same degree. The interests of both countries are, in fact, similarly affected. A very erroneous impression went abroad, through, I believe, some papers at Canton, that there had been some mistake committed in the treaty. That is quite incorrect. It arose from the necessity of my making public an abstract

of the treaty, while the Chinese published the whole, and a translation was made with many important omissions. Having been asked seriously whether there was any ground for the allegation that mistakes had been committed, I am happy to say that there is no cause whatever for the alarm. I feel it right, on this most public occasion, to say that I look upon Hong-Kong still as the best position for British enterprise. Unfortunately, it has been unhealthy; but there is nothing in its appearance or situation that should render it so, and those who would substitute Chusan for it are, in my humble opinion, in error. Chusan is an island containing 60,000 inhabitants, and is situated in the midst of an archipelago, containing at least 1,000,000 inhabitants, which it would at all times be difficult to prevent coming into jealous and angry discussions with this country, whilst our own colony is sufficient for all commercial purposes."

The *Earl of Aberdeen*, in responding to the toast, "the health of her Majesty's Ministers," availed himself of the opportunity publicly to declare the opinions he entertained of the abilities, the character, and the conduct of the distinguished person whom they had that day met to honour. "It has been my duty," said the earl, "frequently to express those sentiments to himself, as it has also been my more pleasing and more important duty repeatedly to convey to him the gracious approbation of his sovereign. I may venture on this occasion to congratulate a noble friend of mine who preceded me in the office I now have the honour to hold, as being the means of obtaining for this country the eminent services of Sir Henry Pottinger as Plenipotentiary in China. I have for three years been in constant correspondence with Sir Henry, and it is no more than truth to declare that I think no mail ever arrived from China without bringing to me fresh reasons to be deeply sensible of his merits, and his just claims to the gratitude of his country. You may readily imagine that, in a country like China, so distant, so different in almost every respect from those of which we have any knowledge, with every desire on the part of the Government at home to assume responsibility, to give every kind of assistance, to provide by instructions for all contingencies, yet very much, under these circumstances, must always depend upon the judgment and discretion of the person who, on the spot, is to administer the instructions he may receive. I believe that there never was a man in whom the Government and the country might more safely repose confidence in such a situation than Sir Henry Pottinger. And permit me to say that, when difficulties arose, as difficulties numerous and weighty did arise, unforeseen and unexpected, by his ability, by his firmness, his perseverance and energy, he was enabled to meet and overcome them all. I will only repeat the great gratification I feel in the opportunity of paying my humble tribute to his transcendent abilities."

Lord Palmerston, on his health being drunk, said:—"My noble friend has congratulated me and my late colleagues upon having been so fortunate as to choose so able a public servant. It was, indeed, a piece of good fortune for us as well as for the country. But I am bound to say, that that choice arose from no private partialities. Sir Henry Pottinger was pointed out to us solely and alone by the distinguished services which in a former part of his career he had rendered to his country. Though it was my duty, from the office I held, to propose the individual who was to go out as Plenipotentiary, I had not at that time the pleasure and advantage even of personal acquaintance with Sir H. Pottinger. He was selected solely from the high character which he then bore, and which subsequent events have not only amply sustained, but raised still higher, in the estimation of his sovereign and the country at large. We have

been congratulated on the advantages which will accrue from the conditions of the treaty, and I must say that it is honourable to England that we shewed as much moderation after victory as we did ability and gallantry during the contest; and that we did not impose heavier terms on the conquered enemy than we had proposed to that power before the contest commenced. When, after a successful war, hard terms are imposed on a vanquished enemy, terms inconsistent with the interests and independence of the country with whom we have been contending,—I maintain that those terms, however they may flatter the vanity and pride of the conquering nation, cannot, in the long run, be advantageous even to the party proposing them. But here we have the satisfaction of knowing that, while we have secured to ourselves advantages of commerce, the extent of which it is difficult for any man to suffer himself to anticipate, we cannot derive those advantages from the treaty without conferring equal benefits on the Chinese themselves. We are, therefore, not only benefiting ourselves, but the means of introducing civilization and commerce to the multitudes who inhabit those vast and distant regions. I shall only again express the satisfaction which I derive from being allowed to be present on an occasion like this, and how proud I feel in being one of this great assembly met here to acknowledge the distinguished services of Sir Henry Pottinger."

Before the dinner, on Sir Henry Pottinger entering the reception-room, Sir G. Larpent, on behalf of the merchants of London trading to the East-Indies and China, presented to him an address signed by seventy-three firms of this city, comprising nearly the whole of the commercial houses of any eminence in town, as a testimony of the distinguished sense they entertain of the ability and zeal shewn by him during the negotiations in China. The address, which eulogized the skill and ability displayed by Sir H. Pottinger in the conduct of the negotiations, which had gained facilities for trade in general in China, concluded thus: "We hope that the same liberality which has been displayed by the Chinese on one side in the arrangements of the tariff, from which we anticipate great advantages to our trade, will, as far as practicable, be imitated in this country with reference to that great staple article of the Chinese market tea." In the course of his reply to this address, Sir Henry observed: "I rejoice that it has been my good fortune to be the humble, though zealous, instrument of removing to a certain extent the barrier which has hitherto excluded China from social and cordial intercourse with the rest of the world, and I will only add, that I see no reason to doubt but that, the first step having been made, it will depend on ourselves and the other nations who may henceforward join in that intercourse to perfect it in due time."

On the 17th December, a grand public entertainment was given to Sir Henry at Liverpool, in the Town Hall, by the leading merchants: Mr. James Lawrence, the mayor, presided, having on his right Sir H. Pottinger, Lord Sandon, Mr. Wilson Patten, M.P., &c.; on his left Lord Stanley, the High Sheriff, Mr. W. Entwistle, M.P., &c. Covers were laid for about 400.

The *Chairman*, in proposing the health of their guest, said: "There are, I am sure, few here who are not feelingly alive to the great importance of the trade with China. Many, to their cost, I fear, have felt the difficulties and prejudices with which that trade was for a long series of years surrounded, and all will hail with gratitude the man who has so greatly contributed to place it on a firm and permanent basis. The benefits of the China trade will not be confined to the British merchant: the manufacturer will feel its powerful stimulus,

and the artisan will derive his full share in its advantages. Its effects will be felt throughout every portion of the empire, and I trust that even that great world of people who hitherto have been so adverse to intercourse with strangers will obtain a full share in the blessings likely to follow from the labours of our distinguished guest. I therefore beg to propose the health of the Right Hon. Sir H. Pottinger, whose sagacious, enlightened, and successful policy, has opened a new world to British enterprise and capital."

Sir Henry Pottinger, in his response to the toast, observed: "When I was graciously selected by her Majesty to discharge the duties of Envoy in China, I went out with a firm determination, not of forcing any unpleasant treaty on the Chinese after the great objects of war were obtained by the prowess of her Majesty's arms, but rather to act as an umpire between the two empires. I found those attached to my mission cordially entered into my views, and I also had the great happiness of meeting with a corresponding congenial feeling in the Imperial Commissioner Key-ling, than whom a more enlightened statesman I believe is not to be found in any country in the world—a man fully alive to all the amenities of life, and particularly distinguished by a high sense of honour and good faith, which dictated his conduct throughout his negotiations with me. I could tell you of such instances of Key-ling's high feeling and noble conduct as would astonish you; and I trust at some future period it may please her Majesty's Government, not merely to do him, but the Chinese people, justice, by making his despatches and letters public. It would astonish not only you, but all the world, to find such sentiments coming from a mandarin, amongst a people who hitherto have been considered shut out from the pale of civilization. One great point in the treaty was to throw the Chinese trade open, as far as rested with me, to all other nations. That, you must be aware, I could not have done without the cordial approbation and sanction of the Chinese authorities; but the moment I explained the subject, the moment I pointed out to the Imperial Commissioner the advantages to be derived by all other nations, and the Chinese themselves, from throwing it open to all, he most cordially assented, and before I left China he entreated me, as representative of England, to act as mediator, in case any unforeseen difficulty should arise between China and any other European power. This is a strong proof of the confidence I won, and I hope I won that confidence not by succumbing in any way to unjust demands made by the Chinese, but by letting them see that there was only one rule for my conduct as an Englishman—that was true faith and true honour. There is one other point on which I may perhaps be allowed to say a very few words, and that is the conduct we ought to pursue towards the Chinese in our maritime intercourse with them. We must remember they have been for 3,000 or 4,000 years, as we are led to believe, totally secluded by themselves; that they do not understand us, and that a mere treaty with them is by no means a ground to expect that they will at once adopt our notions. But I am quite certain, from what I saw of the Chinese character, that if they are kindly treated by the English, and by all the other nations resorting to China, in due time, with God's blessing, they will enter readily and warmly into all those feelings and relations of social and commercial intercourse with us which are so desirable between man and man."

Lord Stanley, in returning acknowledgments for the compliment paid to her Majesty's ministers, said: "There is one point to which the right hon. bart. (Sir H. Pottinger) has peculiarly adverted, though he has modestly abstained from stating the full share he had in it. I allude to that decision to which he came

on his own responsibility (and without instructions), not only not to demand exclusive privileges—for that he was prohibited from doing—but to insert as a stipulation in the treaty that all other nations should alike partake in the commercial advantages which had been gained for this country by the power of the British arms, and by the prudence of British negotiations. I beg to express my great satisfaction at the allusion made by the right hon. gentleman: I mean, the necessity of great caution and great prudence in our dealings with our new allies, lately brought within the pale of civilization—the vast Chinese empire. When I say ‘*people of civilization*,’ I should rather say of European commerce and intercourse; because I believe there is no nation in the world to which, as far as civilization goes, greater injustice has been done than to the great empire of China. Among those subjects which particularly struck the Chinese during the course of our warlike operations against them, and since, in our diplomatic intercourse with them, has been the strict, accurate, liberal fulfilment, in the spirit as well as in the letter, of every engagement into which we have entered. We have heard the Chinese spoken of as a tricky, over-reaching people. That there are such among them, among the inferior dealers, I do not for a moment doubt; but I do disbelieve that such is the general character of the nation. I believe, so far as our later experience has gone, that there is no nation which more highly values public faith in others; and up to the present moment I am bound to say that there never was a government or a nation which more strictly and conscientiously adhered to the literal fulfilment of the engagements into which it had entered.”

Previous to the dinner, an address was presented to Sir Henry from the East-India and China Association of Liverpool, by Mr. C. Turner, the chairman of the association.

On the 20th December, the Town Council and principal merchants of Manchester entertained Sir Henry at a sumptuous festival at the Town Hall, to which 210 gentlemen sat down.

On the dinner tickets (price two guineas each) there was a very neatly executed engraving of the signature of the Chinese treaty, Sir Henry, with his staff, secretaries, &c., being represented within an Oriental pavilion, holding out the treaty, while the Chinese Commissioner, with his guard of honour, approaches to receive it.

Mr. Alexander Kay, the Mayor, presided; on his right sat Sir Henry Pottinger, Major-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B., the General commanding the northern district, Sir George Larpent, Mr. John Wilson Patten, M.P., &c. On the left were Mr. W. Entwistle, M.P., Mr. J. McGregor, of the Board of Trade, Mr. J. Loch, M.P., &c.

The *Chairman*, in introducing the particular toast of the evening, adverted to the extent and populousness of the Chinese empire, and the consequent advantages which the opening of that empire to British enterprise conferred upon their manufacturing districts. “I have heard,” observed the *Chairman*, “an exclamation which proceeded from one of our country manufacturers upon the subject, which I dare say will convey some idea to the minds of gentlemen present of the advantages which we are likely to derive from the extension of our intercourse with China.—‘Why,’ said the worthy manufacturer, ‘all the mills we now have will hardly make yarn to find them with nightcaps and socks.’ Without entertaining any very extravagant notions upon the subject myself, at all wishing to excite any spirit of speculation by any remarks I may make

upon the present occasion, I may state that I have been furnished, by the kindness of my friend, Mr. Macvicar, with a statement of the exports to China during the years 1843 and 1844. From that account I perceive, that in 1843, of plain cotton piece goods there were shipped to China, from the ports of London, Liverpool, and Clyde, 1,148,391 pieces, and in the corresponding period, namely, for the year ending 30th November, 1844, the number of pieces amounted to 2,250,795; making an advance of 1,102,414 pieces. The value of all the articles enumerated in this statement amounted, in 1843, to 1,468,115*l.*, and that of the same descriptions in the year ending 30th November, 1844, amounted to 2,064,093*l.*; shewing an increase in value of the exports of this country to China, in a single year, of 595,978*l.* I am quite persuaded, that, for many years to come, our manufacturers will find, by the state of their balance-sheet every Christmas, they will have to bless the exertions of Sir Henry Pottinger. I am also quite delighted to have to express my conviction upon this occasion, that the successful efforts of Sir Henry Pottinger will have given many a large loaf, and, at the same time, a vast amount of comfort, to the operatives and artisans of this district. I know no other instance besides the present where a treaty of this magnitude has been concluded which has had not merely the approbation of his own countrymen, of every class and grade who have given any attention to the subject, but of all the nations in the world. He has softened down all those rival and hostile feelings upon this occasion which we should all have expected to see rise if he had not introduced that memorable treaty, which I hope will hereafter become known to all time as 'the Pottinger treaty,' which extended the advantages of the trade with China to all those empire and states which had had no previous communication with China."

Sr *Henry Pottinger*, in acknowledging the compliment, said,—"When I was first appointed to go to China, it was, I am proud to say, totally unsolicited. I had been in India from the time I was a boy of thirteen years of age. I came home to England; and I had had very little intercourse with any of the leading men in both or either parties; in fact, I hardly knew any of them personally, when I received an intimation from her Majesty's ministers at the time to the purport that I should go out to China. Although my health was not quite established, I was ready and forward to do any service to my country; and I embarked for China with the full intention of doing all that I could by a full and anxious exertion to carry out the instructions that I had received. Upon my arrival in China, I need hardly tell you things were in a very unpleasant and awkward state; but through the valour of her Majesty's arms, and the distinguished services of her Majesty's navy, they soon came to have a better appearance. And as soon as that sort of persuasion induced the Chinese Government to listen to our terms, I was more than ready to meet them halfway, and to shew that moderation, which I am sure was best worthy of England, and which I am quite certain every person in this room would highly approve of. I met with assistance which I could hardly have promised myself. Some of the gentlemen attached to the former mission were quite competent to give me every information, and they undoubtedly did so. One of them, alas! now no more, was peculiarly a person likely to be of use to me upon the occasion: I speak of Mr. Morrison. The other is a gentleman with whom, I dare say, some of you are acquainted—Mr. Thom, a gentleman from Glasgow. To these two gentlemen, I am glad to have this public opportunity of saying, I was greatly indebted for all the information upon which the tariff and the commercial part of the negotiations were regulated. My own opinion

of the treaty was, that it would take some time, at all events, to mature itself; and there are one or two questions as to what returns China will make to us that are of the most important nature. But if that difficulty can be got over, I trust, as England can equally benefit herself by benefiting China—and it will be in a great measure—I believe I may say that the advantages of the treaty to England, and to all other manufacturing countries, will be almost unlimited. I calculate, from my own personal observation, that the immediate effect of the treaty will be to bring us into direct contact with not less than from 120,000,000 to 150,000,000 of people. I speak of the seaboard; and my own firm belief is, that if we do not go too fast for the Chinese, if we allow them to see we have no object beyond kindness and commercial intercourse, that we have no exclusive feelings, do not look to any thing beyond a mere mercantile settlement in their country, I do believe that in the lapse of a very few years they will be as ready, or perhaps more so, to trade with us as we are with any other country."

Addresses were presented to Sir Henry at Manchester from the council of the borough; from the merchants and manufacturers of the town; and from the operatives in the cotton manufactories, this address bearing 10 138 signatures. The merchants and manufacturers have also entered into a subscription to purchase a piece of plate, or some other suitable testimonial, to be presented to Sir Henry.

East-India Civil and Military Services.

(*From the Indian Mail.*)

ARRIVALS REPORTED IN ENGLAND.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Charles Horne.

Madras Estab.—Mr. James D. Sim.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Lieut. James G. Gautskell, 26th L.I.

Ens. John M. P. Montagu, 26th L.I.

Lieut. Henry M. Williams, 27th N.I.

Lieut. John Kendall, 28th N.I.

Capt. William Mitchell, 32nd N.I.

Lieut. Henry P. Wildig, 34th N.I.

Surg. Henry Bonsfield, 65th N.I.

Ens. John J. Murray, 71st N.I.

Madras Estab.—Capt. Charles B. Lindsay, 3rd L. Cav.

Lieut. Arthur G. Garland, 4th L. Cav.

Lieut. Vicentio C. Taylor, 3rd L.I.

Lieut. Charles C. McCallum, 7th N.I.

Ens. Richard J. Blunt, 25th N.I.

Lieut. Hamilton H. McLeod, 27th N.I.

Capt. James V. Hughes, 39th N.I.

Lieut. George R. Rolston, 47th N.I.

Ens. William Southey, 48th N.I.

Lieut. Francis J. Loughnan, 50th N.I.

Assist. surg. Robert P. Linton.

Assist. surg. Ambrose Blacklock.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. Philip C. N. Amiel, 1st gren. reg. N.I.

Brev. capt. Henry Rudd, 6th L.I.

Lieut. Christopher P. Rigby, 16th N.I.

Capt. Henry Creed, artillery.

Surg. Robert Brown.

Assist. surg. Richard Woonnam, on duty with Sir H. Pottinger.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Lieut. Henry W. Grounds, I.N.

PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR DUTY IN INDIA.

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. Charles Gubbins, by steamer in Jan. next.*Madras Estab.*—Mr. Francis N. Maltby, by Dec. mail steamer.

Mr. Henry Forbes, by steamer which will leave Southampton in Jan. next.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. William J. Turquand, by Dec. mail steamer.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. Edward S. S. Waring, 6th L. Cav., overland, Feb.

Cornet Helenus E. Young, 8th L. Cav., in Jan.

Lieut. Charles F. M. Mundy, 34th N.I.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. Percy T. Snow, 3rd L.I., overland, Feb.

Capt. Robert Younghusband, 19th N.I., overland, Jan., instead of Dec.

Lieut. Cæsar G. Bolton, 21st N.I.

Capt. Claude A. Roberts, 29th N.I., overland, Jan.

Lieut. Matthew Price, 34th L.I., overland, Dec.

Capt. Chas. Woodfall, 47th N.I., overland, Feb.

Capt. J. E. Hughes, 47th N.I., overland, Jan.

Capt. Jas. S. Lang, 48th N.I., overland, Jan.

Vet. surg. Nicholas F. Clarkson, overland.

Bombay Estab.—Capt. Thomas Jackson, 10th N.I., overland.

Lieut. John G. J. Johnston, 10th N.I.

Lieut. Charles F. Kneller, 11th N.I.

Capt. Thomas Maughan, 12th N.I., overland, Jan.

Major Edward P. Lynch, K.L.S., 16th N.I.

Lieut. William Ballingall, 24th N.I.

Second-Lieut. William F. Marriott, engineers, overland, Feb.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Bombay Estab.—Rev. John Stephenson, M.A., overland, Dec.

GRANTED AN EXTENSION OF LEAVE AT HOME

CIVIL.

Bengal Estab.—Mr. William T. Trotter, 6 months.*Madras Estab.*—Mr. John Paternoster, 12 months.*Bombay Estab.*—Mr. John N. Rose, 6 months.

MILITARY.

Bengal Estab.—Capt. James S. Davies, 32nd N.I., 6 months.

Lieut. Francis Drake, 61st N.I., 3 months.

Lieut. Samuel Stallard, artillery, 6 months.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. Henry R. Nuthall, 23rd L.I., 6 months.

Lieut. Leonard M. V. Strachey, 1st N.I., 6 months.

Lieut. col. Thomas G. Newell, 47th N.I., 6 months.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Madras Estab.—Rev. John C. Street, B.A., 6 months.

PERMITTED TO RETIRE FROM THE SERVICE.

MILITARY.

Madras Estab.—Lieut. James G. S. Cadell, 3rd L. Cav., on half-pay.

APPOINTMENTS AT HOME.

MILITARY.

Madras Estab.—Mr. Edward Dawson, appointed a vet. surg.

MARINE.

Bombay Estab.—Mr. Hen. Lamb, appointed a volunteer for I.N.Mr. George Rushton, appointed a volunteer for I.N., and to proceed from Liverpool per *Duke of Wellington*, *via* Bengal.

Mr. John H. Lakes, now on a voyage to Bombay, appointed a volunteer for I.N.

Mr. Hiram Lawless, now at Bombay, appointed a volunteer for I.N.

HOME ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. James P. Thom, a clerk in the examiner's depart. E.I.H., and Mr. William A. Shee, a clerk in the military depart. ditto, allowed to exchange positions in their respective offices.

Debate at the East-India House.

[It is right to state that summaries of these Debates will in future be given, instead of, as heretofore, *verbatim* reports. The reason is this: the *verbatim* reports were required by the Court of Directors, as records, and they paid the expense of reporting them in full; but the Court no longer require them, and the Proprietors of the Journal cannot, of course, be expected to incur so heavy an expense for such an object.]

East-India House, Dec. 18.

A Quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day, pursuant to the Charter, at the Company's house, in Leadenhall-street.

ANNUITY TO MAJ.-GEN. SIR W. NOTT.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The *Chairman* (Mr. J. Shepherd) said, he had the pleasure to acquaint the Court that the resolution which they had passed, on the 18th of September last, for granting an annuity of 1,000*l.* to Maj.-Gen. Sir William Nott, *a.c.s.*, had received the approbation of the Board of Control. That approbation had been communicated in the following letter:—

"India Board, Oct. 1. 1844.

"Sir,—The Commissioners for the affairs of India have much satisfaction in sanctioning the grant of an annuity of 1,000*l.* per annum to Major-General Sir William Nott, *a.c.s.*, as proposed in the resolution of the Court of Directors transmitted in your letter of the 28th ultimo.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"J. C. Melvill, Esq.

"HUGH STARK."

The resolution had been made known to the gallant officer by the secretary, and the Directors had since received from him a letter in acknowledgment. Both those letters would be read.

The clerk then read the following letters:—

"East-India House, Oct. 3, 1844.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the attention of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company having been called by their chairman to your recent arrival in England in bad health, the Court, adverting to the eminent services by which you have distinguished yourself, and sincerely sympathizing with you in the cause of your return to this country, have resolved that, as a special mark of the *sense* which they entertain of the *forenight*, judgment, decision, and courage evinced by you throughout the whole period of your command at Candahar, and during your brilliant and successful march thence by Ghuznee to Cabul, which so greatly contributed to the honour of the British nation and to the maintenance of its reputation, an annuity of 1,000*l.* be granted to you, commencing from the day on which you left India.

"I have the gratification of adding, that the unanimous resolution of the Court of Directors, now communicated to you, has been approved with the same unanimity by the General Court of Proprietors, and that the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India have expressed much satisfaction in confirming the grant by their sanction.

"I have, &c.

"JAMES C. MELVILL, Sec.

"Major-General Sir W. Nott, *a.c.s.*, &c."

"Carmarthen, Oct. 5, 1844.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., communicating to me the gratifying information that the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East-India Company had been pleased to grant me an annuity of 1,000*l.* from the day on which I quitted India, and that the same had been approved by the General Court of Proprietors, which mark of favour had been sanctioned by the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

"I have to beg that you will lay before the chairman, for the information of the Hon. Court, my high sense of gratitude for this handsome mark of their favour.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"James C. Melvill, Esq."

"W. NOTT, Major-General.

The *Chairman* then laid before the Court the account of superannuations granted since the last General Court.

SUPPORT OF THE TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT.

The following motion, which has been postponed by Mr. Poynder from time to time, stood first for discussion:—

"That the despatch of Lord Auckland, of the 17th of November, 1833, by which his Lordship rejected the proposed plan of the Bengal Government, and recommended the annual money payment of 6,000*l.* to the Temple of Juggernaut (to which recommendation the directors assented by their despatch of the 2nd of June, 1840), be considered by the Court of Proprietors, on motion for abrogating such money payment, upon the ground of no original pledge or engagement having ever been given for the same by or on behalf of this Company, as erroneously alleged by Lord Auckland in his despatch."

The *Chairman* said he had received a letter that morning from the hon. proprietor (Mr. Poynder), wherein he expressed his regret that he was unable from indisposition to attend the court, and that he was, therefore, desirous of postponing his motion. He (the *Chairman*), however, was happy to state to the Court that the necessary documents, to which he could not then refer, having been received from India, the Court of Directors had taken the subject into their consideration; and, although he was not in a position at present to lay before the Court the despatch which they had come to the determination of sending out to India, yet he felt himself justified in informing the Court that their decision was such as would, he hoped, complete the severance of the management of the temples from the government of India altogether. (*Hear! hear!*)

Mr. *Strachan* expressed his satisfaction at the statement of the hon. *Chairman*, and complimented the Court of Directors for the course they had pursued.

TREATMENT OF THE KING OF DELHI.

Mr. G. *Thompson* then rose to call the attention of the Court to the treatment which his Majesty the King of Delhi had received from the Governments of India and Great Britain, and to the claims which his illustrious family had upon the justice and gratitude of the East-India Company. He wished to discuss the subject in the most calm and temperate manner. All he asked for at the hands of the Court was good faith, a scrupulous observance of treaties, and the fulfilment of those engagements into which the Company or their servants in India had voluntarily entered. His Majesty alleged:—"Firstly, that the British Government has hitherto granted to him and his predecessors only a portion of the allowance which, forty years ago, was solemnly guaranteed for

the maintenance in affluence, dignity, and honourable repose of the King and Royal family of Delhi; and that, in consequence, the faith of the British Government has been broken, and the Sovereigns of Delhi and the Royal household subjected to mortification, inconvenience, and suffering. Secondly, that the British Government (in addition to departing from its own voluntary, deliberate, and public engagement, to supply the means necessary for the support of the King and Royal family in a manner corresponding to their rank and dignity) has, without just cause, deprived his Majesty of the privileges and prerogatives which have from time immemorial been exercised by the Kings of Delhi, and the continued and perpetual enjoyment of which, together with a nominal sovereignty, was expressly promised at the time that the Emperor Shah Allum placed himself under British protection." The King of Delhi was one of a long line of Sovereigns, who for upwards of three hundred years had sat upon the throne of Hindostan, and for one hundred and fifty years the success and prosperity, not to say the existence, of the East-India Company in India was owing to the favour, and patronage, and protection, given to their servants by the Emperors of Delhi successively. To that power the Company was indebted for their dominion in the first instance over a country as large as the whole of France; and by it they were, in fact, established as rulers of great part of their empire. The total amount received by the King from the British Government, monthly, is 1,00,280 rupees. The King's allowance out of this, including the amount paid in lieu of nuzzurs at festivals, and the addition by Lord Minto in 1809, is 79,300 rupees. The rest is allotted to other members of the royal family. His Majesty can exercise no kingly prerogative beyond the circle of his own household, and is prohibited from receiving any token of sovereignty from any one under the control of the East-India Company, or from any other person not in the immediate service of his Majesty. In these circumstances, the King deems himself aggrieved, both in regard to the amount of money given for the support of himself and the royal family, and the annihilation of his privileges as a Sovereign. The hon. proprietor then detailed the occurrences which led the King of Delhi to place himself under the protection of the British, and read the terms of the (alleged) treaty with Lord Lake, of 1803, viz. :—

"Art. 1. All the mehals (districts) situate on the right bank of the river Jumna, and the north-west of the Mowza Khaboolpoor, are fixed as the crown lands of his Majesty.

"2. The collection of the revenues of the aforesaid mehals (shall continue as heretofore) under the direction of the British resident at the court of Delhi.

"3. The mootsuddies, or officers of the royal treasury, shall attend at the kutchary, or office of the collector of revenues, of the said crown lands, and keep an account of the in-comings and out-goings of the said crown lands, in order that satisfaction and tranquillity may be afforded to his Majesty.

"4. The sum of ten thousand rupees (as nuzzurs) shall be presented by the British resident to his Majesty at each of the seven great annual festivals.

"5. Two cazees and a mooftie shall be appointed from among the most learned of the inhabitants of Delhi for the administration of justice.

"6. In every instance where the punishment of death is awarded by the criminal courts of Delhi, previous to such punishment being carried into effect, it shall be submitted to his Majesty for sanction or otherwise.

"7. Coin struck in his Majesty's name shall be current in the city of Delhi, and in the crown lands of his Majesty.

"8. Should there be an increase in the collections from the above mehals (districts), in consequence of extended cultivation and the improved condition of the ryots (cultivators), an augmentation to that amount will take place in the king's peshkush (tribute).

"9. The resident will present 10,000 rupees on the occasion of each of the seven festivals held annually, viz., two Eeds, the anniversary of the accession, the Now Roze (new year's-day), the Holy Rumzan, the Hooly, and Bussunt.

"10. The jagheers (estates) of the heir-apparent and Mirzah Aizedbukhsh, situated in the Doab, shall be made over to the officers of the Honourable Company.

"The expense of the troops, police corps, &c., employed in the Khalsah (or crown lands), shall be defrayed by the Honourable Company."

The hon. Proprietor read the following extract, amongst others, from the Wellesley Despatches:—"Notwithstanding his Majesty's total deprivation of real power, dominion, and authority, almost every state and every class of people in India continue to acknowledge his nominal sovereignty. The current coin of every established state is struck in the name of Shah Allum. Princes and persons of the highest rank and family still bear the titles and display the insignia of rank which they or their ancestors derived from the throne of Delhi, under the acknowledged authority of Shah Allum, and his Majesty is still considered to be the only legitimate fountain of similar honours. The pride of the numerous class of Mussulmans in India is gratified by a recognition of the nominal authority of the illustrious representative of the house of Timour over territories which once constituted the extensive and powerful empire of the Mogul, and the Mussulmans are still disposed to acknowledge the legitimacy of pretensions or demands ostensibly proceeding from the authority of the imperial mandate. Under these circumstances, the person and authority of his Majesty Shah Allum might form a dangerous instrument in the hands of any state possessing sufficient power, energy, and judgment to employ it, in prosecuting views of aggrandizement and ambition. The Mogul had never been an important or dangerous instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas, but the augmentation of M. Perron's influence and power, and the growth of a French interest in Hindostan, had given a new aspect to the position of the Mogul, and that unfortunate prince might have become a powerful aid to the cause of France in India under the direction of French agents." Previously to the decisive battle of Delhi, on the 11th of September, 1803, Lord Wellesley had addressed a letter to the king, inviting him, should the opportunity occur, to place himself under the protection of the British Government, assuring him of the attachment of that Government to his royal house, and that adequate provision should be made for the support of himself, his family, and his household. His Majesty, in a letter of the 5th October, 1803, addressed to Lord Wellesley, after congratulating him on the success of Lord Lake, claimed the fulfilment of the pledge contained in his lordship's letter; and on the 2nd of December, 1803, an *ikrah-namah*, or written agreement, was submitted by Lord Lake to the king.

The *Chairman*.—When was it delivered?

Mr. Thompson said the treaty was stated to have been submitted, but he could not say when it was delivered. However, if any question arose upon that, he would dismiss that document altogether, as there was sufficient

foundation without it for the claim of his Majesty. It was quite clear that certain lands were to be assigned to the King of Delhi, in order to enable him to keep up a proper dignity, and that it was the intention of the Governor-General that he should have an ample allowance for that purpose. The amount of thirty lacs of rupees, which was proposed by the Marquess Wellesley, was not the maximum of the proposed grant, on the contrary, it was evident, from his lordship's despatches, that he intended to go further, if, on subsequent inquiries, the exigencies of the case rendered it necessary. Part of the lands then proposed to be assigned to the King of Delhi was now yielding an excess of thirty-five lacs a year. On the 16th of November, 1804, in a document entitled, "Notes of Proposed Instructions to Sir D. Ochterlony," the deep solicitude which the Marquess Wellesley felt with respect to the king was strongly expressed; and he then again spoke of the provision that was to be assigned to him for his support. He said: "It is not, however, the intention of the Governor-General to fix the amount without further information which may enable his Excellency to judge of the exigencies of the royal household, and of the extent of the additional resources which the British Government has acquired in the Doab and in Hindostan, by the cessions of the peace with Dowlut Rao Scindiah." In the fourteenth paragraph the Governor-General expressly says, that the income arising both from the assigned territories and the money payments from the British treasury is to be "exclusively at the disposal of his Majesty." In a subsequent part on the despatch it was stated, that the Governor-General did not deem it advisable to enter into any written agreement with the King of Delhi. (*Hear!*)

The *Chairman*.—What then became of the *ikrar-namah* of which you spoke?

Mr *Thompson*.—There was no actual treaty entered into by both parties. All he had said was, that it was signed by one party, and submitted to the other for approbation. The party so submitting it of course being willing to abide by it, provided the other party consented, and which, therefore, gave it, as far as the party proposing it was concerned, all the effect of an agreement. There was a promise binding on the part of the British Government; for on the 23rd of May, 1805, Sir D. Ochterlony received the final determination of the Council on the subject of the King of Delhi, and in consequence of it a certain treaty was delivered by him to the king on the 23rd day of June, 1805. The hon. proprietor then entered into a lengthened statement to shew that that treaty had not been faithfully adhered to on the part of the British Government. He adverted to the degradation to which the King of Delhi was subjected by the directions given by Lord Ellenborough, that the custom of presenting "*nuzzers*" to his Majesty should be discontinued. The king was consequently deprived of those privileges which his family had ever enjoyed. He also wished to know whether there was any foundation for the rumour which had reached the King of Delhi, that after his decease no accession to the throne would take place without the sanction of the Supreme Government. The hon. proprietor, in conclusion, said, that, after looking to the many favours which the King of Delhi had bestowed upon the East-India Company—the assurances that had been given by Lord Lake—the present condition of the royal family of Delhi—a family that had shewn as little hostility to British power as any royal family with which the East-India Company had ever had anything to do—and, looking at the professions which had been made by the Court of Directors of their desire at all times to promote the welfare of the

native princes of India, as far as was consistent with the safety of their own government, he trusted that the Court of Proprietors would come to the conclusion, that the whole question ought to be taken into consideration by the Court of Directors. He moved for the production of certain despatches and papers with reference to the case of the King of Delhi.

The *Chairman* said, the hon. proprietor had gone into this subject at great length, and he was sorry to be compelled to state that, in doing so, he had so highly coloured his narrative as to compel him (the *Chairman*) to reply to his statement at much greater length than he would otherwise have done, and, in doing so, to make some statements which he feared would, by some persons, be considered as ungenerous towards a fallen family; but he hoped it would go forth to the world that those statements had not been voluntarily made by him, but had been extorted from him by the speech of the hon. proprietor, whom the King of Delhi had thought proper to select as his agent. (*Hear ! hear !*) That gentleman had stated that the East-India Company owed a debt of gratitude to the former Kings of Delhi. He would not deny that the Company had been deeply indebted to them, but he would say that the disgraceful conduct of Shah Allum was such as to cancel, in a great degree, those obligations. He had joined the Mahrattas in a conspiracy against the British Government in India, and abetted the designs of the French and other enemies of Great Britain, a fact which the hon. proprietor had attempted to gloss over. It was true that such conduct on his part had reduced him and his family to that degree of privation and distress which was described in the despatches of the Marquess Wellesley; and when he was so reduced, he expressed his anxiety to place himself and his family under the protection of the British Government, and he was, in fact, as anxious to obtain that protection as the Government were ready and willing to afford it. (*Hear ! hear !*) In fact, the advantages were mutual. With reference to the settlement which the Marquess Wellesley proposed to make for the future provision of the King of Delhi and his family, the whole question hinged upon the construction of the letter of the noble marquess in reference to that subject. But the Court would be surprised to hear, that the document, which the hon. proprietor had called an *ikrah-namah*, was nowhere to be found on the records of the Court, or in those of the Supreme Government of India; and there could be no doubt that no such document had ever been finally recognized, for the Marquess Wellesley had especially directed, in his despatch of the 23rd May, 1805, that no written agreement should be entered into with the King of Delhi, and notwithstanding that declaration the hon. proprietor (Mr. Thompson) persisted in stating that the British Government had entered into a treaty with him. He (the *Chairman*) would admit that some memorandum on the subject might have been made by one party, but he denied that it could be considered as a treaty, or ought to be so considered. With regard to the alleged assignment of land, it was quite clear that that assignment was merely nominal; but the greater part of such land had already been alienated. He would assure the proprietors that the Court of Directors were most anxious at all times to make all available provision for the native princes of India (*Hear ! hear !*); and as a proof that they had done so in the case of Shah Allum, he would state that when that monarch died, he had accumulated between five and six lacs of rupees, which shewed that the Government had not acted niggardly in the allowance they had made to him. But his son had not trod in the footsteps of his

father. He had been proved to have been engaged in intrigues against the East-India Company, and they consequently refused to continue the payment of his stipend. The hon. Chairman next referred to the letter of Lord Minto, who had on all occasions shewn an extreme anxiety to do justice to the King of Delhi and his family, and read a passage from it in proof that the assignment of lands that had been alluded to was a nominal assignment only. It was the desire of the Directors to do every thing that was just and proper, for the purpose of insuring the comfort and becoming support of every native prince of India, and that if ever the Court of Directors had come into collision with the authorities in this country, it was in defending the rights and privileges of the natives of India. (*Hear! hear!*) With reference to a rumour as to the intended proceedings of the British Government, with reference to muzzers, in respect to the present King of Delhi, he had to state that the Court of Directors did not approve of the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, which had given rise to that rumour, and that they had long since written to his lordship to that effect. The Chairman contended that there had been no breach of faith with the King of Delhi on the part of the British Government in India; and he therefore hoped the proprietors would leave the whole subject in their hands, more particularly as they had recently forwarded a despatch to India, which they confidently expected would give satisfaction to the King of Delhi and his family.

Mr. Sullivan said, he could hardly find words to express the astonishment which he felt at what had just fallen from his hon. friend, the Chairman; for a more ingenious piece of casuistry was never devised. The gnath of special pleading sat with an ill grace upon his shoulders. This Delhi case was a perfect novelty to him; he had never thought of it, or considered it, or heard it, but from the lips of the hon. proprietor. A more able, and temperate, and lucid statement of a case, he (Mr. Sullivan) never heard, or one that was more completely supported by authority; and having listened with attention to the answer (the best defence he supposed that could be made), he declared, that if he was upon his oath at this moment, as a jurymen, as an arbitrator, or as a judge in equity, he would cast the Company in full damages; that is, he would sentence them to pay the whole proceeds of the assigned lands, with the arrears. Nay, he would go further; he would insist upon their making compensation for the lands which had been—he must not say, fraudulently, but—improperly alienated from the Moghul. What was the Chairman's answer to the hon. proprietor's case? He says, that the *ikrah namah*, or agreement, given by Lord Lake to Shah Allum is not upon the Company's records; that they have no knowledge of it. What is that to the purpose? the question was, is such a document in existence? did Lord Lake, the representative of the Governor-General, and armed with plenary power from him, give such a document to the Emperor? If the present Emperor can produce this agreement, and prove that it was so given to his grandfather, what will the Chairman say? Was it the fault of Shah Allum that this document was not upon record? But his hon. friend laid great stress upon the declaration of Lord Wellesley—that he did not intend to enter into a written agreement with Shah Allum, and says, how preposterous it is, in the face of this declaration, to rest the Emperor's case upon written agreements! His hon. friend had, however, overlooked the fact, that the letter, to which this declaration was made, is dated November, 1801, and that there is upon record an agreement signed by Colonel Ochterlony,

the then Resident, and Mr. Colebrooke, and dated in July, 1805. This agreement, or pledge, was founded upon the instructions contained in the noble Lord's letter of November, 1804. Did his hon. friend deny the authenticity of this letter? If he did, he (Mr. Sullivan) would then ask him upon what authority he is now paying a stipend to the Emperor? Has the Emperor a right to that stipend, or is it a spontaneous act of beneficence on the part of the Company? "If he tells me," continued Mr. Sullivan, "as he must, that it is of right, then my answer is, that the right is founded upon this very agreement, and that if he is bound to pay him the small sum, he is bound also to pay him the larger one. The merits of this case are to be looked for in the mind of Lord Wellesley, and his mind is fully developed in his despatches. He tells us distinctly, that he contemplated an expenditure of at least thirty lacs of rupees for the support of the Imperial family, and he assigned lands, the value of which was not exactly known, as a fund for this purpose, giving him, in the interim, a stipend limited then by the exigencies of the Company's finances, but with a promise that it should increase, as the revenue from the assigned lands increased. How is it possible to set aside this pledge? If solemn engagements are to be brushed away after this fashion, who in India can be secure of any thing that he has? The Court will remember that, upon a former occasion, I quoted the very words from the Duke of Wellington's despatches, with which the hon. proprietor commenced his speech. I believe, with the illustrious Duke, that our empire in India rests mainly upon our observance of strict good faith; and that every breach of faith tends to shake that empire. In my judgment, a gross breach of faith has been committed in this case of the Moghul, which I cannot sanction with my vote."

Mr. *Thompson* having replied,

The *Chairman* put the question, which was negatived by a very considerable majority, only four hands being held up in favour of it.

The Court then adjourned.

College Examinations.

EAST-INDIA COLLEGE, HAILESBURY.

On Friday, the 13th December, being the day appointed for closing the Term, a deputation from the Court of Directors of the East-India Company made their visitation, for the purpose of distributing the usual medals and prizes to those students who had been successful competitors in the various branches of Oriental, classical, and European literature. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen:—John Shepherd, Esq., Chairman; Sir H. Willock, Bart., Deputy-Chairman; H. St. George Tucker, Esq.; H. Shunk, Esq.; Major Oliphant; and John C. Whiteman, Esq.

There were also present,—Maj.-Gen. Sir J. L. Lushington, G.C.B.; Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.; T. N. Waterfield, Esq.; A. Easton, Esq.; Rev. C. W. Le Bas; Rev. J. Howlett; Rev. S. Burnell; Rev. Dr. Hessey; Capt. Berford; Maj. Willock; Richard Strachan, Esq.; Capt. Probyn; John Abercrombie, Esq.; Maj. Chase; Maj. Wilkinson; W. Dent, Esq.; Capt. Eastwick; J. M. Daniell, Esq.; C. J. Abbott, Esq.; Robert Low, Esq.; Rev. W. Collett; J. H. Glover, Esq.; — Simson, Esq.; — Hulse, Esq.; J. H. Smith, Esq.

The following civilians at home were also present:—W. W. Bird, Esq.,

late Deputy-Governor of Bengal; H. Borradaile, Esq.; J. R. Colvin, Esq.; R. K. Dick, Esq.; G. Gough, Esq.; Charles Gubbins, Esq.; Charles Horne, Esq.; and Mosley Smith, Esq.

The deputation, on arriving, proceeded to the Principal's lodge, and from thence to the Council-room, where the Report of the Principal was presented to them. The report, which was more than usually gratifying, stated, that the conduct of the students during the term had been excellent, and that the majority had obtained great proficiency in their various studies. The deputation and the professors then proceeded to the hall, where the students had already assembled, and, on the chair having been taken by J. Shepherd, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Hooper read the following statement of the prizes and distinctions obtained by the students during the term:—

*Medals, Prizes, and other honourable distinctions of Students leaving College,
December, 1844.*

Highly distinguished.

Mr. Collett, with medal in mathematics, medal in law, prize in Sanscrit, and medal in Teloo goo. Mr. Glover, with essay prize, prize in classics, prize in Persian, and prize in Hindustani. Mr. Ballard, with medal in political economy. Mr. Belli, with essay prize, and medal in classics. Messrs. Heywood, Master, Campbell, Cunliffe, Grant, Hudleston, and Madocks.

Passed with great credit.—Mr. Toogood.

*Prizes and other honourable distinctions of Students remaining in College,
December, 1844.*

THIRD TERM.

Highly distinguished.

Mt. Ainslie, with prize in mathematics, prize in Persian, prize in Sanscrit, and prize in Hindustani. Mr. Harrison, with prize in Teloo goo. Mr. Tucker, with prize in law. Mr. Shaw, with prize in political economy. Mr. Denison, with prize in classics. Messrs. Rogers, L. Reid, Sandeman, Nesbitt, Foster, and Hammond.

Passed with great credit.

Mr. Russell, Lord W. Hay, Messrs. Lushington, Best, Henderson, and Ogilvie.

SECOND TERM.

Highly distinguished.

Mr. Simson, with prize in mathematics, and prize in law. Mr. H. S. Reid, with prize in classics. Mr. P. S. Melvill, with prize in Sanscrit and prize in Persian. Mr. Couper, with prize in political economy. Messrs. Pepper, Inverarity, and Paxton.

Passed with great credit.

Messrs. Pauncefote, Mayne, M. Ricketts, Jackson, and Thompson.

FIRST TERM.

Highly distinguished.

Mr. Temple, with prize in classics, and prize in English composition. Mr. Pratt, with prize in English composition. Mr. Gibbs, with prize in Sanscrit. Mr. Thornhill.

Passed with great credit.

Messrs. Abercrombie and Keene.

Rank of Students finally quitting College, December, 1844.

Bengal.

First Class.—Mr. Glover, Mr. Belli, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Heywood.

Second Class.—Mr. Toogood and Mr. Madocks. *Third Class.*—Mr. Drummond and Mr. Longmore.

Bombay.

First Class.—Mr. Grant.

Madras.

First Class.—Mr. Collett, Mr. Ballard, Mr. Master, Mr. Hudleston, and Mr. Cunliffe.

Mr. Glover read his Prize Essay "on the Causes of the Decline of the Ottoman Empire." The essay, which was written in a free and forcible style, entered with considerable minuteness into the nature and tendency of the policy which had distinguished the Ottoman rule,—a tyrannic policy, which the Essayist contended could only be successfully carried out by a vigorous and warlike chief. While ruled by monarchs of this character, the empire flourished; but when the rulers became weak, or peaceful in their character, the empire of necessity sunk into decay, wanting the spirit which alone could give it life and power. Mr. Glover was applauded on concluding the Essay.

Mr. Collett then read the "Vision of Meerza," from the *Spectator*, translated by himself into Telooگوو,—giving the original and the translation, in alternate paragraphs. At the conclusion, Mr. Collett was applauded.

The Chairman then distributed the prizes awarded to the successful students, and afterwards addressed them in the following terms :—

"Gentlemen Students,—I have much pleasure in congratulating you, and the reverend and learned principal, dean, and professors of this College, upon the favourable report which has been presented to my honourable colleagues and myself, in reference not only to your general conduct, but to the great progress which has been made in your respective studies. I am happy to say that many of you have highly distinguished yourselves, and that the great majority of you have passed your terms with credit. I need not tell you that these results are highly gratifying to the Court of Directors, and that it affords me sincere pleasure, as their chairman, to convey their meed of praise and approbation. But, gentlemen, the Court of Directors and your individual friends are not the only parties thus interested; every friend of India must regard with interest the success of this College. In it is involved, in no small degree, the success and efficiency of our government of India. The culture of the moral and intellectual qualities of those who are destined to take so prominent and responsible a part in the administration of the government of that country, must be considered an object of the greatest importance, and cannot fail to be a matter of deep interest, not alone to the governing powers at home, but to every intelligent Englishman who has ever read a chapter of our Indian history. And let us think for a moment of what vital and paramount importance it is to the millions of our fellow-subjects in the East. When I reflect that I am addressing those upon whose judgment hereafter,—upon whose knowledge, wisdom, and integrity,—the happiness and peace of thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-men may depend, I feel constrained to call upon you all in the most solemn manner, to reflect, frequently and seriously, upon the heavy responsibility that will be attached to your future position. I cannot doubt but the reflection will stimulate you all to unremitting exertion in the acquirement of the valuable instruction which is afforded you at this college. I cannot imagine for a moment that there is a student present who is so indifferent to the good of the service, and so blind to his own interest, as not to *desire*, at least,

to qualify himself for the efficient discharge of those duties connected with the public service, which he may be called upon to perform. I beseech you to remember, that the two years which you pass at this college are the most important and valuable of your life. Believe me, the success of your career in India is much more involved in your present proceedings than your buoyant spirits will permit you to understand; for, if there is one truth which experience inculcates more forcibly than another, it is this, that youth is the period when the character of the future man is generally, if not always, formed. The groundwork of your knowledge, and the germ of your future character, is formed at college. The education which you here acquire has an influence over your future life; and habits for good or evil, of industry or indolence, gain power, and, most probably, permanent and predominant power, during your residence here. The seeds of honour or dishonour, of morality or vice, may be planted here; and should, unhappily, those of a noxious character take root, as well may we expect to gather grapes of thorns as to expect eminence or distinguished merit in the man whose youth has been spent in idleness or vice. Think of the disadvantages and humiliating light in which you will appear in India, when called, perhaps, to an office where weighty responsibilities and more than ordinary acquirements are required, if your mind remains uncultivated, your judgment weak, and your knowledge and acquirements probably below those of the persons with whom you may be called upon to act. Remember that the natives of India are making rapid strides in education. How will you feel, if you find yourselves inferior in talent or information to any of them? I speak in the presence of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Bird), who has lately returned from India, and who, greatly to his honour and credit, devoted much of his attention to the extension of education among the natives. I feel assured he will agree with me, when I tell you that they are rapidly progressing, and already, in some instances, rivalling their European brethren in talent and acquirements. When the day of trial comes, should you be found wanting, I can imagine the feelings of humiliation and the bitter regret, when too late, when you think of the time that was wasted at college, and the advice neglected. Be persuaded, therefore, to avail yourselves of the great advantages and facilities afforded you here. For your own sakes, therefore, as well as for that of the East-India Company, I entreat you to persevere in the wise and prudent course which I hope the great majority of you have pursued during the last term. I would earnestly endeavour to convince you, that the civil service of India is peculiarly a service, where alone the industrious, the talented, and the upright can succeed in securing any degree of eminence, or any station of great responsibility. No influence or interest can secure to the indolent man either honour or profit, and no favoritism or partiality will prevent the promotion of industry and talent. There is another point on which I wish to undeceive any of you who may have fallen into error. I know that some young civilians are apt to conceive, when they hear so much of the important nature of the duties they will have to perform, that a degree of importance is thereby conveyed to them personally and individually. But I can assure you that this is a mistaken notion. The designation of civilian, or station or office held, will convey no importance to the individual unless he be qualified to discharge the duties in such a manner as shall command the respect and deference of others. As public servants in India, you will find that you will be estimated in proportion to your public merits. In England, wealth and station sometimes meet with

deference, without much reference to the merits of the individual; but in India, and particularly in the public service, a man is appreciated according to his worth, talents, efficiency, and general character. And now, gentlemen, I would address those of you specially who have finished your studies, and who will be, in some shape, employed in active service in India. I must remind you, that, before you can be employed, or placed on the strength of the service, you will have to perfect yourselves in two of the native languages; and it is very important that you should give all diligence to effect this object as speedily as possible. It is the first start in your Indian career, and you may imagine that the eyes of the superior authorities will be anxiously upon you. You know how apt we all are to imbibe our opinions of character from first impressions, and therefore I will leave you to judge of the nature of the opinions that will be formed of the man who qualifies for the public service in three months, and of him who takes six or eight times that period. The services of the one will be eagerly sought after, while those of the other will be lightly esteemed, and justly so; and he will be lingering on, till some insignificant place turns up suitable to his habits of sluggishness, and his incapacity, if such a place can be found. I hope that there are none such here; but I tell you candidly that, if I find any of your names on the lists of students at the Presidency, more than six or eight months after your arrival there, I shall have little hope of any good or valuable service from you afterwards. When you leave the Presidency for an employment in the public service, I would beg of you to bear permanently in your minds, that the strength and security of the East India Company's Government rests upon the attachment of the people to our rule, and that our administration is conducted on the principles of justice and moderation. The gentleman (Mr. Glover) who has just addressed an essay to us, on the 'Causes of the Decline of the Ottoman Empire,' has adverted to the principles upon which that empire has been conducted. Do not believe that our government in India rests upon such grounds. Our object is to conciliate the attachment of the great body of the people, by kind and generous treatment,—by a strict adherence to honour and good faith,—by exhibiting to them examples of a strict adherence to truth and justice,—and by exercising towards them a tender forbearance in all matters relating to their peculiar prejudices, their habits, and their religion. It will be your duty to endeavour by your conduct to convince them that, not only do we desire to give security to their lives and property, but that the object nearest our hearts is to promote their *real* prosperity and happiness; to shew them that our administration of justice is not only rational and wise, but pure, mild, and beneficent; and that, although we are compelled, from the necessities of the State, to levy a revenue, it is exacted with moderation and impartiality. All these objects will be matter for your daily and hourly consideration, and I need not tell you, how much will depend upon yourselves, as the active and intelligent agents for attaining them, and how much will depend upon the mode and judgment exercised by you in administering them. We see constantly the most happy success attending the administration of the same regulations under one officer, whilst we have occasionally failure and disappointment under another. It must not, therefore, be considered too easy a task; it will require, on your part, great patience and attention, prudence and circumspection, and, above all, kindly feeling towards the people. What will be the most valuable, will be the most consistent, honourable, and virtuous example. I have often thought that if European Christians would only act up to the principles of their religion, in

India, the force of their example would be more successful in dispelling ignorance and superstition, than the promulgation of the purest precepts, however eloquently enforced. Divine providence has transferred the sceptre of India from Mohammedan and Hindoo princes to Christian rulers; but, until these Christian rulers, and their servants, act up to the principles of the religion they profess, the reformation of the people of India must continue to be retarded and prolonged. What a mighty responsibility do we then as a nation incur; and more particularly you and others who proceed to govern, and exhibit an example in India! India has given us great wealth, great power, and great rank and station among the nations of the earth; and are we not bound, in return, to endeavour to raise the people of India in the scale of nations? You, gentlemen, will have much in your power in this respect, should it please God to spare you; and I trust you will so conduct yourselves, under his blessing, that you will be enabled to render hereafter, at a higher tribunal, a good account of the employment of your talents and opportunities. The Court of Directors desire me to return their very grateful thanks to the Rev. the Principal and Professors of this College, for the manner in which they have conducted it. I believe that all of them are actuated by a desire for the good of India; and I hope that you, gentlemen, on your return, will willingly and earnestly co-operate with them in promoting the great object which we have in view."

The next Term will commence on Monday, the 20th of January, 1845. The students must return to the college on Thursday, the 23rd of January, at the very latest, on pain of forfeiting the Term.

The half-yearly examination of candidates for admission into the college next Term, will be held at the East-India House on Thursday, the 16th of January, and two following days.

The Examiners appointed by the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India are, the Rev. Thomas Dale, M.A.; the Rev. Robert Eden, M.A.; and the Rev. William Stone, M.A.

FAST-INDIA COMPANY'S MILITARY SEMINARY, ADDISCOMBE.

The half-yearly public examination of the Gentlemen Cadets of the first class took place at the East-India Company's Military Seminary, on the 9th December, in the presence of the Chairman, John Shepherd, Esq.; the Deputy Chairman, Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S.; several members of the Direction, and the following visitors, viz.—*General* Sir W. H. Clinton (G.C.B.); *Lieut.-General* Lord Bloomfield; *Major-Generals* Sir Geo. Whitmore (K.C.H.), the Right Hon. Sir H. Pottinger (Bart., G.C.B.), Hogg, and Sir James Sutherland; *Lieut.-Colonels* Sir F. Smith (R.E.), Hay (E.I.C.'s Depôt), Dundas (R.A.), W. N. Burnes, Moore (Bombay Est.), Everest, Straton (Madras Cav.), John Smith (Madras Cav.), and Abdy (Madras Inv.); *Majors* Sandham (R.E.), Wilkinson, Willock, Hyslop, Delamain, and McLeod; *Captains* Whitmore (R.E.), Williams (R.E.), Pulliser (R.A.), De Butte (Madras Eng.), Reynolds (Madras Est.), Barford (H.M.S.), Renny, and Eastwick; *Lieutenant* Macleod (Bombay Eng.); *Ensign* Lawford; *Engineer Cadets* Dyas and Fraser; *Baron* Andlaw; *Doctor* Sayer; *Rev. Messrs.* Parish, G. Coles, H. Lindley, and Giffard; Sir Francis Head; Sir William Magnay, Bart.; *Esquires*: J. E. Tennent (M.P.), W. W. Bird, Robert Lowe, W. Eade, B. S. Jones, James Shaw, C. Roberts, W. F. A. Delane, and — Francis.

Thirty-two Cadets were brought forward, from whom the following ten were selected for Engineers, viz.—C. D. Newmarch, F. C. Grindall, J. Crofton, W. W. H. Greathed, J. Jones, F. J. Moberly, C. T. Boddam, J. T. Walker, J. Bean, and F. T. Haig. Fourteen for the Artillery, viz.—E. W. E. Walker, W. A. Mylne, F. Conybeare, C. Dempster, D. J. Kinloch, J. H. Hebbert, T. H. Bosworth, C. H. Cookes, H. B. Sandford, J. A. R. Mead, J. F. Raper, A. H. Heath, J. Thompson, and W. D. Couchman. Eight for the Infantry, viz.—J. P. Bennett, C. J. Steuart, W. E. Marshall, E. C. Oakes, J. H. Hanmer, F. C. Angelo, C. Clark, and A. Giffard.

The following is the order in which the prizes were distributed :—

First Class.—C. D. Newmarch, 2nd Fortification, French, 1st Good Conduct. (On presenting the sword, the Chairman addressed Mr. Newmarch as follows :—“ In presenting you with this sword, as a special mark of the approbation of the Court of Directors, and as a reward for your exemplary conduct whilst at this institution, I must congratulate you and your friends on this early proof of your distinguished merit. I have no doubt that you will cherish the remembrance of this day with feelings of self-approbation, and with a continued desire of pressing forward in the honourable career on which you have entered. This sword will remind you that you have already a high character to sustain. May you be enabled, by the blessing of God, to sustain it, and do honour to the distinguished service you are about to join, and to this Institution.) F. J. Moberly, 2nd Mathematical, Latin ; F. C. Grindall, 1st Fortification, Military Drawing, Civil Drawing, 2nd Hindustani ; C. T. Boddam, Military Surveying, 1st Hindustani, 2nd Good Conduct ; J. T. Walker, 1st Mathematical.

Second Class.—A. Cowper, Mathematical, Fortification, 3rd Good Conduct ; A. Cadell, Military Surveying, Hindustani ; C. D. Innes, Civil Drawing ; J. Hathorn, Latin ; P. D. Horne, French ; W. R. H. J. Howell, Military Drawing.

Third Class.—G. Chapman, 4th Good Conduct.

MATHEMATICS.—The examination in Mathematics was pronounced considerably better than it has been for many years. The Cadets throughout the class have made greater progress,—are better grounded,—than is usually the case ; and eight or ten of those at the head have gone far beyond what is customary during their short residence at Addiscombe. The proficiency in mathematical study required as a test for the engineers, comprises the course laid down by Dr. Hutton, as far as the resistance of fluids, inclusive ; and spherical trigonometry, and its application to the most useful cases of astronomy.

FORTIFICATION AND ARTILLERY DEPARTMENT.—In addition to the ordinary examination in the principles and details of these sciences, and the exhibition of a system of well-executed plans, sections, and elevations, the following models, executed during the latter weeks of this Term, were shewn and explained in the great sand modelling hall :—

1st. A range of fortified heights on a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a foot, overlooking a river, and commanding a bridge covered by a field crown-work ; the three principal redoubts on the hills being respectively 180, 172, and 152 feet above the river, having lunettes, &c. on the lower features of the hills. The whole position, modelled, embraces a space of about 700 yards by 600, requiring 22 pieces of artillery and about 3,000 men to man and defend the works, and was constructed by the Gentlemen Cadets of the third class.

Gentleman Cadet Francis Moberly explained the nature and defensive properties of these works; and Gentleman Cadet Grindall shewed, both on the model and on a boldly executed sketch (taking in a greater quantity of ground than the model exhibits), the best mode of attacking these formidable works.

2nd. Two fronts of Dufour's proposed system of fortification, on a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a foot; executed by Cadets Mylne, Dempster, Conybeare, Angelo, Couchman, and Mead, and explained by Cadets Dempster and Mylne.

3rd. An elevated battery for three guns, on a scale of 2 inches to a foot; the gabions, fascines, and platforms, being all made to scale. This battery was executed by Cadets Bean, Kinloch, Steuart, and Thompson, and explained by Cadet Bean.

4th. A specimen of Major Jebb's double direct sap; scale 2 inches to a foot; the gabions, fascines, sap-tollers, and sand-bags, being all made by this scale. This sap was made by Gentlemen Cadets F. Moberly, Conybeare, Marshall, and Hebbert, and explained by Cadet Conybeare.

5th. A sunken battery for two mortars; scale 2 inches to a foot. Executed by Cadets James Walker, Bosworth, Sandford, Raper, and Heath, and explained by Cadet James Walker.

6th. A field fort defiladed, from commanding ground; scale $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a foot. Executed by Gentlemen Cadets Edward Walker, Bennet, Cooke, Oakes, and Hanmer, and explained by Cadet Edward Walker.

In the redoubt, near the north gate.

In the constructions of all these sand models, the Cadets were ably assisted by Corporals Daniel and Cook, of the E. I. Co.'s Artillery, and also by Corporal Wright and Gunner Whyte.

Wooden Models.

1st. Model of the fort of Nowa, near Nandair, captured in 1817; on a scale of 15 feet to an inch. Executed and explained by Gentleman Cadet Newmarch.

2nd. Model of Carnot's system; scale 25 yards to an inch. Executed and explained by Gentleman Cadet Newmarch.

3rd. Model of the German casemated system; scale 35 feet to an inch. Executed and explained by Gentleman Cadet Crofton.

4th. Chassaloup de Laubat's Tenaille, as executed at Alessandria; scale 15 yards to an inch. By Gentlemen Cadet Crofton.

5th. A coast battery; scale 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet to an inch. Executed and explained by Gentleman Cadet Greathed.

6th. Major-General Pasley's rectangular field powder magazine; scale 1 foot to an inch. Executed and explained by Gentleman Cadet Boddam.

MILITARY DRAWINGS.—*First Class.*—Mr. Grindall (prize), Guarda, the ground beautifully expressed in chalk; Mr. Boddam, and Mr. Angelo, Guarda, in shade; Mr. Crofton, and Mr. Jones, Corunna; Mr. James Walker, Roliça; Mr. Newmarch, Roliça, also the subject ably lithographed on stone; Mr. Bean, Guarda, in shade; Mr. F. Moberly, Torres Vedras; Mr. Greathed, Fuentes d'Onore; Mr. Hebbert, Redinha; Mr. Dempster, Tarragone; Mr. Haig, and Mr. Thompson, Mequinenza, drawn with pen and ink; Mr. Edward Walker, Roliça; Mr. Kinloch, Cordeixa; Mr. Conybeare, Redinha; Mr. Steuart, Peniscola; Mr. Mylne, part of the celebrated Lines (Sobral); Mr. Mead, and Mr. Marshall, sketches and skilful drawings from a small model of St. Helena; Mr. Couchman, St. Sebastian.

Second Class.—Mr. Howell (prize), Mequinenza, masterly and powerfully

done with pen and ink; Mr. Hailes, Bayonne, in shade, and beautifully expressed; Mr. Urquhart, Battle of St. Marcial; Mr. Innes, Fuentes d'Onore; Mr. Mark, Condeixa, and another drawing of Roliça; Mr. Cadell, Mondego Bay, coast plan from Lisbon; Mr. Cooper, Cape of Good Hope; Mr. Donovan, Mafra, part of the celebrated Lines; Mr. Le Marchand, battle of Vimeiro; Mr. A. Moberly, Santarem; Mr. Henegan, Part of Portugal; Mr. Bradford, Santarem; Mr. Bishop, ground in Portugal; Mr. Anderson, Condeixa; Mr. G. Campbell, Roliça; Mr. Clark, passage of the Ceira; Mr. Macintyre, Busaco; Mr. Hanmer, Gwalior; Mr. Robertson, battle of Belchite; Mr. De Bude, Bombal; Mr. Godby, battle of Sagonte.

Many Gentlemen Cadets of the junior classes were able to shew great progress in drawings in pencil, pen and ink, and shade; many from models of ground.

LANDSCAPE DRAWING.—The drawings in this department shewn at the present examination are highly creditable to the Gentlemen Cadets, especially the large drawings done by Cadets F. Grindall, C. T. Boddam, C. D. Newmarch, J. Jones, and F. Angelo, which are remarkable specimens of truth in colouring and *chiaro-scuro* not often produced by students of their standing. Other large drawings, by Cadets F. Haig, I. Bean, W. H. Greathed, and W. Marshall, are worthy of every commendation we can give. We must also include three smaller drawings, by Cadets C. Crofton, J. Raper, and D. Kinloch, all belonging to the first class. The first prize was awarded to Cadet F. Grindall.

Many gentlemen of the second class exhibited drawings of great merit, finished with much care and attention in those points which are essentially necessary to the formation of a good style. Among the best we noticed those of Cadets C. Innes, F. Urquhart, A. Cowper, A. Cadell, J. Howell, J. Ruggles, &c. Cadet C. Innes received the prize in this class. The drawings on stone by Cadets F. Angelo, C. Hailes, C. T. Boddam, C. Dempster, C. Le Marchand, A. Cadell, C. Innes, and P. D. Horne, are very clever specimens in this useful department of engraving.

HINDUSTANI.—A considerable time has elapsed since we had occasion to remark on the greater progress made by the Cadets in the attainment of this wide-spread language. Our intercourse with India has increased so rapidly as to permit few people interested in the matter to remain in ignorance of the regulations now carrying into effect by the Government of India, that no officer shall obtain a staff appointment, or even receive charge of his company, until he shall have undergone a certain test in the Hindustani tongue. In consequence, a degree of application is obtained from the Cadets, formerly known but seldom, which is necessarily followed by a marked improvement in this branch of study. Impressed with a deep sense of the wisdom manifested in the course adopted by the Government of India, we felt much pleasure on hearing that the Gentlemen Cadets now leaving the College had laboured with extraordinary diligence throughout the Term; and it appears from the examinations conducted by the Oriental visitor, Professor H. H. Wilson, that their success was great in proportion. Every Gentleman Cadet in the class read and translated in the Naguri and Persian character; and, while they were under his own eye, each performed the more trying task of making a written translation from English into Hindustani in a highly creditable manner. We understand that the Oriental visitor testified his satisfaction throughout; but the quantity of work done, and the grasp of the language acquired, by Gentlemen Cadets Boddam, Grindall, Jones, Greathed, Crofton, Haig, Edward Walker, Mylne,

Moberly, and James Walker, in particular, were very conspicuous. This, together with their attainments in other studies, affords just grounds for anticipating that these gentlemen will become, hereafter, distinguished members of the noble profession in which they are about to enter. Many other gentlemen are also entitled to praise; and we cannot quit this subject without observing that Mr. Boddam, who obtained the first prize, exhibited a familiarity with the language and a mastery over its construction deserving of the highest commendation. Mr. Grindall received the next prize, and was only second to Mr. Boddam.

Mr. Clarke, of the Cadet Department, next read the official reports.

The Chairman then addressed the Cadets as follows :—

"Gentlemen Cadets,—It is very gratifying to me, and to the deputy-chairman and my colleagues, to be enabled on this occasion to express to you our unqualified approbation. The report which has been read, emanating from the lieutenant-governor, shews that your general conduct has been highly creditable to you; and that from the public examiner is, I am happy to say, no less satisfactory. An unusually large number of you have qualified yourselves in the more scientific branches of study required for the engineers and artillery. Such results, creditable as they must always be to yourselves and to this institution, are particularly gratifying to me after the remarks I had occasion to make to you the last time I addressed you. Those of you who are appointed to the engineers, will, as you are aware, go to complete your studies under Sir Frederick Smith, at Chatham. I trust it is not necessary for me to remind you of the importance of availing yourselves of the advantages which will be afforded you there in the different branches of a scientific education. On the last occasion when I addressed you, I endeavoured to impress on you the importance and advantage of a sound military and scientific education; that without it you would find it difficult to perform your duties as commissioned officers in the Indian army, and that without some degree of proficiency it would be in vain for you to look forward to high honours or preferment. I assured you, also, at the same time, and I beg to repeat that assurance, that the best recommendation and passport you can have to preferment will be your own character as gentlemen, and as officers of distinguished talent and unblemished reputation. I remember, also, that on that occasion, by way of stimulus, I alluded to the fact that many distinguished officers of the Indian army had gained high honour and reputation. I am on this occasion peculiarly happy to have an opportunity of calling your attention to the brilliant reputation of a distinguished officer now present, who has lately returned from the East, who commenced his career only a few years ago as a cadet of the Indian army; who, by his superior talent and energy, by his devoted zeal and attention to his duties, has performed services that are important and most valuable, not only to the East-India Company, but also to his Sovereign and his country. We feel much indebted to that right hon. and gallant officer, Sir Henry Pottinger, for his presence among us on this occasion; and we have also to express our thanks to the distinguished party who have honoured us with their company. I am sure that the presence of such men will make your young hearts burn to emulate them in their career; and I do hope that some among you will strive, and strive successfully, to attain to similar honour and reputation. You are aware of the anxiety of the Court of Directors to promote the efficiency of this Institution. That feeling is not confined to this country; it has extended to India itself. I am delighted to observe, by the last accounts from that country, that Addiscombe has attracted the attention of our friends

in the metropolis of India; that at a public meeting held there, to do honour to Sir George Pollock, it was resolved that a fund should be established for an annual prize and medal, to be called the 'Pollock Prize,' to be given to the most distinguished cadet of this Institution. I congratulate you on this most laudable and distinguished mark of favour on the part of the people of India. It shews that our friends in India, natives as well as Europeans, take an interest in this Institution; that they look to it for a race of successors to those gallant officers whose names are inscribed imperishably on the history of India—of Clive, Close, Munro, Malcolm, &c., and, in later days, of Nott, Pollock, and Pottinger. Gentlemen, I wish to say a few words to those of you who have finished your studies and are about to proceed to India. Let me impress on you the necessity of at all times exhibiting a prompt and an implicit obedience to your superior officers. To learn to command, you must first learn to obey. This is the first duty of an officer. Example is better than precept, and you cannot expect obedience from your men if you are not ready to pay it to your superior officers. Another point I would impress on you is the necessity of a careful and economical attention to your expenses. Your pay and allowances are enough for necessities, but not for extravagancies. Nothing is so likely to be fatal to the prospects of a young man in India as to get involved in debt; it cannot fail to paralyze his best exertions. On arriving in India, your first object must be to learn the native language. Until you can converse with those under your command, it is impossible that you can be efficiently at the head of sepoy troops. You cannot know their wishes and their wants; you cannot let them discover that you feel that your own honour and theirs are united. Till the officer can identify his own interests with those of the sepoy, he must always command at a great disadvantage in India. I am glad to see that so many of you have distinguished yourselves in the acquirement of the Hindustani language. Now let me request you not to disregard my recommendations because I am not a military man; I am but echoing the opinion of all the distinguished officers around me, whether military or civil. Let me urge on you also to study the character of the sepoy; he is quite capable of cherishing a grateful feeling of attachment to those who treat him well. As a proof of it, I need only mention to you an anecdote told me by that gallant and distinguished general, Sir Robert Sale. He informed me that the native troops under him at Jellalabad had devoted themselves as much to the service, and were as anxious for the honour of the army, as her Majesty's gallant 13th regiment. He told me, also,—which shewed that they were quite able to reciprocate feelings of kindness and devotion to the British troops,—that when provisions were falling short in the garrison of Jellalabad, they wanted to give up their rations of animal food to their European brethren, who, they said, were less able to bear the privation in that climate than they were. Can any thing shew more clearly what noble materials you have to work upon? I am sure I need say no more in order to induce you to treat the native sepoy not only with consideration, but with kindness and generosity. I hope that you will, in your intercourse with them, be guided by the pure and sacred principles of religion; that you will remember, also, that a kind and generous action never loses its reward; and that you will always bear in mind that the officer who acts honourably, kindly, and justly, carries with him what is always the best reward—a self-approving conscience. Gentlemen, it now only remains for me to thank the public examiner and the officers of this Institution in the name of the Court of Directors, and, wishing you every happiness and prosperity, to bid you farewell."

QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM, FOR THE QUARTER ENDING 1st OCTOBER, 1844.

Report on the Examination of the Students of the College of Fort William, in Persian, Oordoo, Hindee, and Bengallee, held on the 1st August, 1844.

PERSIAN.

First Class.—Christian, date of admission into College, 15th July, 1844, initiatory examination.

Second Class.—Guthrie, date of admission into College, 10th January, 1844, not passed in any language; Davies, ditto, 19th April, 1844, ditto; Galloway, ditto, 19th April, 1844, ditto; Christian, ditto, 15th July, 1844, initiatory examination in Persian, Oordoo, and Sanskrit; Hobhouse, ditto, 26th July, 1844, ditto; Spankie, ditto, 5th July, 1844, ditto; and Watson, ditto, 15th July, 1844, absent on medical certificate.

OORDOO.

Young, date of admission into College, 27th January, 1844, passed his third language, having passed in Persian 1st April, 1844, and in Bengallee 1st July, 1844.

HINDEE.

First Class.—Bowring, date of admission into College, 26th January, 1844, passed his third language, having passed in Persian 1st March, 1844, and in Bengallee 1st May, 1844, recommended for a medal of merit in Hindee.

Second Class.—Ellis, date of admission into College, 4th December, 1843, passed in Persian 1st July, 1844; and Sapte, ditto, 27th September, 1843, absent, sick—passed in Persian 1st March, 1844.

BENGALLEE.

First Class.—Mactier, date of admission into College, 17th June, 1843, re-admitted 27th June, 1844, passed—qualified in two languages, having passed in Persian 1st November, 1843; and Buckland, ditto, 19th April, 1844, passed—qualified in two languages, having passed in Persian 1st June, 1844.

Second Class.—Beaufort, date of admission into College, 25th March, 1843, re-admitted 30th December, 1843, passed in Persian 1st April, 1844.

Third Class.—Jackson, date of admission into College, 28th July, 1843, re-admitted 15th June, 1844, passed in Persian 18th May, 1844; and Nelson, ditto, 5th February, 1844, passed in Persian 1st July, 1844.

Fourth Class.—Tucker, date of admission into College, 18th October, 1843, passed in Persian 1st May, 1844; and Money, ditto, 11th August, 1843, ditto.

Report on the Examination of the Students of the College of Fort William, in Persian, Hindee, and Bengallee, held on the 2nd September, 1844.

PERSIAN.

First Class.—Christian, date of admission into College, 15th July, 1844, passed—has to pass in a second language.

Second Class.—Davies, date of admission into College, 19th April, 1844, not passed in any language; Guthrie, ditto, 10th January, 1844, ditto; and Galloway, ditto, 19th April, 1844, ditto.

Third Class.—Hobhouse, date of admission into College, 26th July, 1844, not passed in any language; Spankie, ditto, 5th July, 1844, ditto; and Watson, ditto, ditto, initiatory examination in Persian, Oordoo, and Sanskrit.

HINDEE.

Sapte, date of admission into College, 23rd September, 1843, passed—qualified in two languages, having passed in Persian 1st March, 1844; Ellis, date

of admission into College, 4th December, 1843, absent, sick—passed in Persian 1st July, 1844; Bowring, date of admission into College, 26th January, 1844, studying for honours, not examined—passed in Persian 1st March, in Bengallee 1st May, in which he gained also a certificate of high proficiency 1st July, and in Hindec 1st August, 1844.

BENGALLEE.

First Class.—Beaufort, date of admission into College, 25th March, 1843, re-admitted 30th December, 1843, passed—qualified in two languages, having passed in Persian 1st April, 1844.

Second Class.—Jackson, date of admission into College, 28th July, 1843, re-admitted 15th June, 1844, passed in Persian 18th May, 1844; and Nelson, ditto, 15th February, 1844, passed in Persian 1st July, 1844.

Third Class.—Tucker, date of admission into College, 18th October, 1843, passed in Persian 1st May, 1844; Buckland, ditto, 19th April, 1844, examined for certificate of high proficiency, and entitled to that distinction and a reward of Rs. 800—passed in Persian 1st June, and in Bengallee 1st August, 1844; Young, ditto, 27th January, 1844, studying for honours, not examined—passed in Persian 1st April, Bengallee 1st July, and in Oordoo 1st August, 1844; and Money, ditto, 11th August, 1843, absent on sick leave—passed in Persian 1st May, 1844.

Report on the Examination of the Students of the College of Fort William, in Persian, Hindec, and Bengallee, held on the 1st October, 1844.

PERSIAN.

First Class.—Watson, date of admission into College, 15th July, 1844, not passed in any language; and Davies, ditto, 19th April, 1844, ditto.

Second Class.—Spankie, date of admission into College, 15th July, 1844, not passed in any language; Guthrie, ditto, 10th January, 1844, ditto; Hobhouse, ditto, 26th July, 1844, ditto; Galloway, ditto, 19th April, 1844, absent, sick—not passed in any language; Sandeman, ditto, 23rd September, 1844, initiatory examination in Persian, Oordoo, and Sanskrit; Wedderburn, ditto, 20th September, 1844, ditto; Ogilvie, ditto, 3rd September, 1844, ditto; Scott, ditto, 3rd September, 1844, ditto; Thornton, ditto, 13th September, 1844, ditto; and Lance, ditto, 23rd September, 1844, ditto.

HINDEC.

Ellis, date of admission into College, 4th December, 1843, passed in Persian 1st July, 1844; and Bowring, ditto, 26th January, 1844, examined for a certificate of high proficiency—passed in Persian 1st March, in Bengallee 1st May, in which he gained also a certificate of high proficiency 1st July; passed in Hindec 1st August, 1844.

BENGALLEE.

First Class.—Jackson, date of admission into College, 28th July, 1843, re-admitted 15th June, 1844, passed—qualified in two languages, having passed in Persian 18th May, 1844.

Second Class.—Nelson, date of admission into College, 5th February, 1844, passed in Persian 1st July, 1844.

Third Class.—Christian, date of admission into College, 15th July, 1844, passed in Persian 2nd September, 1844; Money, ditto, 11th August, 1843, passed in Persian 1st May, 1844; Tucker, ditto, 18th October, 1843, passed in Persian 1st May, 1844; and Young, ditto, 27th January, 1844, examined for a certificate of high proficiency, and entitled to that distinction and a reward of Rs. 800—passed in Persian 1st April, 1844, Bengallee 1st July, 1844, and in Oordoo 1st August, 1844.

G. T. MARSHALL, Sec. College.

Chronicle.

At the Court at Windsor, the 29th of November, the Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., was, by her Majesty's command, sworn of her Majesty's most hon. Privy Council, and took his place at the Board accordingly.

Her Majesty has made the following appointments:—Francis Farrant, Esq., to be secretary to her Majesty's Legation at the Court of Persia; R. Y. Cummins, Esq., to be accountant to the Surveyor-General's Department for the island of Mauritius; William Dudley Ryder, Esq., to be assistant-secretary for the island of Ceylon.

The Queen has granted (Dec. 9) to Charles William Bell, M.D., physician to her Majesty's mission in Persia, her royal license and permission, that he may accept and wear the insignia of the Royal Persian Order of the Lion and Sun, of the second class, which the Shah of Persia has conferred upon him.

An address having been presented by the inhabitants of Forest Row to Lord Ellenborough, congratulating him upon the success of his late Indian administration, and his return to this country, his lordship replied us follows:—"Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for the very kind congratulations you have offered to me on my return to England, and to my friends here; and more especially I thank you for the good wishes which, with such impressive seriousness, you have expressed for my future welfare. Undoubtedly great changes took place in our position in India while I administered the government. I found disaster, and I left victory. I found war, and I left universal peace, from which has already resulted a great extension of our commerce with the East, necessarily bringing with it some improvement in the general condition of the people. But not to me should be ascribed the merit of these happy events. First, I hope I may be forgiven if, in the spirit of this world, I express the deep and endearing affection and gratitude I must ever entertain towards the brave officers and soldiers, and seamen, through whose enthusiastic devotion so many victories were achieved; but I know you feel as I do, that, above all, my gratitude is due to that protecting Providence, which so blessed with uninterrupted and decisive success every measure of my administration. I trust I shall ever continue to feel, as I do now, deeply sensible of its goodness in making me the humble instrument of so many benefits, not to this country alone, but to a large portion of mankind. Again I cordially thank you, gentlemen, for your kindness in so welcoming me home. I am happy, certainly, in returning to my native country; but I confess to you that I have left in India many dear friends and grateful affections, especially towards the army, which can only terminate with my life."

At the annual meeting of the proprietors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, the report mentioned the contract with the Government for the extension of the mail service to and from India. The financial arrangements for carrying out this service have been already made by the directors, and the proprietors have paid the first instalment of 5*l.* per share on the 4,000 new shares of 50*l.* each. The report states, that the directors have entered into contracts for four new ships of 1,300 tons each, and one vessel of 700 tons, which are to be ready for sea next year. It is expected that the new monthly line of communication to Calcutta, Madras, and Ceylon will be in operation from January, and the communication to China will be opened as soon as the vessels now building for the service are placed upon that line. The negotia-

tions for the purchase of the new steam-ship *Precursor* terminated in that vessel becoming the property of the Company for the sum of 45,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* contingent upon a mail contract being obtained, her original cost being about 80,000*l.* An additional sum of 8,000*l.* has been expended to increase the accommodation of the vessel. In the event of the Pasha of Egypt taking into his hands the traffic across the Desert, the directors state their belief that the Company's vessels on the line will be purchased by the Egyptian government. Several complaints were made, in the course of the meeting, of the inconveniences which attend the transit, and which furnish so many arguments for the establishment of a railway to Suez; but the chairman (Sir J. Campbell) explained, that as the Company were only chartered for purposes of navigation, they could take no steps for the amelioration of the land passage.

The East-India Association of Glasgow have memorialized the First Lord of the Treasury on the subject of the present duties on tea and sugar. They state "their firm conviction that, unless by reduction of duty, and consequent increase of consumption, Great Britain can take from China a larger quantity of tea, the treaty lately made, and its accompanying liberal tariff, will be comparatively inoperative;" and they urge the minister "materially to reduce the duty on tea and sugar, and make good any deficiency which may therefrom arise to the revenue, by continuing so much of the property and income-tax, and for so long a period as may be necessary."

Orders have been sent out by the last overland mail to India, for the appointment of an additional captain to each regiment of infantry. The Governor-General had authority to this effect when he was appointed; but in the event of his not having done so, he has been directed to carry it into immediate operation.

The following notice has just been issued by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University:—

"Sidney College-lodge, Dec. 17.

"The sum of 1,000*l.* having been accepted by the University for the purpose of instituting a prize, to be called 'Sir Peregrine Maitland's Prize,' for an English essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel, through missionary exertion, in India and other parts of the heathen world, the prize to be given once in every three years, and to consist of the accruing interests of the principal sum during the preceding three years, the Vice-Chancellor gives notice that the subject for the first prize is—'The necessity for Christian education to elevate the native character in India.' Candidates for the prize must be, at the time when the subject is given out, bachelors of arts, under the standing of M.A., or students in civil law or medicine of not less than four, or more than seven years' standing, not being graduates in either faculty, who shall be required, before they are admitted to become candidates, to produce from their respective professors certificates that they have performed the exercise necessary for the degree of bachelor of law or medicine. The exercises must be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor before the division of the Easter Term, 1845, each bearing some motto, and accompanied by a sealed paper, bearing the same motto, and inclosing the name of the candidate, and that of his college. The first prize will be 100*l.*, and the examiners for this occasion are the Vice-Chancellor, the Norrisian professor of divinity, and the Rev. W. Keeling, of St. John's College."

A bronze statue of Sir E. Barnes, for the island of Ceylon, has been for some

considerable time in progress at the studio of Mr. Weekes, of Pimlico, by whom a *post mortem* cast of his face was taken.

With reference to the appropriation of Indian military appointments, during a period of seven years, 128 direct cadetships have been given to the sons of officers of the Company's army, of and below the rank of captain and surgeon; 143 to the sons of those of the ranks of major, lieutenant colonel, and superintending surgeon; 77 to the sons of full colonels and major-generals; total, 318. During the same period, 380 cadetships have been given to the sons of officers of the Queen's army and navy; 205 ditto to those of clergymen, including Indian chaplains.

An exhibition of Coolie excitement had taken place at Castries, St. Lucia, in consequence of the flogging of a native child, aged thirteen, in the public street, for the crime of perjury; but the riot was speedily repressed, though, it would seem, not before stern justice mitigated to a certain extent the sentence first intended to be carried out.

A royal ordinance has been promulgated in France, modifying and reducing the import duties on certain articles the produce of India, the Spice Islands, &c., brought in French bottoms. The immediate and obvious object of these reductions is to encourage French vessels to successfully compete with the merchant navies of other countries in the trade referred to, but more especially with that of Great Britain. In recommending those modifications to the king, the minister of commerce, in his report, says that "The principal portion of them have for their object to encourage, by means of a reduction in the import duties, French vessels to proceed to India and other countries situate out of Europe, for cargoes of certain voluminous or bulky articles, destined to be wrought in our manufactories, such as India reeds, bamboo, mother-of-pearl, and tin ore, which are imported from Hindostan and the islands of Sunda," &c.

A letter from Alexandria, dated November 6th, says: "Many surmises are made as to what steps will be taken by the Peninsular and Oriental Company with regard to the refusal of Mehemet Ali to allow their steamers to ply any longer on the Nile. The general opinion is, that they will have to remove their steamers, and leave the transit through Egypt entirely in the hands of the Pasha. The viceroy, having caused an examination to be made of the accounts of the Transit Company, appears to have been disappointed at finding the profits so small. It seems that his highness intends to dismiss the principal English directors at present in the concern, and place the management of it entirely in the hands of the Turks. Mr. Bourne has done nothing as yet with regard to the arrangements with Mehemet Ali for the transit of the India mails through Egypt, and it is not unlikely that this gentleman will have to return to England without effecting any thing."

The *Union des Provinces* announces the departure from Lyons of M. Epale, Bishop of Sion, and Vicar Apostolical of Western Oceania—with him eight missionaries and several brothers of the Christian doctrine. His diocese comprises New Guinea, the Carolinas, the Archipelago of Solomon, and all the islands situate under the equator.

The *Univers* announces that the American Methodist missionaries in Mesopotamia, disgusted with a mission in which they had lost three of their members, without making a single convert, had at last determined to quit the country. "But," adds that journal, "the Consul of England at Mosul, who owes his office to the services which he had previously rendered them, is not a man so easily to abandon the cause of Protestantism. He was born a Chal-

dean and a Catholic, and feels for his new religion the ardour of a neophyte. He has consequently resolved to replace the Methodists by the Episcopalians, thinking that the Anglican hierarchy and worship would better suit the taste of a people who is still weak enough to hold to forms. Father Valerga, who was dangerously wounded in the sedition excited against the Catholics of Mosul, had recovered, but his arm was still extremely weak. The Pasha of Mosul, after receiving a new firman, forwarded by the French Ambassador at Constantinople, had waited on M. Botta, the Consul of France, accompanied by all the officers of his staff. The Catholic missionaries were present at that visit. An appropriate apology was made, and full reparation promised."

"Our last advices from Jerusalem," says the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, "mention that the Synagogue of that city, whose members are known for their deep aversion to every innovation, and to progress in general, have pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all the Israelites who should participate, either as collectors or donors, in the subscription now open in Europe for the purpose of encouraging agriculture among the Jews of Asia, and establishing at Jerusalem, for the indigent of those same Jews, an extensive hospital and schools for adults and children of both sexes. Among the persons visited with this anathema are the heads of the different branches of the firm of Rothschild, who have subscribed 100,000*fr.* towards that charitable undertaking."

Accounts from Aden state the arrival there on the 1st of November of the Oriental and Peninsular Steam Company's vessel *Hindustan*, having 130 passengers on board, amongst whom were his Royal Highness Waldemar, Prince of Prussia, and suite. Dr. Malcolmson accompanied him in a tour of the heights, and an inspection of such objects as are interesting to the stranger and traveller. His highness expressed himself much gratified and surprised at the natural strength and importance of the place as a military position. His highness also visited the Turkish wall, or advanced post, and was highly pleased with the appearance of the troops stationed there. His highness has gone on a shooting excursion to Ceylon and India. After a short stay at Ceylon, he intends to visit Madras and Calcutta; also to make the tour of the Hinmaleh Mountains. His highness returns to Egypt *via* Aden. After visiting the Pyramids and other objects in Upper and Lower Egypt, he proceeds to Jerusalem; and after having seen the Holy Land, he will return, *via* Trieste, to Berlin.

The *Ausburg Gazette* contains an account of the progress of M. Botta's excavations at Khorsabad, near Mosul. "There are at present 160 workmen engaged thereon, and besides the walls, which are covered with sculptures and inscriptions, many antiquities of a peculiar and at present inexplicable nature are met with. Under the large bricks, of which the floor consists, are stone repositories, which are filled with small clay enamelled figures of men and beasts, without any thing on the surface indicating the existence of such repositories, or there being any thing within them to explain their contents. In another place they discovered great rows of earthen vases, of a remarkable size, placed on a brick floor, and filled with human bones, and similar to those which have been found at Babylon, Ahwaz, and other places in South Persia. The palace seems to have been totally plundered before its destruction, for neither jewels, nor instruments, nor even the small cylinders so numerous in the neighbourhood, are anywhere found; merely some bronze images of beasts (for instance, a very fine lion) have been discovered, as also a part of the bronze wheel of a war chariot. But the most incomprehensible circumstance is, that the alabaster slabs with

which the walls are cased, and which are covered with inscriptions and sculptures, bear on the back, likewise, inscriptions in arrow-headed characters, and certainly not in the Assyrian, but in the Babylonian language. Some of the bas-reliefs are especially remarkable; for instance, one representing the siege of a town situate on an island; the sea is covered with ships, the fore part of which form a horse's head, and which are occupied in bringing the trunks of trees for the purpose of erecting a dam. The water is covered with all kinds of marine animals—fishes, crabs, and winged sea-horses."

In the case of *Jusseer Bhase and Others, Sons of Gulla Bhase, Appellants, and Vuruj Bhase and Others, Respondents*," before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, November 29th, Lord Langdale, in delivering judgment, said, it appearing to the council that certain documents in the cause had never been properly brought under the consideration of the Court below, and that therefore that Court had not had the means of forming a correct judgment, the council, for this reason, were of opinion that the case should be referred back to the Court below, with directions to take into their consideration such allegations as were contained in the petition of the appellants. It appeared that evidence tending to shew that there had been no partition of the estate of the grandfather had been withheld from the Court at Bombay, by an officer of the East-India Company (Mr. Grant), on the ground, that the 5th regulation of the code of 1827 of Bombay (which makes the period of thirty years' adverse possession a bar to the recovery of inheritable property) was a bar to the reception of evidence relating to the estate of which adverse possession had been had for more than thirty years.

Before the same tribunal, on the 13th December, in the case of *Chawdry Deby Persad and Another v. Chawdry Dawlut Sing*," an appeal from Bengal Mr. Baron Parke delivered their lordships' judgment. The question was, whether the sum of Rs. 25,000, the consideration of a deed, which recited its receipt, had been actually paid to respondent or not. No doubt the recital in the deed was evidence of the receipt, so far as it went; by no means so strong, however, as it would be by English law; and its force was neutralized by the other circumstances in the case. The native judges, who, of course, were the best authorities on Hindoo laws and usages, declared, in their judgments, that such recitals were made as matter of course in similar cases, whether or not the money had actually been received. Moreover, the statement of the appellant—that the money had been paid at the time of the deed being executed—was contradicted by other circumstances, and the *onus* being on the appellant, the absence of direct evidence of the payment of such a large sum (which must have occupied a considerable time), and the absence of a written receipt, rendered it necessary to affirm the decrees of the Courts below, with costs.

In the Rolls Court, December 2nd, the cause of *Whicker v. Hume and Others*," for the administration of the estate of the late Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist, came on upon petition and on motion. He died at Paris, and by his will, dated the 8th of December, 1840, bequeathed four annuities, one of 600*l.* a year to his wife, and three others of 50*l.* each. Questions had arisen respecting the domicil of the testator, on which there were proceedings in the Scotch Courts, and also upon the validity of a bequest in his codicil of the residue of the surplus of his estate, "for the benefit, advancement, and propagation of education and learning in every part of the world, as far as circumstances

would permit." The main object of the present proceedings was for the Court to order a sale of the testator's estate at Sydney, in New South Wales, in order that his widow, whose annuity was greatly in arrear, and who had the first claim, might be paid. The executors prayed for the sale, and the heir-at-law opposed the sale, as, under the present distressed circumstances of the colony, it was impossible to sell for any thing like the value. Lord Langdale said, the application was extraordinary, but he had no doubt of the jurisdiction of the Court if the circumstances made a sale proper; but he did not think the circumstances such as to induce the Court to grant the order as asked. It had better stand over for a while.

In the Court of Queen's Bench, December 10th, in the case of "*Macdonald v. Carr*," which was an action against the captain of the ship *Marquess of Hastings*, the plaintiff, a lady named Macdonald, had taken a passage for herself, her child, and servant, from Calcutta to London, for which she had paid 200*l.*, in consideration of which the defendant promised that there should be an adequate supply of wholesome and proper provisions on board, and that the vessel would carry an experienced surgeon; whereas the ship did not proceed with a surgeon, and the supply of provisions was bad in quality and insufficient in amount, whereby the plaintiff was obliged to go on shore at the Cape of Good Hope and proceed to England by another vessel, for which she incurred an increased expenditure of about 90*l.* The defendant pleaded that he did not make the promise; that the vessel did sail with an experienced surgeon; that the plaintiff had dispensed with the performance of the promise, and that the store of provisions was adequate and good. With respect to the engagement to carry an experienced surgeon upon the voyage, it was shewn to have been contained in the advertisements published in the newspapers at Calcutta. It was shewn, upon the other hand, that the defendant had engaged a Dr. Gerard to perform the voyage; that he became ill after they had left their moorings, and was obliged to leave the vessel. The same accident happened to another medical gentleman who had been engaged to supply his place; and it was very satisfactorily proved, that although the defendant sailed without a medical attendant, yet he had used every exertion to procure one. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 80*l.*

In the Court of Common Pleas, December 13, the case of "*Husby and Another v. Rolt*" was tried. The action was brought upon a charter-party of affreightment, to recover the value of freight for 320 loads of teak, shipped by the *London*, which sailed from Bombay in May, 1843. The defendant paid into court 1,771*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, and pleaded that the plaintiffs had not sustained damages to any greater amount than that sum. It appeared that the captain of the vessel, while at Bombay, received specimens of a cargo of teak, which was to be taken on board at Calicut, 400 miles from Bombay, on the Malabar coast, and difficult and dangerous of approach. The cargo was accepted, and the bill of lading stated that freight was to be paid on delivery in London at the rate of 5*l.* 10*s.* per ton of 50 cubic feet, "as per dock company's measurement." The cargo, which consisted of teak timber of a very crooked description, was accordingly taken on board (the operation, which would only have taken up ten days at Bombay, consuming three weeks), and arrived safely at the West India Docks. The only question was, what was the meaning of the contract between the parties, who had introduced the words, "as per dock company's measurement" into the bill of lading. It appeared from the evidence of persons in the employ of the London Dock, the St. Katharine Dock, and the West India Dock, Compa-

nies, that when they measured for freight they were in the habit of measuring the extreme length, breadth, and depth of each package, timber not excepted; while for the defendant witnesses were called from the Commercial and East County Dock Companies' officers, to shew that they had never known a single instance of measuring goods in that way, the Customs' marks, which denote only the cubic contents, being accepted as conclusive by the companies; but it did not appear that they had ever measured between the shipowner and the consignee. Several brokers and timber merchants were also called on the part of the defendant, who proved that they had never seen any bills of lading containing "as per dock company's measurement;" but they failed to shew that the Customs' mode of measurement for duties was used and considered by the trade as a mode of measurement for freight; and the jury, stopping the Lord Chief Justice in his summing up, found a verdict for the plaintiff, with damages, including interest, amounting to 1,138*l*.

In the Prerogative Court, December 12th, "*In the Goods of Sir William Casement*," a motion was made for an administration from this court, limited in respect to property in this country, and more especially to three bills of exchange for 2,000*l*. each, which would become due on the 13th, and unless there was a representative authorized to claim payment, the parties liable under those bills would be discharged from responsibility. The party deceased (Major-General Sir William Casement, member of the Council of India) died at Cossipore, near Calcutta, on the 16th of April last, leaving a will dated two days before, of which the Supreme Court at Calcutta had refused probate on the ground of the execution not being attested conformably to the Indian Wills Act. An appeal from that decision was now pending before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Sir H. Jenner Fust, after hesitating whether the grant should be *pendente lite*, or limited as prayed, decided in favour of the latter course, upon the precedent of "Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's case," and on account of the absolute necessity of a representative.

OBITUARY.

Mr. T. M. Lane.—Thomas Moore Lane, Esq., private secretary to the Marquess of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, and surgeon to the Nawab of the Carnatic, died at Government House, Madras, on the 26th September last. Mr. Lane arrived in India, 14th June, 1822; was appointed assistant surgeon to the 2nd battalion artillery, 30th October, 1822; to the charge of the garrison of Negapatam, 8th January, 1823; to the 2nd battalion 7th regiment native infantry, 12th March, 1823; assistant to the Eye Infirmary, 14th October, 1823; to the charge of the dépôt of Poonamallee, 9th April, 1824; oculist and superintendent of the Eye Infirmary, 22nd June, 1824; to the charge of a regiment in Vepery barracks, 2nd December, 1828. On several occasions he received the approbation of Government, and especially the commendation of the Court of Directors for the success of his practice as the Company's oculist. Mr. Lane was also surgeon to his Highness the Nawab of the Carnatic for many years during his minority, and the regency of the Naib Mooktah, and so highly was he esteemed by the young prince, that his highness made a special request to the Government and the Court of Directors, after his accession to the musnud, that he might be allowed to retain the services of one for whose abilities, amiability of character, and general urbanity of manners, he had the highest esteem and respect, and which had gained him the unqualified

approbation and confidence of every member of his highness's family. In the appointments of oculist and surgeon to the nawab he was found by the present Governor on his arrival at Madras. After a few months, his lordship was so convinced of his integrity and natural talent, that he appointed him his private secretary, in which capacity he maintained his position with as much credit to himself as benefit to the public service.

The immediate cause of Mr. Lane's death was apoplexy. He went, as usual, to his duties at Government House on the 24th September, and after Council, Lord Tweeddale had not left him more than an hour, when he complained to Captain Rowan, military secretary to the Governor, that he was very ill: Medical aid was sent for, and Drs. Thompson, Lawder, and Nicholson, H. M.'s inspector of hospitals, were immediately in attendance, and through their instrumentality sensibility was restored. The symptoms were, however, not so favourable as to encourage hope, and indications of approaching dissolution came on about 11 on the 26th, and he died in two hours after, with but little pain.

In him were evidently united profound scientific knowledge and true Christian piety, with an amiability of disposition which made him a universal favourite. His removal seems to have been equally lamented by men of all classes and creeds at Madras, and to be considered in the light of a general calamity.—*Friend of India.*

Colonel Powell.—We had occasion, six weeks since, to publish a short notice of the services of the late Colonel S. Powell (2nd European light infantry, Bombay establishment), and the regret experienced by the army at large on his departure, when he quitted our shores by the steamer of the 27th August. Ill as he was in health then, we had hoped that we might have been enabled to intimate his safe arrival in his native country, believing that a few months of the climate of England would restore a constitution naturally vigorous, and which had never suffered from the rashness or inconsideration of its possessor. It has turned out otherwise; and he, who might have rallied had he been permitted to touch the shores of Egypt, sunk beneath the heats of the Arabian atmosphere, and now sleeps beneath the Arabian wave. The expectation that the sea air would refresh and reinvigorate his weakened frame was far from being realized, and when he reached Aden he was worse and weaker than on his departure from Bombay. Having been removed, at the former place, from the *Akbar* to the *Berenice* steamer, he suffered greatly from the heats which at this season in the Red Sea are excessive, and was not a little incommoded by the swell of the sea and agitation of the vessel. The last time he appeared in the saloon was on the 12th September; he became rapidly worse in the course of the night, and on the morning of the 13th was so completely exhausted that he expired without a struggle. The immediate cause of death was effusion in the chest.

Colonel Powell entered the army as cadet on the 14th June, 1809, and was posted as ensign in the 1st battalion of the 8th (now the 9th) N.I., on the 24th of November, of the same year. He was present with the force under Colonel Messiter, in the Southern Mahratta country, in 1812, and with that commanded by Major-General Holmes, in 1814, as well as with that commanded by Colonel East, in 1815, and Colonel Prether during the whole campaign in the Concan, which commenced the following year. He was, on this

occasion, appointed brigade quartermaster to the detachment, 5th Nov. 1817. He distinguished himself at the capture of Anjeer, in Cutch; at the storming of Poorjee and Dwarka; and was engaged with the Jooporee pirates off the coast of the west of Kattewar, in 1818. At this time (20th Oct. 1818), he was appointed adjutant to his regiment. Though only nine years in the army, he had by this time had his services seven times favourably noticed by Government, by the Commander-in-chief, or his commanding officer. In 1820 he was appointed brigade major to the field force under Lieut.-Col. Barclay, in Kattewar; and the following year became assistant adjutant-general to the division under the Hon. Lieut.-Col. Stanhope, immediately after which he was gazetted brigade major for Kattewar (24th July, 1821). In May, 1822, he became line adjutant at Rajcote, and in January, 1823, brigade major at Poona; in September, 1824, brigade major and deputy post-master at Mhow. From 1826 till his departure from amongst us, he had been chiefly at the presidency, having been appointed deputy adjutant-general in 1826, and acting adjutant-general of the army in 1829. On his retirement from this in August last, he received the cordial thanks of Government and of the Commander-in-chief. "Lieut.-Col. S. Powell," says the General Order, "has served in India for nearly thirty-five years, and has filled the important office of adjutant-general of the Bombay army for more than thirteen years, to the entire satisfaction of his military superiors. The Governor in Council deeply regrets that extreme ill-health should have compelled Lieut.-Col. S. Powell to tender his resignation, and will have much satisfaction in bringing the long, honourable, and zealous services of this meritorious officer to the notice of the Hon. the Court of Directors."

Colonel Powell was a man remarkable for his sound good sense, his sagacity, and turn for business. He was at all times urbane and accessible—anxious to be of service to the deserving, and ready with aid and counsel to all. His habits were abstemious, and he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties; and decisions of importance were often made ostensibly by others which were well known to be the results of his counsels. He was justly and deservedly esteemed by the army, and beloved by a wide circle of private friends.—*Bombay Times, et al.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Nov. 29. At Notting-hill, the lady of J. Padday, Esq., of Penang, son.

Dec. 6. At Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, the lady of W. H. Hussey, Esq., of the 67th regt., son.

7. In Montague-place, the lady of W. Pennington, Esq., daughter.

— At Barnsbury-park, Islington, the lady of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, son.

9. At Birdhurst, Croydon, the wife of John W. Sutherland, Esq., daughter and son.

12. In Upper Gloucester-place, the lady of Capt. Thornton, R. N., daughter.

— At Hyde-park-terrace, the lady of Thomas Dent, Esq., son.

23. At North Villa, Regent's Park, the lady of Col. W. Miles, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 28. At St. George's, Hanover-square, James Sibbald David, eldest son of Sir David Scott, Bart., &c., to Harriet Anne, only daughter of Henry Shank, Esq., of Gloucester-place, and of Castlerig in the county of Fife.

Dec. 8. At St. Andrew's church, Plymouth, Rev. Edward Godfrey, son of the Rev. D. R. Godfrey, D.D., to Emily Clare, eldest daughter of late Capt. René Payne, dep. com. gen. of the Bombay army.

5. At Trinity Church, Gray's-inn-road, Felicia Emma, only daughter of late Major Barker, 12th Bengal N.I., and grand-daughter of Lieut. col. Clayton, late Governor of Bencoolen, to Evan B. Jones, Esq., Union-street, Southwark.

— At Barnbarroch, Wigtonshire, Edmund Richard Jeffreys, Esq., major in the 88th regiment, to Mary, daughter of late Colonel Vans Agnew, C.B., of Barnbarroch and Shenchau.

10. At York-street Chapel, Walworth, Lieut. Garwood Wellesley Woolaston, of the Indian navy, to Miss Sarah Winfield, Gerard-street, Soho.

— At Bath, Mr. R. G. Hohhes, E.I.C.'s civil service, to Miss Jane Cartland.

DEATHS.

Nov. 25. At Kettering, the Rev. James Hogg, vicar of Geddington, Northamptonshire, aged 70.

— Lady Bryce, the widow of late Major General Sir Alexander Bryce, K.C.H. and C.B., inspector-general of fortifications.

29. Suddenly, Capt. Thomas Wallace, of the Madras army, second son of John Wallace, Esq., of Gloucester-place, Portman-square.

Dec. 3. Nathaniel William Kindersley, Esq., of North Brook House, Bishops Waltham, late of the Madras civil service, aged 50.

— At Bishop's Waltham, Hants, aged 47, Capt. Charles Richards, R.N., C.B., son of the late Rev. W. Richards, of Little Chiverell.

4. Charles John Humfrey, Esq., of the 70th Foot, only son of J. B. Humfrey, Esq., of Kibworth Hall, Leicester, aged 19.

8. At Welbeck-street, Harriet Emma Beitha, second daughter of R. MacDonald Stephenson, Esq., aged 2.

10. At Florence, Ann, widow of the late Peter Auber, Esq.

14. At Jermyn-street, Mrs. Sarah Baber, aged 81.

21. Major-general Joseph Nesbitt, Bengal army, aged 65.

23. At Chester Place, Lambeth, aged 37, Emily, wife of Major Charles Farran, Madras army.

26. At Wadenhoe, near Oundle, Gen. William Croxton, Bengal Establishment.

Lately. At Frith-street, Soho, Mrs. Eliza Clemons, of Walmer, Kent, widow of late Major James Clemons, of the Madras N.I.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

Nov. 28.—*Emperor*, Manilla, Plymouth; *Edward Boustead*, China, Scilly; *Windsor Castle*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Orator*, Ceylon, Falmouth.—**29.** *Mobile*, Penang, Downs; *Osprey*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Canada*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**30.** *General List*, Batavia, Portsmouth.—**Dec. 2.** *Borneo*, Bengal, Folkestone; *Arab*, Manilla, Dover.—**3.** *Pearl*, Ceylon, Beachey Head.—**4.** *Inchinnan*, Bombay, Falmouth; *Mungo Park*, Batavia, Downs.—**6.** *Brooksbey*, Manilla, Falmouth; *Orient*, China, Bordeaux; *Athena*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**7.** *Anna Watson*, Bengal, Bristol.—**10.** *Great Liverpool* (steamer), Alexandria, Southampton; *Renown*, Van Diemen's Land, Penzance; *Camana*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**11.** *Lady Bute*, Bengal, Liverpool.—**12.** *Scotland*, Bengal, Clyde;

Princess Charlotte, Bombay, Liverpool.—13. *William Shand*, Bengal, Torbay; *H.M.S. Siren*, Ceylon, Portsmouth; *Druid*, Singapore, Liverpool.—14. *Sumatra*, Ceylon, Portland; *Trident*, Bengal, Bordeaux.—16. *Pandora*, Manilla, Cork; *Abel Tasman*, Batavia, Portsmouth; *Howling*, Bengal, Clyde.—17. *Sultan*, China, Kinsale.—19. *Amelia Mulholland*, Mauritius, Isle of Wight; *Jessie*, Ceylon, Plymouth.—19. *Devon*, Bengal, Downs; *May of Malden*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Nestor*, Bengal, Dungeness.—20. *Ann Falcon*, Mauritius, Downs; *China*, Bengal, Falmouth; *City of Poonah*, Madras, Torbay.—20. *Amosell*, Van Diemen's Land, Portsmouth; *New Zealand*, Bengal, Falmouth.—21. *Justina*, Bengal, Plymouth; *Arab*, Port Phillip, Plymouth; *Queen*, Bengal, Liverpool.—23. *Universe*, Bombay, Penzance; *Scotswood*, Mauritius, Penzance; *Atkinson*, Bengal, Cork; *Tar*, Mauritius, Portsmouth; *Carrara*, Mauritius, Cork; *Woden*, Batavia, Portsmouth.—24. *Princess Royal*, Bengal, Cork; *Bencoolen*, Manilla, Crookhaven.—26. *Repulse*, Bengal, Penzance; *Anna Robertson*, Madras, Plymouth; *Eclipse*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Bland*, Bengal, Plymouth; *Lady Clare*, Bengal, Falmouth; *Albyn*, Moulmein, Falmouth; *Chilena*, Penang, London; *Rota*, Batavia, off the Wight; *Portly*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Vigilant*, Cape, Penzance.—27. *Asiatic and Thomas Lee*, Bengal, Downs; *Bidston and Syren*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Angere*, Bengal, Waterford; *Gemine*, Bengal, Castletown.—28. *Mary Sharp*, N. S. Wales, Plymouth; *Courier*, Cape, Penzance; *Ann Armstrong*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Neptune*, Madras, Portland.

DEPARTURES.

From Liverpool.—Nov. 26. *Amiga* and *Queen Mab*, Hong Kong.—27. *Hindley*, Cape; *Sabina*, Bombay; *Alexander*, Singapore; *Carolina*, Manilla.—28. *Ann Carr*, New South Wales; *Compton and William Parker*, Bombay; *Senator*, Batavia.—30. *Flower of Ugie*, Mauritius.—DEC. 1. *Tigris and Birman*, Bengal.—2. *Wonder*, Bengal.—5. *Corinna*, Bengal.—7. *Tyrer*, Bombay.—8. *Sir H. Hardinge*, Bengal.—9. *Princess Royal*, Bengal.—10. *Harbinger*, Singapore; *John Walker*, Cape.—11. *Bucephalus and Mary*, Bombay.—12. *Liverpool*, New South Wales.—14. *Buenos Ayrian*, Hong Kong.—15. *Margaret*, Java.—17. *Star of the West*, *Thomas Battersby*, and *Marwood*, Bombay; *Duchess of Leinster*, Ceylon and Madras.—19. *Jaeger*, Bengal.—21. *Mischief*, Mauritius.

From the Downs.—Nov. 30. *Nautilus*, Mauritius.—DEC. 1. *Birman*, Bengal; *Arequipa*, Hobart Town.—2. *Wonder*, Bengal; *Black Nymph*, Batavia; *Caledonia*, New South Wales.—3. *Hindustan*, Bombay; *Lord Charles Spencer*, Cape.—4. *Royal Consort*, New South Wales; *Plumstead*, Algoa Bay; *Carnatic*, Bengal; *Cressy*, Bengal.—6. *Ganges*, Bengal; *William and Mary Brown*, Ceylon; *Curraghmore*, Madras and Bengal.—7. *Jane*, Cape of Good Hope.—9. *Strafford*, Mauritius; *Indian*, Launceston.—10. *Oriental*, Bengal; *Cape Packet*, Bengal.—11. *Duke of Bronte*, Madras.—15. *Pauline*, Mauritius.—*Richard Mount*, Cape.—18. *Richmond*, Algoa Bay.—19. *Horwood*, Algoa Bay.

From Portsmouth.—Dec. 6. *Brunswick*, Bombay.—8. *Bangalore*, China; *Bombay*, Bombay.

From Plymouth.—Dec. 5. *Dadalus*, Cape and India.—21. *Isabella Watson*, Adelaide and Port Phillip.

From Southampton.—Nov. 27. *Lady Mary Wood* (St.) Bengal.

From Leith.—Nov. 21. *Sans Pareille*, Adelaide.

From Clyde.—Nov. 30. *Glencairn*, Madras.

From Shields. — Nov. 30. *Northumberland*, Cape. — Dec. 21. *Grafton*, Bombay.

From Bordeaux. — Nov. 29. *Essex*, from Mauritius.

From Cadiz. — Nov. 25. *Monument*, Manilla.

Off North Foreland. — Nov. 28. *Albion*, Bombay.

INCIDENTS.

BENGAL, OCT. 15. — The *Isabella Cooper*, lying off Jackson's Ghaut, took fire on the Thursday night; the fire was promptly extinguished without doing much injury.

The *Scotland*, Cunningham, arrived in the Clyde from Calcutta, took fire on the 12th ult., and was scuttled, and became a total wreck. Cargo nearly all destroyed.

The *Forth*, Baxter, sailed from Manilla, April 27, for Falmouth, and has not since been heard of.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, SEPT. 23. — The *British Settler*, Traen, struck on the Eastern Bank, Sept. 18, and afterwards drove ashore; she is full of water.

BORDEAUX, DEC. 4. — The *Joseph* arrived here, Oct. 10, passed the *Gondolier*, Oliver, China to London, at the north part of the Straits of Gaspar, called Warren Hastings's Shoal, and sent a boat off to the ship; found her abandoned, having lost her rudder, but with all her rigging standing.

PASSENGERS.

Per *Oriental*, from Southampton to Alexandria — Mesdames Williams and niece, Campbell, Fawcett, Lynch, Seaton, Thompson, Stewart and sister, Howison, Cook, Cahill and friend, Guerin, and Turquand; Misses F. Gordon, Pattals, Arnott; Mr. Campbell, Dr. Stevenson, Majrs. Fawcett and Lynch; Capts. Younghusband, Ekyn, White and Evans; Mr. W. C. Watts, Lieut. Burringall, Mr. W. Short, Mr. A. Billimore, Dr. Gray, Messrs. Colyear, Coneybear, Batty, R. C. Jones, W. Johnson, Unell, Turquand. For Aden — Mr. Robinson. For Madras — Mr. Hodgson, Mr. and Mrs. Price, Mrs. Gilkhurst and child, Mr. Dallas, Capt. A. G. Young, Messrs. Raeney, Barber, Tytler, Withers, Grant, Ogelay, Jalland, Reid, Somerville, and Sterling; Capts. Smyth and Wilson. For Ceylon — Mr. Bannatyne. For Calcutta — Sir Robert and Lady Sale, Mr. and Mrs. Luke, Col. and Mrs. Sandys, Miss Sandys; Mrs. Brewer, Mrs. Short and children; Mrs. Torrens, Mrs. Lackerstein; Miss Dysart, Capt. Scott Waring, Mr. Trotter, Mr. Rackes, Mr. and Mrs. Cadogan, Mrs. Dashwood, Messrs. Kelso, Church, Even, Lackerstein; Dr. Backhouse; Messrs. Thornhill, Mactier, Plumb; Capt. Hale, Mr. and Miss Conolly, Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, Misses Cork and Dempster, Mr. Burkinyoung, Mrs. Col. Smith, Miss Paton, Capt. and Mrs. Fagan and child; Messrs. R. C. Campbell, Withers, St. George, Munro, Laing, H. Gardner, Lees, P. Jackson, Mayer, Carnac, Balfour, Stevenson; Miss Bill, Mr. Wottan, Mrs. Pringle and child, Mr. Irwin, Mr. Braddon.

To embark at Malta for Calcutta — Mr. Carleton and Mr. Paul.

To embark at Suez for Ceylon — Mr. A. Hardinge and friend. Do. for Madras — Mr. and Mrs. Maltby and Mr. Michael. Do. for Calcutta — Lady Hardinge and party, consisting of three Misses Hardinge, Messrs. Macpherson, Stewart, Smith, Sterling, Lackerstein, and Mrs. and Miss Macpherson.

Per *London*, to Bombay. — Mrs. and Miss Gibson, Messrs. R. Cousen, and W. Burton.

Per *Duke of Wellington*, to Calcutta.—Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Messrs. Pratt, Ellis, Richards, Harris, Spilker.

Per *Hindustan*, to Bombay.—Mrs. Chatfield, Ensigns Machanan, Welsh, Mesham; Messrs. Watson, Claig, Tatam.

Per *Glendy*, to Bombay.—Mrs. Gellatt, Mr. Pierce, Mr. S. C. Law, Capt. Salmon, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Wilkinson.

Per *Tartar*, to Madras and Bengal.—Mrs. Capt. Munlay, Miss Presgrave, Capt. Munday and Gregson, Esq. Kingsley; Messrs. Brown, Presgrave, E. Lloyd, Hall, Clephane, Duffie, G. Ceyler, Black, Cullen, Clemmon, Ellis, Wythe, King, Esq., D. Henderson, Lewis, Robinson, Cumberland, Frankland, Blount, Miller, Coult, Dr. Johnstone.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>via</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras. Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (In divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>via</i> Marseilles.)					
Sept. 6	Oct. 11..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	35	Oct. 13	Oct. 17	41
Oct. 6	Nov. 15..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	40	Nov. 21.....	Nov. 24.....	46
Nov. 4	Dec. 11..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	37	Dec. 17	Dec. 20	46
Nov. 15.....	Dec. 23..... (per <i>Akbar</i>)	38	Dec. 30	Jan. 1.....	47
Dec. 6	Jan. 11..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	36	Jan. 17	Jan. 19	44
Jan. 6, 1844	Feb. 11..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	36	Feb. 16	Feb. 19	44
Feb. 6	March 13..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	36	March 19	March 21	44
March 6	April 8	33	April 14.....	April 16.....	41
April 16	May 12..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	36	May 13.....	May 17.....	41
May 6	June 6	31	June 14.....	June 15.....	40
June 7	July 9..... (per <i>Sesostris</i>)	33	July 16	July 17	41
July 8	Aug. 6	29	Aug. 12	Aug. 16.....	39
Aug. 7	Sept. 7	31	Sept. 16	Sept. 18.....	38
Sept. 7	Oct. 12..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	35	Oct. 19	Oct. 20	43

A Mail will be made up in London, for Bombay, *via* Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and *via* Marseilles on the evening of the 7th January, if not postponed; a Mail will also be made up for Calcutta *via* Southampton on the 20th, and *via* Marseilles on the 24th.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	34	Dec. 8	47
Dec. 1	<i>Sesostris</i>	Jan. 5	35	Jan. 15.....	45
Jan. 1, 1844	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 8	38	Feb. 14.....	44
Feb. 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	March 8	36	March 18.....	41
March 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	April 5	35	April 6.....	39
April 1	<i>Victoria</i>	May 5	34	May 11.....	40
May 1	<i>Berenice</i>	June 5	35	June 11.....	41
May 20	<i>Cleopatra</i>	July 4	46	July 10.....	52
June 19	<i>Akbar</i>	Aug. 8	44	Aug. 10 (per <i>Lady Mary Wood</i>)	53
July 31	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Sept. 11	43	Sept. 16	47
Aug. 27	<i>Akbar</i>	Oct. 3	37	Oct. 7	41
Oct. 1	<i>Victoria</i>	Nov. 5	36	Nov. 10	41
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	35	Dec. 10	40

* Per steamer *Bentlack*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Mary</i>	533 tons	Grant	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 7.
<i>Elizabeth</i>	570	Morris	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 15.
<i>Orator</i>	422	Chester ..	—	Jan. 15.
<i>Himalaya</i>	477	Burn	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 30.
<i>Kyle</i>	333	Fletcher ..	—	Jan.
<i>Orlando</i>	333	Cockerell...	W.I. Docks ..	Feb. 10.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Plantagenet</i>	806	Domett ..	E.I. Docks ..	Jan. 10.
<i>Letitia</i>	564	Malcolm ..	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 15.
<i>Easer</i>	850	Brewer ..	E.I. Docks ..	Jan. 18.
<i>Madagascar</i>	951	Weller.....	—	Feb. 10.
<i>Bangalore</i>	889	Nelson ..	—	Feb. 15.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Ann</i>	665	Stevenson..	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 1.
<i>Mary Ann</i>	500	Darke	W.I. Docks ..	Feb. 1.
<i>Sir Robert Sale</i>	741	Fawcett ..	—	March 15.
<i>City of Poonah</i>	551	Hight	—	March 26.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Berkshire</i>	600	Clarkson ..	E.I. Docks ..	Jan. 10.
<i>Inchinnan</i>	565	Batine	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 20.
<i>Grecian</i>	518	Watt	—	Jan. 25.
<i>Hindustan</i>	501	West	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 25.

FOR CHINA.

<i>Palmyra</i>	465	Campbell...	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 1.
<i>Mauritius</i>	401	Simpson ..	—	Jan. 10.
<i>Helen Stewart</i>	419	Whittington	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 30.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Seringapatam</i>	434	Peckett ..	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 15.
<i>Symmetry</i>	450	Mackwood .	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 28.
<i>Sumatra</i>	400	Duncan ..	—	March 30.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Amelia Mulholland</i>	230	Brown	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 4.
<i>Rambler</i>	254	DeGruchy .	St. Kat. Docks	Jan. 10.
<i>N. S.</i>	444	Austin	W.I. Docks ..	Jan. 14.
<i>Caroline</i>	330	Williams ..	—	Jan. 15.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Achilles</i>	200	Nicholas ...	Lond. Docks...	Jan. 15.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. XVI.

In our last Review we gave a compendious narrative of the insurrection in the Southern Mahratta country, and of the progress made by the British forces in suppressing it, and we inferred, from the evident anxiety of the Bombay government, and the preparations made by it, that the insurrection was of a more formidable character than might appear from its superficial aspect. We regret to find, from the accounts brought by the last mail, that our inference was just, and that the disaffection, in which it appears to have originated, is extending to other districts, and over a large surface. "It must be manifest," observes a Bombay paper,* "that the spirit of insurrection is at work in more districts than one within the Bombay presidency, and that the safety and integrity of our empire are in some degree affected; the truth of this statement is not denied, but admitted;" and the writer adds, that "a general opinion has obtained currency, that there exist certain good and tenable grounds for the resistance which the rebels have shewn to the authority of the native ruler," whose proceedings, according to the reports we noticed last month, have been sanctioned by the British Government. The writer goes on to state, that there are native agents employed in stirring up the people of the Southern Mahratta country and elsewhere to hostility, who "inspire the ignorant with a belief that the reign of the 'white monkeys' is near its termination, and pretend that in the stars may be read the advances of native sovereignty and the decline of a foreign rule."

The last advices reported the capture of the fort of Samangud, and the march of the British force under General Delamotte, on the 24th October, towards the capital of Kolapore, a detachment under Colonel Brough having preceded it thither. The general moved against Bhathergud, another fort held by the insurgents, of considerable strength, situated on a hill, which commands the approaches to it for a mile round. It is described as much stronger and twice the size of Samangud, and if well defended would have stood for several months. "It has an inner wall, with a ditch between it and the outside one. It is about five or six miles in circumference, and nearly impregnable by the hand of nature in every direction; the works are very strong, and it would have been a most arduous and dangerous job to have stormed it, besides great loss of lives, as our position would have been completely commanded by the enemy's

* *Bombay Courier*, December 2nd.

guns, of which they had a good many, both of brass and iron." The Gudkurries, however, though 1,000 in number, evacuated this place—whether upon terms is not stated—on the 10th November, and retired, under their chief, Babajee Ayeeray, plundering and burning the villages through which they passed. Some resistance was encountered on the march to this place. On the 7th, the passage of a steep hill was disputed by a large body of armed men, but who decamped after sustaining the fire of a few companies of light infantry. Shortly after, another brush took place between the Rifles and about 300 of the enemy, horse and foot. On the 8th, Colonel Wallace, with about 1,200 of the infantry, encamped within a mile of the fort of Bhathergud, and, although frequently fired at, sustained no damage. General Delamotte had given orders for forbearance, as he wished to take the fort without bloodshed. A letter from the camp says :

According to the arrangements made with the Gudkurries, who (some of the chief persons) arrived on the 10th in the camp, the general, Colonel Wallace, and the staff, with about 600 of our men, marched up to the fort to take possession ; but the Kolapore rebels, who joined the men in the fort, endeavoured to persuade them to break off the treaty, and to hold out—the rebels were much stronger than the Gudkurries : but, after considerable confusion amongst them, and six hours' delay, at 11 o'clock at night, our troops were admitted inside, and the fort was in our possession. While our men marched in at one gate, the Kolapore rebels walked out at the other.

As more than a counterpoise to this success, Colonel Ovens, the Resident at Sattara, who had been appointed commissioner for the special settlement of the Kolapore territories,—Colonel Outram having, for some unexplained reason, abruptly withdrawn from the office and the country,—has been captured by the insurgents. It appears that he left Sattara on the 14th, and was overtaken on the road to Kolapore. The colonel was accompanied by some sowars and peons, and when near Pavangar was seized, and, together with his party, imprisoned in that fortress. It is reported that the rebels were instigated to this measure by intriguing persons connected with the Kolapore Durbar. Babajee Ayeeray, and one Yemia, a notorious Ramoosee, had thrown themselves into the fortresses of Panalagar and Pavangar, and it is generally believed that Colonel Ovens' rescue will not be effected by mild measures. General Delamotte was by the latest accounts moving rapidly upon the fort where Colonel Ovens was confined, which had already been invested. Reinforcements of troops, as well as artillery, were moving towards the Kolapore territories.

The capital of that state, where there was a British force of 2,000 men, was quiet. A durbar was held there on the 11th November, when Colonel Outram congratulated Dajee Punt (our akbarnavees, and, according to some accounts, the cause of the insurrection) as minister, in the presence of the (minor) rajah, and told the sirdars that they must obey him in that capacity. The Kolapore rebels in the field are said to number 3,000, under the command of Bunhaje Jyree, an officer of the Kolapore state. The sudder ameen of Belgaum has been suspended, on a charge of being implicated in the rebellion.

This rebellion, whatever be its origin, which is still unrevealed, has (as we before mentioned) extended to Sawuntwarree or Soonderwarree, situated on the southern frontier of the Southern Concan, bordering upon Kolapore, which has been, for a long time, in an uneasy condition, under a feeble, imbecile ruler. This petty state has already cost us some trouble. A few years ago, Phonde Savant created a disturbance, and took possession of a hill-fort called Mahadevegud, situated near the Sahadree range. He was dispossessed of the fortress by a force under the late Colonel Wood, on which occasion Ensign Wilmott, a promising young officer, was killed. It now appears, that this same Phonde Savant has taken away Arma Saheb, son of Bappoo Saheb, *alias* Khane Savant, the chief of the country. The reason is not known, but it is said, that one of Phonde Savant's sons was convicted of some offence, and was put in irons by way of punishment, and working on the roads like a criminal. Measures were immediately taken to arrest the progress of this new insurrection, by despatching troops, European as well as native, into the Warree state, where they had already commenced "bush-fighting" with the enemy, the jungle in that country being described as "the most dense and impervious in India." A detachment under Capt. Skipper having marched from Sawuntwarree, on the 20th November, for a place called Sangelie, to take up a position there, was met on the road by a body of rebels, and some smart firing took place, without much effect; but on reaching Sangelie, a determined attack was made upon the detachment, and kept up for four hours, and was renewed next day, when the detachment was reinforced by two more companies of the same regiment (7th Madras N.I.); the rebels then retired with loss, one of their desyes, or principal leaders, being wounded. Our detachment had three killed, and twenty-one wounded, the latter including an officer, Ensign Collier. Besides the unsettled state of the Sholapore country, rumours are said to be afloat of expected disturbances in the Mysore provinces. "Such is

the demand for troops," says a letter from Belgaum, dated November 24th, "that a sufficient force cannot be spared to conduct three lakhs of treasure from Vingorla to Belgaum, although the money is needed for the troops, and reached Vingorla on the 16th. In this quarter there is a military force of 7,000 men within the circuit of one hundred miles; yet the greatest distrust is entertained for the conveyance of military or other stores, without ample escorts. The road from Belgaum to Vingorla is declared unsafe for travellers or merchandize."

The following "affair" is stated to have taken place in Candeish. The chief of a gurhi, or mud-fort, took offence at some decision of the mamlutdar of the pergunnah, in a case in which he was a suitor; shut himself, his family, and a few men up in his stronghold, and declared he would henceforth be his own master, and have nothing to do with the sircar. He was remonstrated with, but in vain. A party of the Bheel corps from Dhurrungaum was sent to make him prisoner, but, on being summoned, the old chief pointed his matchlocks at the party, and told them to advance at their peril. After communication with the collector, a small force was assembled, consisting of two companies of the 48th Madras N.I. (200 men) and two guns, with Golundaaze from Malligaum; 120 of the Bheel corps, and 60 irregular horse. This force, on the 31st October, arrived before the place. The chief still refused to give up his fort but with his life, and it was not till an hour's firing, and after the fall of the chief and his son, that an entrance was found into this insignificant place, garrisoned, it is said, by only eight men and a few women. "A determined and unceasing fire, from the jinjalls and matchlocks of the fort, was kept up," says one of the letters, "while our guns, which gradually advanced, literally ploughed up the walls of the fort, and our infantry were 'sniping' at every man that appeared on the walls: even their women threw large stones on our men, when under the walls breaking open the doors." Our force had three men killed, and thirteen wounded, including Capt. Morria, the commander.

This is evidently the same "affair" which is related in the following extract from another paper, and the two accounts will furnish an example of the different and discordant modes in which these occurrences are sometimes reported by the correspondents of newspapers.

A letter from Malligaum, dated 1st instant (November), remarks that two companies of the 48th N.I., detachments of artillery, and Bombay Golundaaze, with about 150 of the Poonah Auxiliary Horse,

under command of Lieut. C. G. Southey, and under the orders of Capt. Morris, Bheel agent in Candeish, marched from that station on the morning of the 28th October, against the Potal of Warkaree, a village in the Pergunnah of Pochora, who is said to have made off with about Rs. 4,000, thrown off the yoke of the collector of Candeish, and, after firing on the sheristadar and a party of local horse and police sent to enforce the orders of the collector regarding the money, took shelter in a fort, with a number of followers. The potail, on receiving information of the approach of the field force, came out of his stronghold, and fought for an hour and a half, killing one of our men, and wounding twelve. On the side of the enemy, the Potal Mundaram was killed, and his son mortally wounded; he and seven followers were made prisoners. Two lacs of treasure are said to have been captured with the fort.

All interest in Punjab politics seems to have nearly subsided. The rival rajahs, Heera and Golab, have adjusted their differences, if they ever had any; Lahore was tranquil, and the Dussera had passed over quietly. Whilst Jowahir Sing had visited Jumboo, Meean Sohun Sing, the eldest son of Golab Sing, and the adopted heir of Soochet Sing, had arrived at Lahore, which is a tolerably sure pledge of a sincere reconciliation between the Jumboo chief and the Rajah Sahib. Sirdar Lena Sing, Majeetcea, arrived at Beas on the 6th November, and had purchased a house in that city, which is supposed to indicate an intention to take up his permanent residence there. Intelligence from Cabul to the 13th October had reached India, whence it appears that the Affghans had not proceeded to Balkh, as reported, nor meditated such a step. A general report prevailed that a pestilence had suddenly broken out in Bokhara, Balkh, and Khoolum, extending as far as Bameean, and 25,000 people are reported to have fallen victims. A rumour of the death of Moolraj, son of the late Sawun Mull, dewan of Mooltan, is mentioned.

The state of affairs in Scinde is, on the whole, favourable, inasmuch as the country is quiet, and in Lower Scinde the troops were healthy. At Sukker, in Upper Scinde, sickness was general. The march of the 78th Highlanders, from Hyderabad to Sukker, had been attended with an awful amount of sickness. On the 16th November, no less than 700 of this corps were in hospital, and two native corps had each from two to three hundred! At Shikarpore, the 69th had 400 sick, the cavalry 300. In the midst of mortality and sickness, the spirits of the troops were sustained. Sir Charles Napier was in progress to meet the Khan of Khelat at Kotra. The object of the meeting had not transpired. At Ferozepore, the health

of the troops had improved. All was peaceable, and fears of Beloochee invasion had completely blown over. Colonel Moseley's court-martial had closed, and the proceedings been sent to headquarters. Orders had been received to place Captain Flyter, late adjutant 64th Bengal N.I., in arrest, on charges supposed to be connected with Colonel Moseley.

The dacoits, or gang-robbers, appear to acquire additional strength and greater audacity; a British officer has fallen a victim to the revenge of one of these parties. It appears that the police of the Mynpoorie zillah had an affair with some dacoits, headed by the notorious Dhunsia, or Ghunseyia (who broke from Muttra gaol, and has committed several atrocities), two of whom were killed. The circumstance was reported to Mr. Unwin, the magistrate and collector, who set out in pursuit of the party. The spies of the robbers communicated the intelligence, and preparations were made for resistance. Meanwhile, Captain R. P. Alcock, of the 46th N.I. (late assistant quarter-master general), travelling by *dak*, either through wantonness, or from being mistaken for Mr. Unwin, was attacked and murdered by these desperadoes. It appears that this gentleman arrived at Mynpoorie, on the 26th October, from Cawnpore to Agra, and after a few hours' halt, started with eleven bearers, who were relieved at Ghurour, about eighteen miles. The fresh set had not proceeded more than half a mile, when they were stopped by twelve armed men (four of them mounted), who ordered them to put down the palkee. The bearers (of course) took to their heels; Captain Alcock stepped out, sword in hand, and demanded who they were. The cowardly gang, after inquiring whether he was the magistrate, and receiving an answer in the negative, set upon him; he seems to have defended himself against such odds till wounded in the sword-arm, when he attempted to escape, but was brought down by a shot, and hacked to death. Half an hour after this occurrence, Mr. Unwin arrived at the spot, in pursuit of the dacoits, and saw poor Captain Alcock's palanquin on the high road, the petarahs untouched. His body was found about eighty yards from the road, dreadfully mangled, the fingers of both hands being cut off, and severe wounds inflicted on the back of the neck, legs, and back. Government have offered a reward of Rs. 7,000 for the murderers, but it is reported that Dhunsia has taken refuge in Oude, after killing two Europeans on his way. In other parts, these plunderers were on the alert. The daring Ragoojee Bangria, the *Dick Turpin* of India, had transported himself to the neighbourhood of Kandala, and, by way of announcing his arrival, plun-

dered two natives, a Hindu and his wife, and sent them on their way, with slit noses and in a state of nudity. A party of about five-and-forty of Ragoojee Bangria's fraternity visited a village below Maleege Ghat, called Talligaoun, and plundered every house there: they were, it is said, in search of the Brahmin Annunt Rao. Dr. Lovell, on his way to Ferozepore, was attacked by a band of dacoits, who plundered his palkee, and left two of his bearers insensible. These outrages call for vigorous measures, and a more extensive and better organized police establishment throughout the British territories.

The absence of events of great political importance permits us to direct our attention to domestic occurrences, of less dignity, but not without interest.

A Hindu nobleman, Rajah Kistonah Rao, of Berhampore, committed suicide, at Calcutta, under circumstances which shew the extraordinary sensibility of natives of rank to any thing which bears the character of personal indignity. The rajah (who was only twenty-two years old) had been charged with being concerned in an act of cruelty practised on one of his servants, who ultimately died in consequence of the treatment he had experienced. The man being, however, pronounced out of danger, the rajah was admitted to bail, himself in Rs. 50,000, and two sureties in Rs. 25,000 each. It seems to be extremely doubtful whether the rajah had really any hand in the cruel act. He came to Calcutta, where he had a residence, in great excitement and dread of being arrested as a criminal. When the man expired, and the rajah heard that a warrant was issued for his apprehension, he was advised to make his escape. It appears that he deliberately wrote his will (appointing, it is said, the government his executors), which he requested Dr. Young, his medical adviser, and two other gentlemen, to attest; retired on the pretext of providing himself with some money for his journey, and discharged the contents of a double-barrelled gun through his head, having pulled the trigger with his toe. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of "*Felo de se*," and it is said the validity of the will will form the subject of litigation in the Supreme Court. The rajah had adopted English habits, and, in his will, directs the foundation of a college, to be named after himself, at Moorshedabad, in which the pupils are to receive instructions in English, Greek, and Latin polite literature.

The government of India has passed an act for regulating the emigration of natives of India to Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, whose embarkation is restricted to the ports of Calcutta,

Madras, and Bombay, where agents are to be established for the protection of the emigrants. The improvement of the great lines of communication between Calcutta, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces, is stated to be under the consideration of the Governor-General. The government, it is also said, is about to erect a new college at Benares, with English, vernacular, and Sanscrit departments, in which the various castes will be placed in separate rooms.

A singular exhibition of clerical indiscretion was made at Midnapore, by the chaplain of that station, the Rev. H. Boys, who published the following notice, with his name appended thereto, in the *Calcutta Englishman* :—

In consequence of a letter printed and published in the *Englishman* newspaper, signed "Sic Est," dated 3rd November (Sunday), of which one of the Midnapore church committee acknowledges himself to be the author, containing false accusations, wilful and wanton calumnies against their appointed minister and chaplain, intended to influence and silence him in the discharge of his duty in reproving them for wickedly and rebelliously building the house of God on the refuse land of the station, instead of on the ground once given by government for the purpose ; I hereby declare the writer of that letter, or, if he will not declare himself, the whole committee, to be cut off, as evil speakers, from any participation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rubric and canons of the Church of England and Ireland. I further declare, that one copy of this notice will be circulated over the station, and that another copy will be forwarded to the bishop, as ordinary, within the time specified by the Church.

The editor of the paper in which this notice appears remarked, that the excommunication of the individual referred to, who was reported to be an officer in the army, disabled him from holding any appointment under the crown, and that, consequently, his commission would be forfeited, if the right of Mr. Boys to exercise this authority were recognized. In a subsequent paper, however, we find that the reverend gentleman recalled his excommunication. He states that the notice was issued by him "*ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat*;" but that, "having since been led to suppose that such notice was irregular," he informs the editor of "the very great pleasure and satisfaction which he had felt in withdrawing it, and in expressing his regret that such notice was issued." Mr. Boys should have added an expression of regret that he had not taken steps to inform himself upon this point before he issued the notice.

Steam-navigation is extending in all parts of India. A coast steam-navigation company has been formed at Bombay, and a

capital of Rs. 200,000 already subscribed, in 600 shares of Rs. 300 each. The extra sum required to complete the building of an adequate steamer is Rs. 210,000, payable at Rs. 350 per share. The steamer is intended for navigation along the Coromandel Coast, across the Bay of Bengal, and occasionally to Ceylon and the Malabar Coast. It is expected that an Indus steam company will be formed at the same presidency.

The proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, which sat for some time at Arcot, respecting the mutiny at Jubbulpore, on the 6th Regiment Madras Light Cavalry, has terminated its labours, and a court-martial has sentenced seventeen men to death, and four to hard labour. Of the former, two only have been executed; the remainder have been transported for life. Besides these examples, the following have been summarily discharged: four soubadars, two jemadars, two troop havildars, six havildars, four naiques, and the regimental moonshoe, together with twenty-five privates.

The Marquess of Tweeddale, in promulgating his remarks on the proceedings of the Court, prefixes to them a concise narrative of the occurrences connected with the mutiny.

In October, 1843, the regiment was suddenly required to proceed on field service from Kamptee to Bundelkund, having previously been informed that, on the termination of the service, they were to move down to Arcot. Subsequent events, however, required the services of this regiment at Jubbulpore, to form a part of the Bengal division of observation at Saugur, and the regiment was ordered to remain at the former station. This movement appears to have occasioned considerable dissatisfaction in the regiment, and while in this state it was announced to the men, on the 1st of December, consequent upon orders which had been erroneously promulgated by the pay department, that their field batta was discontinued. Acting, as there is reason to believe, upon a determination previously formed, a large portion of the men, instigated by some evil-disposed persons, that same evening, were secretly bound together by an oath not to turn out for parade the following morning, nor to do any more duty. Accordingly, next morning, the men refused to turn out when ordered, and it was not until nearly half an hour after the second trumpet that they yielded to the exhortations of their officers, and consented to proceed to their duty. On the close of the evening's exercise, Major Litchfield addressed the men on the subject of their misconduct, and warned them against its repetition. His address was received by many in the most disrespectful manner, and, on his refusing to listen to them, they, shortly after stables, proceeded in a body, and in a most tumultuous manner, to the quarters of Capt. Byng, the second in command, where they declared their determination no longer to serve under Major Litchfield, who, they asserted, had no sympathy with them in their distress. In this

determination they persisted until the morning of the 4th December, when, at a parade which had been ordered by Brigadier Watson, a sepoy from each troop presented an *urzee*, stating their alleged grievances, and demanding that another commanding officer should be appointed to the regiment, for that they would not continue to serve under Major Litchfield. With the representation of these *urzees*, the excitement commenced to subside, and an order, which had been despatched by Government the moment the error which had been committed by the pay department was known, having been published on the same day, cancelling the previous order for the discontinuance of the batta, the men gradually returned to their duty.

Had these misguided men (the marquess observes) remembered their duty as soldiers, and had they been satisfied with respectfully representing their case, all would have been well. Had they even been guilty of refusing to turn out for parade,—though their crime would still have been great,—yet if they had gone no further, and had shewn contrition for their offence, it might have been possible for the commander-in-chief, under all the circumstances of the case, to have dealt leniently with them. I was unfortunately prevented from taking such a view of the case. In the first place, before even making an attempt to represent their grievances to their officers, they were induced to combine together with an oath not to do their duty; and then, because Major Litchfield, who believed that the batta had been discontinued by order of Government, shewed himself determined to carry the order into effect, and would not allow them to make their complaints to him upon parade in an irregular and unsoldierlike manner, they followed up the oath they had taken, refused any longer to serve under his orders, and dared to give in *urzees* for submission to the commander-in-chief, demanding that their commanding officer should be removed. It is clear, from all the information that has been obtained, that many of the native officers and non-commissioned officers were deeply implicated, and failed most culpably in their duty; and although the fact has not been distinctly proved, there is good reason to believe that some of their numbers were, in secret, the instigators of the men.

We have related this transaction minutely, because a London journal* has founded upon it an accusation against Lord Tweeddale of no less a crime than "murder." It may be a question, as the men seem to have been excited to insubordination by orders erroneously promulgated; as the mutineers returned to their duty without coercion, and as the inquiry did not take place till eight months after the offence, whether capital punishment might not have been altogether remitted. But the punishment was, in fact, incurred, and its infliction, under the circumstances, upon two out of thirteen, probably the actual instigators of the mutiny, is underserving of the harsh strictures which it has provoked at home.

* *The Morning Chronicle.*

THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

THE second number of the *Calcutta Review* confirms the favourable opinion we formed of the work from the contents of the first. The articles are six (besides a miscellaneous head), and all are written with a vigour and ability which, if kept up, will soon place this Review upon a level with the best works of the same kind at home.

From the titles of the articles it will be seen that they embrace subjects of importance, and some of them of much present interest :—

1. "Astronomy of the Hindus," including an inquiry into the fitness of the *Siddhantas* for the purposes of native education.
2. "The English in India—our Social Morality," a copious and lively history of English manners in India.
3. "Lord William Bentinck's Administration," a review of Mr. E. Thornton's History of India, with reference to that portion of it which treats of that administration, and, as the Review contends, unfairly.
4. "Female Infanticide in Central and Western India," a thorough investigation of this mysterious and melancholy trait of Indian manners.
5. "Recent History of the Punjab," which, besides giving the true character of thirteen works upon the Punjab, presents a lucid connected narrative of the recent events there.
6. "The Administration of Lord Ellenborough," understood to have been written by the able editor of the *Friend of India*, and which, of course, takes the same unfavourable view of his lordship's measures as that paper has done.

From the second paper, on the social character of the English in India, we borrow the concluding portion :—

In considering this interesting subject, of the social character of the English in India, there are few points of greater importance than that touched upon above—the influx of European ladies into the country, and the facilities thus afforded for the formation of honourable connections. Capt. Williamson says, that, in 1810, the entire number of European women did not exceed 250, and that the difficulty of forming matrimonial engagements drove men into licentious connections. We are greatly inclined to suspect that there is some mistake in this assertion. Writing fourteen years before Capt. Williamson, the Rev. Mr. Tennant says, "Formerly female adventurers were few, but highly successful. Emboldened by this success, and countenanced by their example, such numbers have embarked in this speculation as threaten to defeat its purpose. The irregularities of our Government, which formerly afforded an opportunity to some of rapidly accumulating wealth and enabling them to marry, are now done away. Few in comparison now find themselves in circumstances that invite to matrimonial engagements: hence a number of unfortunate females are seen wandering for years in a single and unconnected state. Some are annually forced to abandon the forlorn hope, and return to Europe, after the loss of beauty, too frequently their only property." This was written in 1796; and, although it is highly probable that the great activity here spoken of was followed by a corresponding period of torpor, we can hardly bring our-

selves to believe, that, a few years later, the difficulty of forming honourable connections really presented any admissible excuse for the profligate concubinage which Capt. Williamson considered no "deviation from propriety." There is no room to doubt that the supply would, at all times, have been equal to the demand, if the gentlemen had been willing to avail themselves of the opportunities, thus afforded to them, of forming respectable alliances. Long before the time when Capt. Williamson wrote his *Vade Mecum*, there must have sprung up in India a new class of female members of society—the legitimate daughters of Indian residents. During the administration of Warren Hastings there was no lack of married women in Bengal, and the daughters of at least some of these women must have found their way to India before the century had died out.

When the first English lady made the voyage round the Cape, and who the adventurous heroine may have been, is more than we are capable of determining, necessitated as we often are to grope about darkling in these our antiquarian researches. The first European ladies who made the voyage to India were Portuguese. The earliest mention of the residence of fair strangers from the West, which we have been able to find in any work open to our researches, is contained in the travels of Pietro Della Valle, an Italian gentleman, or, as he describes in the translation, "a noble Roman," who visited the country in 1623. According to this authority, the King of Portugal took upon himself to send a small annual investment of female orphans to India, for the especial use of the settlers on the western coast. "We are no sooner come to the Dogana," says the noble Roman, after describing his voyage to Surat, "but the news of our arrival was, I think, by Sig. Alberto's means, carried to the house of the Dutch, many of whom have wives there, which they married in India purposely to go with them, and people a new colony of theirs in *Java Major*, which they call *Bataria Nova*; where very great privileges are granted to such of their countrymen as shall go and live there with wives and families; for which end many of them, for want of European, have taken Indian, Armenian, and Syrian women, and of any other race that falls into their hands, so they be or can be made Christians. Last year, the fleet of the Portugals which went to India was encountered at sea, and partly sunk, partly taken by the Hollanders; amongst other booty, three maidens were taken of those poor but well descended orphans, which are wont to be sent from Portugal every year, at the king's charge, with a dowry, which the king gives them, to the end they may be married in India, in order to further the peopling of the Portugal colonies in those parts. These three virgins falling into the hands of the Hollanders, and being carried to Surat, which is the principal seat of all their traffic, the most eminent merchants amongst them strove who should marry them, being all passably handsome. Two of them were gone from Surat, whether to the above-said colony or elsewhere I know not. She that remained behind was called Donna Lucia, a young woman, fair enough, and wife to one of the wealthiest and eminentest Hollanders." We may think ourselves fortunate to have alighted upon this passage; for it is probable that in no work of an equally remote date is there to be found, in a few sentences, so much information relative to the domestic condition of the earliest European settlers; and the intelligent reader cannot fail to gather from it much more than is expressed. Of English ladies we can find no mention in the "noble Roman's" book. Signor Della Valle, who, it appears, was accompanied by his wife and a young Italian

lady, his adopted daughter, tells us, that though, on landing at Surat, he was immediately invited to the house of the English president, he declined the invitation, "for that it was requisite for Signora Mariuccia to be amongst women, of which there was none in the English house." Of the evils resulting from the scarcity of women, even amongst the Portuguese, he gives us, in another place, a somewhat distressing picture. Incestuous intermarriages were by no means uncommon. "The Portugals," he writes, "who, in matters of government, look with great diligence upon the least moles, without making much reckoning afterwards of great beams, held it inconvenient for the said Mariam Timatin to live with me in the same house, although she had been brought-up always in our house, from a very little child, and as our own daughter. For, being themselves in these matters very unrestrained (not sparing their nearest kindred, nor as I have heard, their own sisters, much less foster-children in their houses), they conceive that all other nations are like themselves." A French traveller, "Monsieur Dillon, M.D." who published his voyage to the East-Indies, towards the close of the seventeenth century, does not give us a much more favourable account of the Portuguese ladies. "There are very few," he says, "but what are sufficiently sensible that the Portuguese in general have these three qualities belonging to them: to be zealous, to the highest degree of superstition; to be amorous, to a degree of madness; and jealous beyond all reason. Neither will it appear strange, if the ladies of Goa are as tractable and obliging to handsome men as those of Lisbon. 'Tis true they are watched as narrowly as is possible to be done; but they seldom want wit to deceive their keepers, when they are resolved to taste of the forbidden fruit; and they are the most revengeful creatures in the world, if they happen to be disappointed in the expectation!" Monsieur Dillon supports this assertion with some anecdotes, which we have no desire to transfer to our pages. What we have set down is sufficient for our purpose. We wish that it had not been necessary to have set down so much; but we have deemed it of some importance to shew the fearfully lax state of morality among the first European settlers—to shew what sort of example was set by their predecessors to the English in India. The subject is not a pleasant one; but without such allusions as these, it were impossible to fulfil the task we have set ourselves—to trace through all its changes the progress of the social morality of our countrymen in the East.

We have shewn, by an incidental quotation in an early part of our article, that, at the commencement of the present century, there were French and Dutch women in Bombay, and that the English governors sometimes took out their wives and families. At the time of the black hole affair (1756), there were several ladies in Calcutta. One, an East-Indian, was among the sufferers; but we know not what the others, who were carried safely off to the shipping, may have been. Mr. Ives, in 1757, tells us that the supercargo of the *Futta Salaam* died at Galle, his "illness being occasioned by a cold he caught in dancing with some ladies who were just arrived from Europe." At Tellicherry, he tells us that he dined with "the Company's chief," Mr. Hodges, a married man, who introduced him and his companions "to every gentleman and lady in the settlement." We learn from Captain Stavorinus, that when he visited Bengal in 1771, there was a moderate supply of ladies both at the English and Dutch factories. He was necessarily more competent to speak of the character of the latter than of our British fair ones; but we fear

that there is not much reason to believe that we very much excelled our neighbours. "Domestic peace and tranquillity," he writes, with reference to the Dutch at Chinsurah, "must be purchased by a shower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon the sideboard; the husband must give all of these, or, according to a vulgar phrase, the house would be too hot to hold him, while the wife never pays the least attention to her domestic concerns, but suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or slaves. The women generally rise between eight and nine o'clock. The forenoon is spent in paying visits to their friends, or in lolling upon a sofa with their arms across. Dinner is ready at half-past one; they go to sleep till half-past four or five; they then dress in form, and the evening and part of the night is spent in company, or at dancing-parties, which are frequent during the cold season." There is more of this; but we have quoted enough. Of the English ladies he tells us little, except that they wore very fine dresses. He attended a ball at the governor's, which was opened by the governor's lady (Mrs. Cartier) and the Dutch director; and at which we are told the "company were very numerous, and all magnificently dressed, especially the ladies, who were decorated with immense quantities of jewels." A few years afterwards, when the elegant Marian held her court at Belvedere, Calcutta seems to have rejoiced in a sprinkling of the fair sex, if not sufficiently profuse to blight the devoted gallantry of their knights, quite enough to humanise society. Thus a Madras correspondent writes to "Mr. Hicky," in July, 1780: "In my last I sent you an account of the number of ladies which has arrived in the late ships; there came eleven in one vessel—too great a number for the peace and good order of a round-house. Millinery must rise at least twenty-five per cent.; for the above ladies, when they left England, were well stocked with head-dresses of different kinds, formed to the highest ton. But from the unfortunate disputes which daily arose, during the space of the three last months of the passage, they had scarce a cap left when they arrived." And describing a grand Christmas dinner-party, at government-house, in a later number, we find it set down, that "The ladies were all elegant and lovely, and it was universally allowed, that Calcutta never was decorated by so many fine women as at present." We find, on referring to the journals of the day, that few ships arrived without bringing a little knot of spinsters; and that many of these very soon threw off their spinsterhood. The marriage announcements raise a smile. The bride is always duly gazetted as "a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments, recently arrived by the *Minerva*;" or "an agreeable young lady who lately arrived in the *Ceres* from England." M. Grand, in his interesting narrative of his residence in India, gives an amusingly naive picture of the knightly devotion with which some young ladies were regarded: "In the enjoyment of such society," he writes, "which was graced with the ladies of the first fashion and beauty of the settlement, I fell a convert to the charms of the celebrated Miss Sanderson; but vainly, with many others, did I sacrifice at her shrine. This amiable woman became, in 1776, the wife of Mr. Richard Barwell, who well may live in the remembrance of his numerous friends. Of all her sex, I never observed one who possessed more the art of conciliating her admirers, equal to herself. As a proof thereof, we met sixteen in her livery, one public-hall evening, viz. a pea-green French frock, trimmed with pink silk and chained lace with spangles, when each of us to whom the secret of her intended dress had been communicated buoyed himself up with the hope

of being the favoured happy individual. The innocent deception which had been practised soon appeared evident, and the man of most sense was the first to laugh at the ridicule which attached on him. I recollect the only savings which we exacted was, for each to have the honour of a dance with her, and as minuets, cotillions, reels, and country-dances were then in vogue, with *music herself*, she obligingly complied to all concerned; and in reward for such kind complaisance, we gravely attended her home, marching by the side of her gopalan-keen, regularly marshalled, in procession of two and two." The lady who could dance sixteen reels, country-dances, &c. "with ease to herself," must have possessed an enviable stock of strength and elasticity. Our Indian ladies appear never to have lacked energy sufficient to go cheerfully through an amount of labour in the ball-room, one-half of which they would deem it, anywhere else, the utmost hardship to be called upon to endure. In 1793, we find them described as dancing from nine in the evening till five o'clock in the morning—and at the beginning of the present century, the ladies, according to Lord Valentia, were in the habit not unfrequently of dancing themselves into their graves. "Consumptions," he writes, "are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute, in a great measure, to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise, they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere." Victim after victim was consigned to the tomb; but the warning lesson was unregarded; and still the history of each new sacrifice might be fittingly told in the language of Ford's noble drama, *The Broken Heart*:—

When one news straight came, huddling on another,
Of death, and death, and death, still I danced on.

The temptation was not to be resisted. See what was the state of society in those days, and judge if it was not really something worth dying for: "The society of Calcutta is numerous and gay; the fêtes given by the Governor-General (Marquess of Wellesley) are frequent, splendid, and well-arranged. The chief justice, the members of council, and Sir Henry Russell, each open their houses once a week for the reception of those who have been presented to them. Independently of these, hardly a day passes, particularly during the cold season, without several large dinner-parties being formed, consisting generally of thirty or forty. A subscription assembly also exists, but seems unfashionable." Now here, indeed, was work for a delicate spinster, calling loudly for a Limitation of Labour Bill, to prevent young English women, in a foreign land, from killing themselves by inches. No wonder that unsophisticated natives asked why the English did not follow their custom, and hire people to dance for them?

And here we may not disadvantageously digress to offer a few remarks on a subject peculiarly illustrative of the progress which the English have recently made in social morality. No one who is familiar with descriptive works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can have failed to observe the very prominent place which the *nautch* occupies in every picture, not only of native, but of European social life in India. A traveller, on first landing on our Eastern shores, was sure to be entertained with a *nautch*; and a *nautch*, too, somewhat different from the dull and decent affairs of the present century. Even European gentlemen sometimes entertained troops of *nautch*-girls, and thought it no discredit to possess such appanages to their domestic establishments. Indeed,

there were some who imagined that, without such adjuncts, the duties of hospitality could not be properly performed. What would the European of the present day think if, when about to enter the house of a friend, in quest of his hospitality, he were to be met in the compound by his host, attended by a troop of dancing-girls? We may venture to say, that a large number even of our Indian readers have never seen a troop of dancing-girls. The English gentleman who were now to entertain his guests with this well-nigh exploded abomination, would infamize himself in the opinion of the majority of his countrymen; and none, by attending such exhibitions at the houses of the native gentry, raise themselves much in the estimation of their brethren. The more respectable portion of the British community scrupulously abstain from attending the *nauchas*, which, even in our recollection, were graced by the presence of many of the first gentlemen, aye, and ladies, in India. The holiday and other *nauchas* now given by some native gentlemen are attended only by natives, and such less reputable Europeans as have little or no character to lose.

But to return from this not irrelevant digression. There are few, if any, of our readers, whether in this country or in England, who have not heard much and read much on the subject of female adventurers and the marriage-market, and young ladies going out to India on what was vulgarly called "a spec." All this is quite swept away. There are young ladies in every part of India; but the question of what they are doing there may be answered without reference to the marriage-market. In most cases they are found in our Indian stations for the same reason that other young ladies may be found in London, or Liverpool, or Exeter—simply because when in these places they are in their proper homes. Adventuresses there are none. The race has altogether died out, since the time when Capt. Williamson set down, as a fact worthy of record, that a young lady, on first arriving in India, "*should have friends to receive her.*" We should as soon think of writing, in the present day, that she should have shoes to her feet. The passage in the *Vade Mecum* to which we refer, will be curious at least to our younger readers:—

"It should be understood, that the generality of young ladies, though they may certainly comply with the will of their parents, are by no means partial to visiting India. The outfit is not a trifle; no lady can be landed there, under respectable circumstances throughout, for less than £500. Then, again, she should have friends to receive her; for she cannot else obtain even a lodging, or the means of procuring subsistence. It is not like a trip, *per hoy*, to Margate, where nothing but a well-lined purse is requisite; and where, if you do not meet with friends, you may easily form acquaintances. Let us, however, suppose all these things to be done; and that some worthy dame welcomes the fair adventurer to her house, with the friendly intention of affording an asylum, until some stray bachelor may bear away the prize. We have known some instances of this, and, in particular, of a lady making it, in a manner, her study to replenish her hospitable mansion with objects of this description; thereby acquiring the invidious, or sarcastic, designation of 'Mother Coupler.' But such characters are rare; and it generally happens, that those who have the will, do not possess the means, of thus rendering the most essential services to young women, who, we may fairly say, are in this case transported to India, there to take their chance! That several have been thus sent, or have thus adventured, round the Cape, cannot be denied; in any other country, they

would have experienced the most poignant distress, both of body and of mind ; but such has ever been the liberality evinced towards this class of unfortunate persons, that, in most instances, prompt and effectual relief has been administered."

Young ladies are now never "transported to India" to "take their chance. Apart from all matrimonial intentions, they have a legitimate purpose in visiting India. The taunt that they came hither "to get husbands" is no longer applicable to the class. When they turn their faces towards the East, they do so, not leaving but seeking their proper homes. They go not to dwell among strangers, but "among their own people;" repairing to the guardianship of their legitimate protectors, and occupying as respectable a position in the house of their parents, their brothers, their sisters, as though they had never left the narrow precincts of their own island. Every cold season sees the arrival of a succession of magnificent passenger-ships, each one bearing a valuable freight of fair spinsterhood—but one has only to run one's eye along the passenger-list to satisfy any doubts regarding the why and the wherefore all these young maidens have made the voyage to the "Far East." The history of each is recorded in her name. Nothing is left to chance, save such chance as is inherent to all human affairs. Capt. Williamson says, that the voyage to India "is not like a trip, *per hoy*, to Margate, where nothing but a well-lined purse is necessary." In these days, the voyage to India is quite as easy, and quite as safe, as the voyage to Margate, and the well-lined purse is not necessary at all. Much has been written on the subject of the mercenary character of "Indian marriages." In old times it was believed to be, and in many instances it undoubtedly was, the fact, that a young lady, carrying to India her stock of chazans, put them up to the highest bidder. One has still a sort of vague confused idea of the old associations connected with those two significant words, "Indian marriages," as though they were the veriest sacrifices at the altar of Mammon, which cruelty and avarice ever plotted together to accomplish. Blooming youth and sallow wrinkled age departing as yoke-fellows, to be a torment one to the other, through long years of jealousy and distrust, and mutual reproaches; loathing on one side, crooked spite on the other; to end, perhaps, in guilt and desertion. The young maiden bought an establishment, it was thought, with her rosy cheeks and her bright eyes; she bartered the freshness of her young affections for gold and jewels; and woke, after a brief dream of glittering and heartless extravagance, to the true value of the splendid misery for which she had sacrificed her youth. Then there were years of pining discontent; of fruitless self-upbraiding; luxury and profusion, as adjuncts of happiness, estimated at their true worth; then, perhaps, an old affection revived; the temptation; the opportunity; the fall; the abasement;—and this, it was thought, was an Indian marriage. Such Indian marriages there have been—and such *English* marriages there have been. There has been a world of blooming youth—of pure affections—sacrificed ere now in all the countries of the earth; but, perhaps, these sacrifices are rarer, now-a-days, among the English in India, than among our brethren on any part of the globe.

Men marry earlier here than at home; and few are the marriages which are not, at least, marriages with *liking*. Very, very seldom is an old man seen standing at the altar with a youthful bride. There are more young couples to be seen in India than in the corresponding ranks of life at home; and not only

do young ladies themselves, but their parents, or other guardians, seem well content, in these more reasonable times, with the prospect of increasing comfort and affluence, as years advance (even though there be some slight struggles at starting), which every Indian marriage seems to present. Perhaps, take them for all in all, these Indian marriages are productive of as much happiness as matrimony, with its many blessings, can afford. There are evils almost inseparable from them, unknown at home; but there are privileges and immunities too, unknown at home—and the balance is pretty equally struck. Constancy and affection are plants which thrive as luxuriantly among us, as among our brethren in the West; and this, too, though in many instances the parties, before marriage, have had but small experience of the character and conduct of each. The acquaintance which leads to the contract is often slight; and this considered, it appears strange that incompatibility, with all its attendant evils, does not more frequently overshadow the domestic life of the English in India; but in this country, husband and wife, being more dependent on each other for daily succour and daily comfort, sooner begin to assimilate in taste and feeling, and are more prone to compromises and concessions. Literally, we are more *domestic*. There is little, except business, to take us away from our homes; and a considerable number of business-men have their offices in their own houses. Men spend more time beneath their own roofs, and have fewer temptations to quit the family circle, even if they were not, as they almost invariably are, tied down to the circumference of a few miles as imperatively as though they were restrained by a tether. A man cannot, if he would, play the gad-about. He has no convenient bachelor-cousin in the country, no affectionate old aunt dying to see him at a smart watering-place; no opportune client whom he can suddenly find it necessary to visit in Scotland, about the third week of August; no neglectful or fraudulent commercial correspondent, who renders it advisable, in fine weather, to make a trip to Frankfort or the Hague; no obsequious medical friend to recommend a little sea air, just as an old college chum, who has come into his fortune, is about to start on a pleasant little yacht-cruise in the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Separation, when it comes, is enforced separation. Stern necessity brings it about. The wife is compelled by ill-health to seek a more congenial climate; or the husband is ordered off, on active service. These separations are often painful in themselves; still more painful in their results. Did our limits suffer us, and did the nature of this article admit of such narrative digressions, we could produce many sad examples—not less painfully interesting than the most skillfully elaborated tales of fictitious adventure which the ingenious novelist creates—of the misery resulting from this one great evil of enforced separation. Many a household wreck have the hills of Simlah and Mussoorie looked down upon within these last few years; many the record of misery and guilt which might be inscribed in the huge dark volume of the Annals of Separation. And yet, deploring, as we do, the many sad cases of conjugal infidelity which have occurred within our own recollection, we cannot admit that they are sufficiently numerous—or that the contagion is sufficiently wide-spread—to detract from the general character of Indian domestic life. Let the English reader who may, have heard some vague stories of the immorality of our northern hill-stations, picture to himself a number of young married women, whose husbands are absent, perhaps, among the mountains of Afghanistan, perhaps on the sandy plains of Sindh, gathered together in a cool, invigorating climate, with nothing

in the world to do but to enjoy themselves. Then imagine a number of idle bachelors, let loose "between musters," or perhaps on leave for several months at a stretch, from Loodianah, Kurnaul, Meerut, &c., gay, young military men, with no more urgent, and certainly no more pleasant, occupation, than to dangle after young married women—"grass widows," as they are called—in the absence of their husbands; to amuse the fair creatures, to assist them in the great work of killing time, and finally to win their affections. Is it possible to conceive a state of things more surely calculated to result in guilt and misery? High moral principle has ere now fallen before temptation and opportunity; and many is the fair frail creature, possessing no high principle, who would, for these temptations, these opportunities, have retained her character as a faithful and affectionate wife, and in after years been a bright example to her children. The immorality to which we are now alluding, has been the result of a peculiar combination of circumstances; and must not be regarded as a proof of any thing rickety and rotten in the entire fabric of Indian society. We maintain, that that fabric is at least as sound as that of society in England; that the domestic and social virtues are as diligently cultivated, whilst, perhaps, there is proportionably even more piety and more charity than exists among our brethren at home; but we do not say that there are no occasional plague-spots to be seen on the face of society in India. Where there is flesh and blood there must be disease—moral as well as physical; we merely desire to claim for our brethren in the East at least as much merit on the score of religion, charity, and domestic virtues, as is assigned to our friends in the West. In some respects, perhaps, the common social checks operate more forcibly in India than in England; because society, though sufficiently extensive to erect itself into an important and much-dreaded tribunal, is not so extensive as to allow any member of it wholly to escape the observation of all around him. In London, the individual is lost among the thousands and thousands moving in the same rank of life, treading daily the same path, yet each man going about his own business, utterly regardless of the movements of his neighbour. He is but a particle of sand on the sea-shore; an atom in the enormous mass of humanity constantly in motion over the immense surface of the metropolis. Thus a man may, in almost perfect security, frequent the worst haunts of vice, spend night after night in shameless debauchery, and yet lose no ground in society. No one has seen him, no one has marked his progress but his sympathizing companions. Here, every man, who occupies any fixed position in society, is sufficiently well-known by scores of his neighbours to render it impossible for him to escape detection, if he pursues a course of open profligacy—and difficult to escape even though he takes precaution to cloak the deformity of his vicious career. The character of almost every Englishman in India is accurately known to the society in which he moves. It is known whether he is a good or a bad husband; whether he is sober or intemperate; honest or dishonest; religious or irreligious; and although it is true that some men occupying a high worldly station in society are courted in spite of their infirmities, perhaps there is no country in the world where religion and morality are really more fully appreciated; and even these men high in station, whose rank and wealth cover a multitude of sins, are avoided by many, and secretly censured by almost all.

That there are still some men in the country, principally in remote stations, who have a zenana attached to their establishment; that some few seek solace under the affliction of debt or the depressing influence of solitude, in the de-

basing excitement of noxious stimulants ; that there are amongst us men who, at the billiard or at the whist-table sometimes spend all the long night, and gamble for sums far exceeding their ability to pay ; that acts of cruelty and dishonesty are occasionally to be set down against the English in India ; that we are not, in short, even at this advanced period, thoroughly bleached, is undeniably true. But in what country of the world is the morality of the English, or of any other people, as white as snow ? There are drunkards and rogues, gamblers and keepers of mistresses, in London—Paris—Vienna—everywhere, more obtrusive and more shameless than in India. There is nothing, we say, in the amount of Indian immorality, to give us an unenviable notoriety. Nay, indeed, the balance fairly struck, the scale of our offences will rise. Are the English in India less domestic than their brethren at home?—Enter their houses at any hour of the day. Are they less temperate?—See them at their dinner-table. More dissipated?—Count the numbers who are asleep an hour or two before midnight. Less charitable?—Read the long subscription-lists to be found in every public journal ; count the number of institutions supported by private benevolence. Less religious?—Enter their churches on Sabbath-days ; set down the numbers of families that meet, morning and evening, for domestic worship ; satisfy yourself on all these points, and then let the answer be returned.

FROM KHĀKĀNĪ.

وزيري را كه اورا راستي نيست

نبايد زد به پيش شاه زانو

وزارت راستي خواهد نه بيني

چو مقلوبش كني گردد ترارو

THE INDIAN NATIVE ARMY.—CASTE.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR:—Although the present communication may not strongly interest the readers of your Journal generally, you will not, I am sure, deem its subject-matter unworthy the attention of some one in power at home, whose duty it is to watch over the local executive here. The hardship of the individuals whose case is now brought under detail is the more to be deplored on account of the contemptible absurdity from which it sprang, which is nothing less than a blind and ignorant endeavour to assimilate the stature of the native Indian army to that of the royal army of England!

The present regulations, it is manifest from their servile imitation of those extant in her Majesty's service, are framed with a view of bringing our sepoy and their officers as near to their compeers of the Queen's army as possible, in order to hand them over to the Imperial Government in a governable condition, at the expiration of the charter. It is not my province or intention to question the propriety of so doing, but I protest against the injustice which arises from the projected amalgamation of the two armies, in driving from the ranks of native regiments whole crowds of promising, able-bodied, but under-sized youths, who are cast upon the world, after having passed the spring of their existence on the drill-ground. These boys are, generally speaking, Mussulmans,—the sons, brothers, or nephews of deceased sepoy, whose faithful services have earned for their relatives the privilege of serving as candidates for enlistment, until of age to enter the ranks in their proper capacity of recruits. These children, like all *élèves* of military schools, contract habits of discipline, of the highest value to the state, promptitude, of essential service to themselves as light soldiers, and singularly fitting them for the lower degrees of military rank; yet, because nature has denied them a stature requisite only to make them weak and not useful, these boys are now turned out of our army, and thrown upon the world to earn a livelihood which their inexperience and mode of life have tended to make a matter of the greatest difficulty. If the object of raising the standard height of the native infantry is to exclude the Mahomedans, I will admit the reason of the measure; but, as I cannot bring myself to suppose that a government, which has had such numerous proofs of their valour, will commit such a monstrous indiscretion, I am at liberty to attribute it to some other motive, and in selecting the one before mentioned, I have done what is generally believed and talked of as the cause, viz. to assimilate the stature to that of the English army, and, assuming this to be the case, I will briefly expose the absurdity of the attempt.

In the first place, the natives (males) of the south of India do not attain a higher average stature than 5 ft. 3 in., and even at that height the Hindoos are slender and devoid of muscular development: secondly, when they rise above the average height, they are generally

slightly made, and weigh less, notwithstanding their length of limb, than men of 5 ft. 3 in.: thirdly, the Mussulmans, in some of the best recruiting districts in the south of India, certainly do not attain an average of 5 ft. 3 in., and many of the best-proportioned men of that caste, with frames well-knit, high insteps, muscular legs, and broad chests, are not more than 5 ft. 2½ in.; hence the most eligible candidates of both castes, but especially of the latter, are rejected as under-sized, when they are not only well-grown men, but absolutely stronger, more healthy, and more eligible in every respect as soldiers, than the weeds which are now received in their stead. The consequence is, that the Mahomedans are almost banished from the native infantry, and in a few years will altogether disappear from its ranks, although they are more attached to a military life, have fewer prejudices, more active physical courage, more stamina, and, in a word, are infinitely preferable for general service to the Southern Hindoos. Moreover, it is well known that they do not affect commercial or agricultural employment, and very few of them even are artisans; hence, their favourite profession failing them, they are either compelled to emigrate, or sink into a state of indigence at home, which, in a country like this, where famines periodically desolate the land, soon ends in the extinction of the race. To debar these people the pursuit which they are best adapted for, is, therefore, at once an act of impolicy and injustice, in neglecting to make their services useful, encouraging their emigration from the country, and consigning them, if they remain in it, to a state of poverty and discontent. That these are no imaginary evils will be admitted by every observant resident in India, who has been a sufficient time in the country to mark the rapid decline in number and condition of the Mahomedan population. To raise the standard height of the army, is to debar them from entrance into its ranks; and to prohibit their recruitment, is to extirpate them. But if the arguments on moral grounds are not sufficiently strong to cause the introduction of some exception in their favour, I think it can be shewn, on mere worldly reasoning, that their admission into the army is both expedient and profitable, setting aside altogether the consideration of turning into contented soldiers discontented and seditious subjects.

1. The regiments raised in France for service in Algeria, and called from that circumstance the Chasseurs of Algeria, are all as nearly of one size as practicable, and that a very low one, as it may be said to range between 5 ft. 2½ in. and 5 ft. 5 in. English measure; they wear a blue tunic, not unlike a short *ungreeka*, a light cap of cloth without frame-work, blue pantaloons, and shoes; they have no stock, are armed with light pieces, and present as perfect an appearance as can be found of what a light infantry soldier should be; they distinguished themselves immensely on service, and were found to undergo fatigue better than the other troops of the line. Yet these men, Frenchmen and Europeans, are all below the height at which we are enlisting the natives of an intertropical country, proverbial for the diminutive stature of its people, and whose best labourers are all below the French army stand-

ard, as may be ascertained by an inspection of the native sappers and miners.

2. During the continental war, in the early part of the present century, the army of England was recruited with men not higher than 5 ft. 4 in., for which a bounty was given of £18. 12s. 6d. for limited service, and about £24 for life; and it is worthy of remark, that *it was after the reduction of the old standard*, and the admission of men of the above height, that all the best feats of arms and all the best marches were made; yet, with this fact before us, we are daily in the habit of discharging recruits for no other reason than that they are under 5 ft. 5 in. The French, with greater wisdom, look to the form of the foot, the development of the muscles, and the direction of the veins of the leg; while they readily admit conscripts, therefore, at a small fraction above 5 ft. 2 in. English measure, they scrutinize the substitute of 5 ft. 3 in., and reject him if he has a flat foot.

Now, from these two examples, I wish it to be inferred, that men much below the average national standard make better soldiers than those who are considerably above it; and the obvious conclusion is, that recruits for the native army of the south of India should be selected from amongst the Mussulmans, instead of the Hindoos, as at present; the former possessing more pluck, more stamina, and more aptitude at military exercises, than the latter. If, however, it is considered a matter of high importance not to lower the present standard, it would be doing no more than an act of simple justice to restore all the recruit and pension-boys to the service who have been discharged as under-sized during the last five years, provided they possess the requisites of being under twenty years of age, upwards of 5 ft. 2 in. in height, and have no physical incapacity for the performance of military duty. These men will be found to possess activity and intelligence eminently fitting them for light infantry soldiers or riflemen, and the best manner in which they can be employed is in a body, either as light companies of regiments returning from foreign service, or as one of the new corps which, report says, are about to be raised. The opportunity furnished by the restoration of so many half-starved people to a popular service may be taken to make some alteration in the *pugree* worn by the sepoy, that now in use being singularly unsuitable as a covering for the head, where the glare and heat are so intense. The offer of restoration to employment to these men is so great a boon, that it may safely be coupled with one or two provisos, of which one should be the adoption of an uniform more closely assimilated to that worn by European soldiers, or, if it is not deemed advisable to make an alteration in their dress, a deduction in the pay may be proposed.

Sir Thomas Munro, I believe it was, who said that we should so instruct and improve the natives of India as that, when they could effect our expulsion, they would be able to administer the government of the country themselves; this opinion, coming from such a source, has received the respect that so wise an apophthegm deserves, and a more liberal and exalted policy has been pursued in all our late public measures

affecting the people than was formerly the wont. But, with all the desire of Government to promote their welfare, no practical benefit will follow, unless a new principle is disseminated amongst the lower grades, which shall teach them to behold with greater curiosity and less indifference the effects of foreign science and industry, and to look upon foreigners with less contempt on account of their want of caste, and upon themselves with less respect for the possession of it. Before any such feelings can prevail, however, they must be endowed with a new faculty, which shall force them to the confession of their own ignorance, the fallibility of their books, the puerility of their customs, and the filthiness of their habits. It may seem a far-fetched assertion to say, that we owe our retention of the country to the puerile habits of the natives, but such is the fact; for the system of trifling runs through all their acts, from the meanest to the most important; they are thus rendered incapable of great things, and fall easy victims to people of energy and decision, and, being once conquered, are slaves for ever. To watch the ryots, in their country villages, performing the labours of the farm, fills one with pain and disappointment; every thing seems turned topsy-turvy; the matters of no moment or consequence whatsoever are those treated with the greatest care; they are more considered, and more labour is expended upon them, than upon those of real necessity and utility. Thus they pay more attention to the nice arrangement of the thatch of their granaries than to the protection and preservation of the grain; they sweep their threshing floors with the greatest care after the grain is beaten or trodden out, and not before; consequently, they are at infinite labour to winnow out the dust and dirt which has been taken up with the seed; they take the greatest care of the water-bunds *between* the rice-fields, in order to prevent its escape out of one plot into another, and allow it to waste on its passage from the lake to the cultivated ground. A hundred instances might be given of the importance they attach to little things, and the neglect with which they treat great ones. They wrangle when they should be silent, and look on in silence when they should be up and doing. The carpenter, who never works upon any but the coarsest materials, uses an adze with an edge like a razor; the goldsmith, on the other hand, has a collection of tools that the poorest tinker in Wales would not accept in a gift; yet, seated upon his hams, in a dark corner of his verandah, he turns out of hand such intricate workmanship as none but a Maltese craftsman can imitate. Every art that is really useful or absolutely necessary is neglected, or suffered to remain as it was left to them by their progenitors; all that is trifling, valueless, and effeminate is pursued with careful and greedy attention. The man who will deny himself a full meal of grain, in order to effect a saving of the fourth part of a farthing, will spend all his own savings, his wife's gold ornaments, and his daughter's silver ones, in the prosecution of a doubtful lawsuit; nay, he will pawn his house, and sell his clothes, rather than suffer a defeat for want of funds to carry it on. If his case is clear, and the facts that support it above contradiction or suspicion, he will depend

less upon its soundness and upon their strength than upon his artful management of it, and the sinister and worthless evidence he can bribe in support of it. If he is successful in a verdict, he will ascribe the victory to his own adroitness; if he is cast, he will look upon his defeat as the consequence of superior cunning on the part of his adversary. Again, he will stint himself in the common necessities of life for years, will try to fatten himself on water, and die rather than indulge in a full meal, for the sake of saving money to spend at his son's wedding; when the wedding-day arrives, he will invite all his neighbours of the same caste, and all his relations (to the sixteenth degree), will send letters to his friends a hundred miles off, inviting them to the marriage; will pay the expenses of their journey, feed them and clothe them, and send them away rejoicing; will borrow money, at three per cent. *per mensem*, to furnish out the feast abundantly; will hire all the musicians and dancers in the town; will feed the poor with the best in the market for a fortnight—because it is the custom, and for no other reason. When the ceremony is over, he will relapse into all his former meanness; will pinch his family in every comfort, will lament the ruinous expense to which he has been put; will do any thing that is contemptible or wicked for the hundredth part of that which he doled out to the beggars, and will finally die of atrophy, from unwholesome food, or sink into a premature dotage from incessantly thinking upon one subject. But his fathers did it before him, and there is no help for it. If his favourite child tumbles into the well in front of his door, and is drowned, because there is no wall round it, he will tear his hair and beat his breast; but he will never curse his own folly in neglecting to pile a few stones round the mouth. In his childhood, he perhaps fell into the well himself, and his father thought it unnecessary to have a parapet built to prevent accidents,—why should he have it done? Thus the native of India always reasons *ex absurdo*, as the logicians say, and folly and weakness are the result. The way to change the aspect of things is surely not to foster their prejudices and to protect them from the severity of the law; yet, to the mortification of all good Christians, even the converts to our faith have been not only allowed, but encouraged, to maintain their caste; and, to the scandal of our legislators, the misdemeanors of foreigners, which are punishable with flagellation, are visited with simple imprisonment of the natives. Truly may we exclaim that “we have been doing those things which we ought not to have done” ever since we began making enactments for the protection of the natives. We have been protecting the strong against the weak, debasing the poor and exalting the rich, grinding the ryota, and screening the usurer and grain-merchant in their extortions; in short, doing good in such a manner as to make the little good done by us to the few, a monstrous evil to the many.

These may be taken as mere assertions; it is, therefore, of consequence to particularize the instances wherein so much mischief has been and is still perpetrated. With regard to the first, then, it is an incon-

testible fact that, in every district where a large native Christian population exists—Tanjore, for example—the gulf is as wide and deep between the Modelliars and the Kolees, as it is in any of the heathen temples; the former maintain all their pristine *hauteur* towards the poor Pariahs, as if the charities of their religion were not made for men so low; and the latter, with the appellation of Christians, and the privilege of worshipping at the foot of the cross, know no more of the divine truths of their new faith, than that it is enjoined on them to bear and forbear—a maxim known to them before, which, whether Christians or heathens, they are equally compelled to observe. The upper classes among these converts maintain that the popular opinion is a fallacy; that the deference paid by all classes of Hindoos to the brahmins is founded in a superstitious belief in their superior sanctity, inasmuch as it is no more than a civil right claimed by that portion of the community, springing from high descent, and respect is yielded to them whether they are priests or not. They also claim for themselves, in like manner, the submission of all the inferior castes, and have gone to the extreme length of separating themselves, even in the presence of God, from their brethren of lower birth, by partitioning off a portion of the churches for their own use. This exclusiveness has very properly been discountenanced in some places, and put an end to in others; but the unchristian spirit that dictated so shameful a practice is as prevalent now as it has ever been, and the support given by us to the assertion and maintenance of caste is not likely to hasten its extinction. In the military service, when native troops embark on board ship with foreigners, the latter are warned to avoid all contact with the cooking-places appropriated to the former, and even all unnecessary approach to the side of the deck where the natives are cooking; separate casks of water are issued for the use of Europeans, Mahomedans, and Hindoos; the indulgence of cooking separately is also allowed to some natives, and Rajpoots have a different issue of rations: yet we do not hesitate to send the natives on board ship, and beyond the Attock, both equally forbidden by their books, with the other observances, about which we make so much fuss. It is true that the missionaries of the Scotch Kirk have everywhere refused to receive communicants into the bosom of the church without a perfect abandonment of every privilege of caste; but this cannot be said generally of the other Protestant clergy, and not at all of the Catholic priests, who have pursued their work of conversion in this country more in the spirit of candidates canvassing for votes at an election, than of apostles redeeming men from the errors of ignorance and prejudice; indeed, it cannot be questioned that the Roman Catholic Christians of India, whether from the misdirected zeal of their pastors in admitting them to baptism before they have been taught the simple elements of their religion, or from subsequent neglect on both sides, are the most dissolute, prejudiced, and ignorant people to be found. The scenes one may witness, by visiting any of the Roman Catholic Parcherries, are such as can only be excelled in folly and depravity at some of the Hindoo shrines during

periods of festivity, and at the Hooles; the processions are composed of a rabblement of image-worshippers, who have forsaken one faith to follow another with an infinitely greater variety of forms and ceremonies, and who have, besides, added to their other vices the one so prevalent among foreigners,—to wit, drunkenness. But it is not their moral condition only that is uncared for; their improvement in the arts of life is not even thought of, and in this respect they are upon a par with the whole mass of their fellow-subjects, while they are below them in the other: in short, our possession of the country, if it is not a curse to the people, is a very equivocal blessing. We sanction their conversion to a faith, which, as they are suffered to interpret its rules and exercise its forms, is no better than their own. We introduce no improvements in their mode of agriculture; we strangle their spinning and weaving trades; we let the carpenter work with the same unwieldy tools as heretofore, the farmer to use the same sort of hoe, or spade, or whatsoever implement it is which he calls a *mamoty*, the scoop of which is *parallel* with the handle, itself so short as to oblige the person who uses it to work with his nose in the ground. Indeed, it is inconceivable by any one who has not lived in India, how absolutely destitute of result in the way of improvement has been our intercourse with its people. There is not one of our useful inventions with which they are even remotely acquainted in any town twenty miles from our own presidencies. The children run naked to school, and learn their lessons in the sand before the door, just as was done three thousand years ago. There is not a book or a bit of paper to be seen, a few leaves torn from a neighbouring palm being their only substitutes. When they return home to eat rice, as it is termed, and it is literally nothing more, they squat down on their hams upon a floor covered with cow-dung, and eat the meal with their fingers; such a thing as a spoon, or a fork, or even a knife, is not to be found, perhaps, in a whole township, and such a piece of furniture as a chair, or a table, or a bench, not in a whole district; the only articles of use are some earthen pots and a few brass vessels; these, with a sleeping cot or two, and a change of clothing, form the household stuff of a rich man. The poor ryot contents himself with earthenware only, and composes himself to sleep upon the cold ground.

Will these people ever be able to expel us, or to govern the country after our expulsion? They will never even attempt to expel us; and if we are driven out, they will merely change their masters, and not their condition, unless, indeed, we teach them to be less trifling in their habits, more social, more manly, and Christianize them when we convert them. That these things can be done is made manifest in Calcutta and Bombay, where many of the opulent natives have ceased to think and act after the manner of their forefathers. The merchants there transact their affairs with the liberality and foresight of Europeans; the young men of all castes meet together for the purpose of discussing questions of religion, policy, education, and manners, and conduct themselves in all the relations of life with becoming dignity; the converts to Christianity, too, especially those of the Scotch Mission, are

substantially Christians, without any leaven of heathenism ; but how small is the number of these enlightened men in comparison with the countless multitudes to whom not a ray of intelligence has been communicated by our presence ! Nevertheless, ignorant and depraved as they are, they were thought sufficiently advanced in civilization to be relieved from the influence of the most active known agent in the suppression of vice ; and here we come to the second instance in which they are unjustly treated by us.

Lord William Bentinck, in his horror of corporal punishment, declared that it was productive of more evil than good, revolting to the human mind to contemplate, and equally degrading to the inflictor as to the sufferer ; he, therefore, enacted that it should cease to be used in our provinces ; and no sooner was the act passed, than our gaols were filled to overflowing with petty thieves, malingerers, and deserters, who were good subjects and steady soldiers until they found out that they were no worse off as convicted felons. But worse consequences than mere impunity for the lesser order of crimes has resulted from this crotchet of the Governor-General's ; the natives, knowing that foreigners could still be punished with the lash, arrogated to themselves on the instant the possession of all the virtues, and have been ever since teaching themselves to look with less respect upon their fellow-creatures who are still liable to its infliction. It is impossible to guess what is passing in the minds of the mass, because we have so little intercourse with its members, as to be almost placed out of contact with them ; but, in the native army, the existence of a new feeling is spoken of by men who have watched its growth from the birth. This feeling displays itself when a man is ordered upon any obnoxious duty, when he is admonished, and even when he is brought to trial. In the first case, he will question the authority ; in the second, he will appeal ; and in the third, he will ask for a superior court to try him. Nor is this all : he is constantly reflecting upon his exemption from corporal punishment and his power of appeal, and comes at length to think that to appeal is a point of honour, and a necessary duty to himself, in order to a full enjoyment of his rights (*hukh*). Such aptitude does he at last acquire in cavilling with the awards of his superiors, that half his time is spent in thinking and talking of these "rights," which are just as much respected now by his superiors, and no more, as they were half a century ago.

Still the machine, if it has occasionally turned the wrong way for a short time, has made two or three forward movements in the right direction. Suttee, merriah, and infanticide have been happily extinguished ; natives have been declared capable of holding offices of trust and emolument, a masonic lodge has been opened for them, and scholarships have been founded for them. These are all very wise and liberal measures ; but I repeat, that the good which they effect is confined in its range, both as to place and person ; the benefits should embrace within their sphere the great masses who live far removed from us ;—the farmer and the artizan, who are not a whit better off, either as to intelligence

or worldly prosperity, than they were under the sway of their own chiefs. I reiterate this expression, because I observe that those who ought to know better, are in the habit of talking in a strain of admiration of the extraordinary improvements of the natives; many of these authorities never stir beyond our presidential seats, and others who do visit the interior have seldom any intercourse with the lower classes. If a small cargo of guano arrives, and is distributed among the gardeners near the fort, we are straightway congratulated upon the marvellous advantages that will accrue to native husbandry; if a railroad is projected from Bombay, we are told that it will work a miracle in the habits of the people; the bestowal of a scholarship is taken as a theme for discomfiting upon the rapid strides of the native community towards perfection. A community, forsooth!—the people of India are nothing of the sort; they have nothing in common save their bondage; and it is only by the renunciation of caste that they will ever become a body-politic. When we shall persuade them or force them to do this, we shall begin to give a tangible shape to the apophthegm of our late far-seeing governor; they will then unite probably to amalgamate with the foreigners whom, notwithstanding their supremacy, they hold in the most unqualified contempt—possibly to drive them out and assume the country themselves. But that this relinquishment of their puerility and depravity is an event beyond fulfilment during the Kaliyug, I take to be demonstrable from the little benefit they have derived from our sovereignty, and the little wisdom we have allowed ourselves to acquire from our intercourse with them and experience of their character. This great stumbling-block to their advancement and to the catastrophe which Sir Thomas Munro contemplated, is a bugbear that might be removed in a few years, if we will ourselves unite to do the deed; but as we must judge of the future by the past, I cannot bring myself to believe that any thing of the kind will ever be done as long as there are Christians to be found in India who will not merely uphold the absurdities of caste, but advocate its retention after the admission of the natives into the body of our faith; and as this continues to be done now as obstinately as it was in the beginning, the conclusion is, that it will continue to be done until the end of time: here is the latest disquisition on the matter, and it may be taken as a sign of the times.

A writer, under the signature of "A Bible Christian," in the *Madras Athenæum*, of 26th October, 1844, is "not convinced that any part of the New Testament insists upon the renouncing of caste, in order to become a Christian." He argues the point thus:—

I fully, however, admit, that when a person, supposing him to be a Hindoo bramin, desires baptism, and accordingly, after receiving that holy ordinance, should voluntarily wish to renounce caste by partaking of food with Europeans or other Christians, no person can, I imagine, have any objection to the change of custom he is inclined (without, however, being *persuaded*, directly or indirectly, by other Christians) to adopt; but, on the other hand, if he wishes to continue *privately or separately* to eat food, whether of the vegetable or of some animal species, to which he has been accustomed from his infancy when living

with his relatives, he is, I presume, perfectly at liberty to do so, according to the tenor of these Scriptures, viz.—*Romans*, xiv. v. 1, "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations;" v. 2, "For one believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak, eateth herbs;" v. 3, "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him;" v. 14, "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean;" v. 15, "But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died." V. 17, "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." In, however, thus far conceding to his prejudices, I wish it to be clearly understood, that no baptized person, of whatever nation or clime, whether Hindoo or European, or of any other descent whatever, can object to drink *indiscriminately* out of the same cup at the Lord's Supper; for if he does, he cannot be a *true* Christian, since our divine Saviour has commanded, when He first instituted this holy ordinance, thus,—"*Drink ye all of this.*"

I trust the above quoted directions from the Word of God will convince all Christians, both priests and people, of the heavy responsibility they incur when they insist that Hindoo converts to Christianity *must renounce caste*, a doctrine which is not only adverse to the spirit of the Gospel of Christ, but in its consequences can only have the effect of exciting *disgust* to our most holy religion, and likewise hindering Hindoos of the bramin and other castes, whose disinclination to partake of food with Europeans is so deep-rooted and natural (from the mode they have been brought up from childhood) that, rather than break through their inveterate *custom* (which all must allow is "*second nature*"), they resolve even to forego their eternal salvation by rejecting the only true religion, whose teachers insist on their renouncing caste; whereas, as I have above shewn from the New Testament, nothing could be more opposed to its precepts. I further wish it to be fully known, that I am perfectly of opinion, that while every Scriptural concession should be granted to the Hindoo converts to Christianity, with respect to taking their food *among themselves*, they, however, must abstain from placing the distinctive marks of caste on their foreheads and their bodies, and other emblems whatsoever, such as the *thread* used over their shoulders, and the entangled load of hair worn by Pandarams, &c. &c.; for these symbols are purely heathenish and superstitious, and consequently at variance with the simplicity and purity of true Christianity.

In other words, we must treat them liberally—make the privileges of the brahmin and the burdens of the chandala hereditary, and perpetuate the distinction of caste, because "it has its origin in a difference of descent, and favours despotism." Now the more patent policy for us to pursue is the opposite to this, and in such a marked way, and with such a high hand, as to beat down all opposition, by depriving the most litigious even of the power of complaint:

1. Place foreigners and natives upon a perfect equality.*
2. Institute a college in England for the instruction of five hundred native youths.

The first measure would lead to the immediate closing of the Queen's

* European soldiers can be flogged; natives cannot.

Courts, and the removal of one of the judges from each to the Sudder Courts, in the capacity of recorder; whereby a considerable saving would be effected. The second should be conducted in a spirit worthy of so great and glorious an undertaking; not less a sum than £50,000 per annum should be devoted to the purpose; the system of instruction should embrace medicine (including botany), engineering (including geology and agriculture), law, astronomy (including the Christian religion), and the fine arts. The youths should be taken from among candidates of all castes, preference being given to intelligent boys of the lower classes, who can quit the country without suffering the deprivations and penalties imposed upon members of the aristocracy; they should be sent overland, monthly, in such numbers as to form a society amongst themselves, to divert their minds from regret at separating from their friends; they should not be under ten years of age; and their residence in England should be measured by circumstances having reference to health, proficiency, and the like. Let the experiment be tried, and in ten years the brahmins and chettriams will send their sons to private seminaries in England, at their own expense, to prevent their total supersession by men of lower birth.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Southern India,
November 4th, 1844.

* * *

TRANSLATION OF PERSIAN POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: Oblige me by inserting the following in the *Asiatic Journal*, in reply to some remarks in your last number by "An Old Judge."

There must always be a wide difference between translations from European and Eastern languages, not only on account of the essential difference in manners, habits of thought, &c., but also of the frequent flights of nonsense in which the poets of the East indulge far more daringly than their brethren in the West. Surely a translator is not to be bound to his author's Pegasus, to follow him through all his freaks and vagaries, like Tappecoue and his horse in Rabelais, "*qui se mist au trot, à bondz et au gualot, à ruades, fressurades et doubles pedales, tant qu'elle rua bas Tappecoue, quoyqu'il se tint à l'aube du bast de toutes ses forces.*"* Wherever I have deviated from Hafiz in consequence of obscurity, or nonsense, or allusions which would seem pointless to the general reader, I have almost invariably inserted passages from some of his other odes; and I have done this on purpose to avoid the fault your correspondent has censured, viz. that of filling one's author with the common expletives of "Helicon's rhyme-jingling crew." I had hoped that one so skilled in Persian literature as "An Old Judge" seems to be, would not have failed to see this.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

Ipswich, Jan. 13, 1845.

E. B. COWELL.

* Pantagruel, iv. 12.

ON THE ORIENTALISMS IN ÆSCHYLUS.

NO. III.

BEFORE proceeding to view critically the two other plays of the Trilogy, it will be best, as was done in the case of the *Agamemnon*, to give a short sketch of their plot; and as they almost immediately follow one another in action, it will not be necessary to examine them separately. Of the occasion on which the *Eumenides* was written nothing need be said, as it is foreign to the present purpose, namely, that of seeing how far the principle, which has been demonstrated in the opening drama of the '*Oresteia*, may be discerned in the following two.

A short time after the departure of Agamemnon for Troy, Orestes, his infant son, was conveyed, principally through the instrumentality of his sister Electra, to a safe retreat at the court of Strophius, king of Phocis. Here he formed a friendship, so close as to have become proverbial, with Pylades, that monarch's son. The play of the *Choëphoræ*, or 'libation-bearers,' commences with the entrance of Orestes, who returns to his native land, in company with his friend, to avenge the cruel murder of his unfortunate father. The scene is laid at Agamemnon's tomb. Orestes proceeds to offer, according to ancient usage, a lock of his hair to the river flowing through the spot where first he saw the light, and where his earliest years were spent—the Inachus. While thus engaged, he sees approaching his sister, accompanied by the Chorus, robed in black, sent by Clytemnestra to pour libations on the murdered hero's sepulchre. The Chorus is composed of female slaves, who on entering sing of the poignancy of their grief, the terrors and sorrows of their lot. Electra then goes through the customary ceremonies; after concluding these, she remarks the lock just offered by Orestes, and the foot-prints of himself and Pylades left around the tomb. With the natural eagerness of affection, she compares the hair and the footsteps with her own, and finding them to correspond, at once decides that her beloved brother is returned. Orestes can conceal himself no longer; rushing from his hiding-place, he makes himself known* to Electra by his hair and his mantle, the work of her own hand; and both offer a prayer for divine assistance in avenging their father, at the same time bewailing his death. This ended, Orestes learns from the Chorus a dream which led Clytemnestra to send the offerings to the shade of Agamemnon:

* To account for the necessity of these tokens, we must remember that Electra and Orestes had been separated for many years.

from this dream he concludes that he is destined to avenge at once his father's murder, and adopts the following plan to obtain access into the palace, without awakening suspicion. Assuming the appearance of a traveller from Daulis, he knocks at the door; Clytæmnestra appears, and he represents himself as sent by Strophius to announce the death of Orestes. Electra keeps up the delusion by feigning to lament his fate. Clytæmnestra sends an old slave, the nurse of Orestes, to summon Ægisthus and his body-guard, to confer with the stranger. The slave enters, and expresses, in a short but beautifully written speech, full of the solecisms which such an event would naturally cause in the language of a person of that kind, her despair on hearing the fatal news. The Chorus advises her to summon Ægisthus alone; she consents; and the choral ode which follows is a prayer for divine assistance, for vengeance, and expiation. Ægisthus comes to hear the pleasant news of Orestes' fate, but is at once put to death by him. Orestes then seizes his mother. Her pathetic adjurations for mercy at first unnerve him; but a few words from Pylades restore his resolution, and he consummates his vengeance. "You have committed," he replies to his mother's entreaties, "an inhuman crime: receive as its reward an inhuman punishment."* The deed, according to the dramatic rule, is transacted behind the scenes, while the Chorus sings a song of triumph. The ecyclema is then opened, and Orestes stands exulting over his victims. Soon, however, the Furies of his mother, with their black robes and snaky locks, present themselves to his affrighted view, and he flies to Delphi, to seek aid and deliverance from his protector Apollo. Here ends the *Choëphoræ*.

The *Eumenides*, or 'Furies,' opens with the speech of the Pythian prophetess, who relates that she has seen in the temple a suppliant, surrounded by women with snaky hair, who keep guard over him. Apollo then enters with Orestes, and assures him of protection. Next, the shade of Clytæmnestra appears, and after calling up the Furies with many imprecations, vanishes. They awake, and come forward; on which Apollo drives them from his temple, and forbids them to touch the man under his protection. They refuse to obey him, and menace Orestes, who calls on Pallas to come and release him. A choral ode follows, in which the Furies declare their resentment at the interference of Apollo with their office; at the end of it, Pallas appears, and hearing the statements of Orestes and of the Furies, resolves on deciding between them by a solemn trial. The Furies loudly exclaim against this new and unprece-

* According to Sophocles, in the *Electra*, Clytæmnestra meets her death first.

dented proceeding ; but the Council is assembled, and the judges take their seats. The Furies interrogate Orestes, and he defends himself, whilst Apollo appears as witness in his favour. At length the votes are called for ; Pallas throws a white pebble, the sign of acquittal, into the ballot-box ; all are in suspense ; Orestes exclaims to his protector, "How, O Phœbus, shall this trial end?" "O gloomy Night, our mother, seest thou this?" the Chorus rejoins. But soon the anxiety of all is terminated by the voice of Pallas : "Orestes is acquitted ; the number of the votes is equal." Then Orestes breaks out into a speech full of praise and gratitude, while, on the other hand, the Furies indulge in mournful wailings at the loss of their power, and the slight cast upon them. But Pallas soothes them, and promises them a temple where they shall be revered and worshipped ; and the play terminates with the arrival of the *προπομπῶν*, who are to conduct them to their future abode.

The Oriental cast does not certainly appear so strongly in these plays as in the one last examined ; they are more active ; there is no prophetess, no female assassin who shrouds her fatal purpose under dark and deceitful words ; but we see in them the punishment of crime, and the terrible effect of revenge. For though Orestes had good reason for effecting his mother's death, and was afterwards by a divine arbitrator acquitted of all crime, yet it was after a severe struggle with his supernatural enemy, and even then the judges were equally divided against him. Yet in the choral odes, the passionate exclamations of Electra and Orestes, and the threats and lamentations of the Furies, we can still observe the tone which, as has been seen, pervades the *Agamemnon*.

The only new characters introduced are Electra, in the *Choëphoræ*, and Orestes, in both the plays ; for the part of Pylades contains but three lines ; and the Nurse, the Pythoness, and the two deities, can hardly be said to possess a peculiar character of their own ; certainly not one to which such a parallel can be drawn as to prove them Oriental, or the contrary.

Electra seems to be a favourite character of the poet's, a *beau idéal* of womankind. A devoted sister, an affectionate daughter, pious and modest, yet determined and indefatigable, he paints her in the brightest colours in which his heroine can be arrayed. And though she appear vindictive, what is this but earnest love for her father, guided by a feminine passion ? Or if she seem not retiring enough for the perfection of womanly nature, is not this rather to be attributed to the style of the Greek drama, than to any defect in the writer's conception, or his mode of delineating it ? It would be

hardly fair to attempt to prove, by comparing her with Scriptural or historical personages, that her character partakes of the Oriental cast; fraternal attachment is, we may hope, not confined to the East; but the deep affection she professes for Orestes, who seems to be the only link that binds her to earth, "*τίσσας μοίρας ἔχων*" (v. 288), holding four parts, that of father, mother, brother, sister—was very likely suggested to the poet's mind by a well-known Persian story, to be found in Herodotus.* Intaphernes, being detected in conspiring against king Darius, was, agreeably to an Eastern custom which exists to the present day, condemned to death with all his male relations. His wife was, however, allowed to save any one of them she pleased. She selected her brother, and, on being asked the reason of her choice, replied, "If God will, O king, I may obtain another husband, and other children may be born to me; but, my parents being dead, I can never by any means have another brother."

The character of Orestes is one which, though perhaps not equal to that of his sister, is drawn with a master-hand. In him we see very much of the Eastern hero. His expressions of love for his sister are not so fervent as we might desire; but this apparent coldness is only that reluctance to betray an attachment which Oriental habits foster rather than repress. But in parental reverence,—a completely Oriental virtue,—he surpasses her. He follows up his plans, not so much for the sake of revenge, as of avenging his father; and a mother's prayers cause him to waver in the very act of destruction. He professes no love, but reverence for his parent: "*τί δ' ἄρα σὺ; μηρέρ' αἰδεσθῶ κραεῖν;*" v. 899. But his meeting with his sister cannot fail to remind us of some incidents in the story of Joseph. His concealment, and sudden discovery of himself, when mentioned; the doubts at first raised as to his identity, and the scene which ensues on their being cleared up, bear all a very strong resemblance to the occurrences related in that beautiful and pathetic narrative. And, allowing for the different circumstances under which they are presented to us, there is no inconsiderable resemblance between Orestes and Joseph. The same fraternal and filial affection, the same love of their people, the same humble dependence on the Divine power, characterize both; and the principal difference between them is this, that the one exhibits his virtue in paying due respect to a murdered father, the other in providing for a living one.

The characters of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus are kept up

* *Thalia*, 119.

throughout the *Choëphoræ* as in the preceding play; and we trace the old spirit, with perhaps even a greater resemblance to *Athaliah*, in the few words the ghost of the former utters in the *Eumenides*.

We now proceed, as was done in regard to the *Agamemnon*, after reviewing the characters, to examine the diction of the two plays. This we shall do briefly; and, as noticed in the outset of the last paper, shall avail ourselves of Scripture to illustrate the passages adduced as partaking of an Oriental character:—

Choëph. v. 26. “My heart is fed with my groanings.” The figure here is an Oriental one, as will be seen on comparing it with *Ps.* xlii. 3, “My tears have been my meat day and night;” and *Ps.* lxxx. 5, “Thou feedest them with the bread of tears;” and with the well-known Eastern expression “to eat dirt,” denoting humiliation and misfortune.

V. 32. “Fear, that causes the hair to stand upright, that breathes wrath in sleep, uttered a midnight voice.” This passage, which seems to imply a nightly vision, as is to be gathered from the almost untranslatable word *ὄνειρόμαντις*, is almost a paraphrase of one in the book of *Job*, ch. iv. 13. “In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on man, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up;.....there was silence, and I heard a voice.”

The curses Orestes mentions as threatened, in the event of his not complying with the commands of the Delphic Oracle, strikingly resemble those which are found in various parts of Scripture. Loathsome disease, madness, nightly fears, expulsion from society, and untimely death, are set before the eyes of those who disobey the Supreme Ruler of the Jews, as well as those who manifest a want of reverence to the Apollo or Jupiter of heathen worship. The 69th and 109th Psalms, and 28th chapter of *Deuteronomy*, are instances of this: and the latter passage especially deserves a close comparison with v. 278—296 of this play. Many of the ideas will be found precisely the same. A few lines further on, the *lex talionis* of the Mosaical dispensation is inculcated, v. 309—314. “It is a very ancient observation (*ῥηγέρον μῦθος*) that the doer should suffer in his turn.”

V. 450. “Grave this on your mind; let it pierce through your ears.” A form of expression certainly Oriental.

V. 692. “Lifting his foot out of the mire of destruction.” A singular metaphor, a kindred one to which may be found in *Ps.* xxii. v. 15, “Thou hast brought me into the dust of death.”

V. 978—1017. This scene, in which Orestes displays to the bystanders the fatal garment in which his father was murdered, must remind us of the sons of Jacob exhibiting to their father the "coat of many colours," which his beloved son was accustomed to wear, stained with blood.

Eumen. 253. "The scent of human gore smiles on me." This apparently strained metaphor may be compared with one which is applied to the same object, and is certainly as much strained, to be found in the book of *Genesis*, chap. iv.: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." In Milton, whose partiality for Orientalisms, apart from the Scriptural source whence his poems were drawn, is well known, we meet with the lines:—

So scented the grim Feature, and upturned
His nostrils huge into the murky air,
Sagacious of his quarry from afar.

V. 832. "Assuage the bitter violence of the dark billows [of thy wrath]." The image here employed, *viz.* the comparison of the mind when agitated by anger to the ocean, is a natural and beautiful one; so natural, that "an angry sea" is an expression employed in our own language." Yet it is also extensively used in Scripture, as *Ps.* xlii. 7: "Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts; all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me." *Ps.* cxxiv. 5: "The proud waters had gone over our soul."

V. 938—995. The similarity of the curses mentioned by Orestes to those contained in various parts of Scripture has already been noticed: these lines contain a series of blessings promised to Athens, in a dialogue between the Chorus and Pallas; and their resemblance to Scriptural language is no less striking. The concluding verses of the 144th Psalm are almost a translation of some lines in this very beautiful scene. Fertility of the earth and cattle, happy marriages, and general prosperity are in both invoked on the favoured nation: "Happy is that people whose God is the Lord;" "I will never injure the city which almighty Jove and Mars defend."

V. 1001. "Under the wings of Pallas." Secure, and especially Divine protection is frequently represented by this metaphor, which is Oriental in character: Scripture abounds with instances of it. *Ps.* xci. 4. "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under His wings shalt thou trust." *S. Matth.* xxiii. 34. "Even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings."

Many more passages might probably be adduced in support of our theory; many which have been adduced may be considered as containing no argument in its favour. Further, we are sensible, it may be said, that instances of parallelism with Scripture, rather than of Orientalism, have been shewn; but still it cannot be doubted that some of the passages brought forward have a decidedly Oriental cast; and surely if numerous instances of parallelism can be alleged, it is not unwarrantable to conclude that the various authors had somewhat in common. If Boileau's satires resemble those of Juvenal, we may infer that the former made the latter his study.

We have touched on no theories respecting the connection of languages with the East, whence the human race originally sprang, which must be to a great extent barely speculative, and are certainly foreign to the present subject. The argument has not been to advocate a philological so much as a historical fact; we are not concerned with the origin, still wrapt in obscurity, of that noble tongue which Æschylus employed, but with his own peculiar style. The views suggested concerning him have, it is hoped, been, to a certain extent at least, made out; still we cannot close these papers without expressing a wish that the reader will satisfy himself upon this interesting point. A due appreciation of Æschylus can only be gained from a perusal of his works; as was said of Aristotle, so may it be said, with almost equal justice, of this poet, "*Non nisi ex ipso demum discas intelligere.*" May what we have mentioned, though confined to a mere cursory and popular investigation, induce the admirers of the poetical, the beautiful, the sublime, to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with his works; for such will find in him a mine of exhaustless treasure.*

* The edition of Æschylus made use of throughout these papers is that of W. Dindorf, Oxford, 1832.

" JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL."

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER X.—THE ARMY OF RESERVE.

IN four days we arrived at Rupur, and our camp was set forth upon the sandy shrub-clad slopes, situated between the rajah's little fort and the river. It is at this point that the Sutlej, breaking forth from its confinement, leaves the lowest range of the Himalaya, and enters upon the plains, rolling over a bed of rounded pebbles. The hills towards the Lahore direction are of a reddish colour, rugged and bare; but in the twilight morning, this colour is so modified as to render the landscape rich, point after point of the range jutting into the river, each, as it happens to be another degree distant, fading into a more neutral tint, with here and there the outline of the top gilded by the sun, which is not yet seen. The great mass of hills in the background undergoes a constant change of appearances after dawn; black at first, the neutral tint follows, which, merging into the lilac, whilst it lasts, gives the precise effect of a mountainous sea seen in a picture, and when the sun appears, the fir tree of northern regions may be discerned from the hot plains of India, flourishing upon the peaks. The sun must attain an angle of forty-five ere the line of the snowy range can be seen from Rupur. Our camp occupied the ground that, ten years before, had been taken up by the Governor-General, when he arrived at Rupur, to hold his interview with Runjeet, of Lahore; and the Sikhs, upon that occasion, pitched upon the low sandy flat at the base of the last hill on the trans-Sutlej-side, and as that interview was a memorable one, the place derived therefrom additional interest in our eyes. We were sorry to leave Rupur, with its lovely scenery and pleasant rides; but the object for which we had gone there having been effected, we took once more to our daily march, and reached Loodianah by a road sadly devoid of interest compared with that we had left. There were several ladies of the party, whose husbands were permitted to remain with them, and who would at sunrise, when all slow-marching mortals were chilled by the morning air, come tearing past the column, on active little horses, diverging on either side at a full gallop, so as not to interrupt the line; occasionally at these times, a little ravine or a shrubby piece of ground would be in the way, when soldier's nag and lady's palfrey "topped the thorn."

We halted a day at Loodianah, and continued our march to Ferozepore, the appointed rendezvous of the "Army of Reserve," which we reached on the 20th of November. A few battalions of the intended army had arrived, but not the great mass. A routine of preparation had been going on for some time; the quarter-master general had been planning camps and making brigading-grounds, and the commissariat had been digging wells and collecting supplies in every direction; hundreds of the former were dug at equal distances in the bed of a river,

usually dry at this season, and which meandered, in a horse-shoe fashion, through the flat which the army was to occupy. The site of the camp was, perhaps, the least picturesque piece of ground in India; but as 20,000 fighting men could not manœuvre on a confined space, the difficulty could not be overcome without encroaching on the flats and marshy ground beyond the town of Ferozepore, and which were constantly enveloped in the raw fogs of the Sutlej. The only object sufficient to serve as a guide throughout the enormous camp was the ruinous trunk of a peepul tree, leafless and blasted. It was the only tree for miles around, and ere the dispersion of the force it had acquired some notoriety. This scarcity of landmarks was highly inconvenient, for the camp of one regiment or brigade was so like that of another, that to search for your own after a long ride was like searching for an individual grain in a bag of rice; and to find one's way at night among bazaars, streets of tents, and picketed horses, "beat the Seven Dials all to smithereens." It was a sad bugbear to the European soldier, who, after wandering by day to the canteen of a comrade's corps, had no hope of finding his own camp at night, and generally passed the greater part of it in asking for it. One who had "passed round the rosy" somewhat oftener than judicious, would soon give up the pursuit, and lie down upon the damp ground to sleep himself into a dysentery; another, still less fortunate, would make a false step, and be next morning fished out from the bottom of a well. Her Majesty's regiment with which we were brigaded was noted as the grog-shop of the army; the fine regular street, which the three regiments presented, was easily kept by the returning convivia, who were able to walk at all; but the extremity of the street once arrived at, all knowledge of the quarters disappeared in a chaos of tents. The last tent of the street was sure to be the place where inquiries for the road were made, and that tent unfortunately was mine; the long range of the hospital just in rear of it, and the service establishment of doolies, and bearers, and camels, with kajawahs, rendered it the most prominent in the neighbourhood.

It had been reported to me several times, that drunken European soldiers had come there seeking assistance and guidance to their regiments; and at first, anxious that these should escape punishment for absence, and also from exposure to the chilly fogs that came on always at midnight, I had sent some home under the charge of native bearers, and others farther gone in Bacchus I had forwarded in doolies. I soon found, however, that it became a nightly business, and that my establishment grumbled at working for those they had no right to serve; moreover, strong suspicions existed that those who had once been favoured by me, and transported home, liked it so well, that past the doctor's tent they would not go without a doolie, or at all events without a guide; so that I gave strict orders that no stray soldier was to be taken home, but placed in the quarter-guard. At night, as usual, the return Bacchanals congregated at the hospital tent, but the native doctor refused all assistance. I heard all that went on, and the Irish brogue vying in dispute with the Hindostanee was ludicrous enough.

"Oh! thin, it's meeself will go to the doother and spake a thrife wid him," and the stumbling steps of a son of Erin were distinctly heard drawing nigh. Vicky and Tinker, picketed at either door, would by no means admit of his approaching too near, so, bringing up a few yards from the kannats of the hill-tent in which I slept, the Irishman would open his persuasive battery. "Och, botheration! doother dear, here's a spalpeen of a nigger of yourn objects to sinder me to the quarters of the Quane's 30th, and didn't yir hanar jist yirself order the black fellas to sinder mee there but two evenins bygone?" "Why who the devil are yo?" I would exclaim. "Och, thin, arn't I No. 125 of the 4th kimpny, doother, dear? and wont ye sinder me, for I believe Beezzebub is the capthane; and isn't me name Terrence Rooney? and the more the pity that ever a Rooney found hisself in sich a dipindint kindastion? Och! here's that spalpeen of a black doother, sur, awatin yir hanar's pleasure for arders; wont ye now, doother dear, gee me the loan of a doolie, and the niggers will bring it back in a jiffy, and as gingerly as may be?" Hearing no reply but the snoring of pretended sleep, he would continue: "Botheration! and is it to save them lazy niggers dat you wid not ge me the kinveyance? Och, thin, Terrence may stay wid yer hanar." Returning then to the hospital tent, we would turn into a doolie, and sleep there till morning; and when I paid my morning visit, I found that not the only one occupied.

Passing one morning through the camp of H.M.'s 30th, I was accosted by a dissipated-looking soldier, whom from his cap I knew to belong to that corps: "Kin yer hanar direct me to the quarter of mee, ridgmint?" "What corps is your regiment, my man?" for I liked to hear the ready wit that his nation are remarkable for. "Och, and by de powers, it isn't meeself that reminds jist at the present moment, by the token I can spake but little, and rade still less; but perhaps yir hanar can tell me?" "Is it the 13th?" "Och, no, yir hanar; a far bether regiment than the 13th." "Is it the 9th?" "Och, no, yir hanar, they are all saints." "Is it the 3rd?" "Och, yir hanar, no; I wish it was the Buffs, for their canteen is kinvaniently open at all times." "Probably it is the 39th?" "Och, good luck to yir hanar for tellin me, for that's jist the ould corps; and if ye kin be tellin mee where to fall in wid it, isn't it meeself will feel the obligation?" "Why, Pat, you are in the camp of the 30th at this moment." "Blood-and-ounds, and is it that ye say, an me been a looking for it the martial night through?"

Morning after morning, guns, infantry, and cavalry arrived to swell the chosen armament, and as each corps reached the confines of the camp, it struck off to its own brigading ground with as much precision as to a private parade. It was a great assembly, and few measures could have been more conducive to awe our neighbours, and make them sensible of our resources. By the 1st of December, 1842, the "Army of Reserve" was completely organized, each brigade in daily exercise, and the whole waiting the arrival of Generals Nott and Pollock, who were marching

through the Punjab. The camp's site, though sufficient for the Army of Reserve, was far from being equal to the accommodation of the Army of Afghanistan, and by the middle of December a new camp was formed on the low ground between the town of Ferozepore and the Sutlej, and a more chilling, rheumatic climate could scarcely be found. In two mornings the whole of the reserve force was moved, and every thing as regular in a few hours as though they had been encamped for a month. Afghan brigades began to arrive at the Sutlej, but were ordered to halt on the thither bank until the rear-guard came up, on which they were to make a “grand *entrée*” into British India, under the auspices of the Governor-General himself. It became a favourite morning's ride from the camp to the bank of the river, whence could be seen the service-worn tents of Nott and Pollock's army. The banks were here connected by a substantial bridge of boats, which was undergoing decorations, and triumphal arches were raising, to do honour to them on putting foot again within the provinces. On crossing over, and entering the united camp, every feature was a type of privation. The division of old Nott, who had held Candahar and the country as far as the Helmund so long, was literally in rags; and Sale's gallant 13th, and Monteath's 35th, the “illustrious garrison” of Jellalabad, clothed in sheepskins, and with scarce a tent among them, needed no herald of their fame; and many could with difficulty be distinguished from Affghans, some of whom had accompanied the return force as officers' domestics. Almost the first persons I met, after crossing the bridge, were Capt. and Mrs. W., with their little boy, quondam captives of Ackber Khan's. The lady was habited in a green riding-skirt, lined and bordered with a brown rich fur, and the little boy in a tunic of similar material, and an Afghan shawl-turban on his head. They were mounted on yaboos, and enjoying a brisk gallop in a very cold morning along the hard sandy bed of the river. As I passed, they met two field officers in undress. “How do ye do, Sir Robert?” and I recognized “fighting Sale.” Better here than when a Moslem sabre flashed over his prostrate form, beneath the ruined archway of Guznee. His companion was, I think, General McCaskill who destroyed Istalif.

At length, the brigade forming the rear-guard came up, and a day was appointed for their to-be-honoured junction with the “Army of Reserve.” The latter force was ordered out to receive them, and formed one continued street from the camp to the bridge of boats. The brilliant *cortège* of the one army contrasted strangely with the ragged and way-worn appearance of the other; the numerous staff, the cocked hat and flowing plume of the aides-de-camp as they swept along, the noble lancers of the Queen, with toe scarce touching stirrup, and the gracefully sitting trooper of the light cavalry, were there. “The conquering hero comes” was poured from twenty bands, as the generals' horses stepped upon British ground, and Lord E., who had received them, turned his horse's head with theirs. Then followed file after file, and squadron after squadron; and who could gaze upon them without a sense of obligation? The remnants of the Cabool army, and

Nott's Candahar force, excited intense interest. There goes the tithe of the gallant 5th cavalry,—a ~~mere~~ handful,—the others, where are they! Whitening the rocks of Jagdelluck, Gendamaik, and Tesoon. There is the little mountain train, drawn by white mules, the guns like toys; yet what havoc did they make among the foe, from many a cleft and mountain pathway! Now comes a melancholy band,—ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty,—are no more living of the British 46th! Yes, there is another, but he is not here. And he! they are past, not to be forgotten. The scene brightens, and gaiety reigns once more. Collock's horse artillery and dragoons, light cavalry and infantry, move onward, mass upon mass; albeit somewhat roughened and wayworn, they affect the beholder with feelings far differing from those who came before them.

That night were assembled at the Governor-General's festival the officers of both forces. Many ladies had accompanied their husbands; others had gone to meet theirs returning. That throng was one such as might ne'er be seen again; tarnished lace, fractured button-holes, and ragged elbows, were at a premium; nothing that was not service-worn would pass current. Here is a subaltern of her Majesty's dragoons, with a hole in either sleeve of his shell jacket! Never mind; on this occasion it is a pardonable offence. The scarred countenance, or maimed limb, drew attention and smiles, as did the ragged vestment short in its complement of buttons, while the bright plumage of the scarlet-trousered hussar, fresh from Buckmaster, failed in being noticed. The entertainment had all a military bearing and effect; three enormous pavilion-tents, conjoined, formed the ball-room, and a fourth made a noble banquet-hall. As I wandered to and fro, recognizing old friends in jackets that looked still older, I called to mind the ever-memorable ball at Brussels on the evening previous to Quatre Bras: the present formed a fine companion-picture to it. Lord Ellenborough stood the greater part of the evening, leaning against one of the massive tent-poles; the *suvrier in modo* gleamed in his countenance as Generals Sale, Nott, and Pollock, Captains Abbott, Oldfield, and a host of others, successively approached him. His lordship has moved, and places within his own the arm of the last of them; surely he is a favoured one. What an extraordinary appearance he has, with his long matted locks of raven, sufficient to cover half a dozen heads, and the coarse, ungloved hand, that is free, resting on the hilt of an Affghan sabre; he doubtless cleft a Cashmere turban ere he became master of that blade! It was Colonel Monteath, of the 35th N.I. Standing conversing, with my back to the centre of the hall, a couple of waltzers, who had not justly calculated their movements, came up against me and wheeled on. I turned to see who they were; the officer apologized, and the lady smiled, and looked as gay as the white satin robe she wore: three months gone she had eaten the bread of captivity! The Governor-General's band pealed forth a volume of spirit-stirring music that rung through the canvass hall, and made to quiver the banner shafts that hung from the centre poles.

No order followed this for the breaking up of the force; none knew the reason why; the mornings were spent in military exercise, mock battles, and "the turf." Strictness and discipline in every establishment were predominant. Were a tent pitched an inch awry, an intimation from the quarter-master general's establishment was sure to arrive next morning. If a subaltern ventured into the centre street of the camp of his regiment, he was sure to be driven into his tent by the flowing feather of a general and his staff making his rounds. Shere Singh, the king of the Sikhs, had shewn some symptoms of alarm at this military demonstration, and had most prudently sent over his son, Prince Pertab Singh, and Heera Singh, the son of Rajah Dian Singh, on a visit of ceremony and congratulation to the Lord of British India. These ambassadors were accompanied by the *élite* of the Lahore chivalry; the bright polished shield, shirt of chain, and burnished steel skull-cap of the cavaliers, the bow of buffalo horn and sheaf of arrows on the left shoulder, looked imposing, and some five hundred of these formed the body-guard of the prince. Like all Sikhs, they rode with great display and boastfulness, and without any attention to regularity or an ability to act together, and I doubt not a squadron of Queen Victoria's lancers would have clipped their feathers most effectually in a single charge.

An assembly such as this formed a good field for the far-famed horse-stealers of the Punjaub, who nightly displayed astonishing gifts connected with their calling. The horses of each regiment were picketted somewhat in the rear of their line, yet still within the protection of the sentries. As it was no uncommon thing for Sikhs to hover and lounge about the camp during the day, indolently gazing around, as if struck with astonishment at all they saw, and delaying their tours under these pretences, I believe these visitors of the day were the thieves by night; and knowing judges of horseflesh, too, were these Punjaubees, for they never took a fancy to a bad nag; the best tits in a man's stable were sure to be found out. The only safety for a good horse rested in his having a docked tail; not that instances of such being stolen were altogether wanting, but that being comparatively rare, it argued a distaste on the part of the Punjaubees to docked tails in general, and, indeed, all Eastern nations have a peculiar dislike to maiming their horses as we do; as the stolen dock-tail will only sell within the British provinces, he is seldom taken if others are to be got. Night after night, when the camp was steeped in slumber, a sudden panic of the syces and grass-cutters would fill the air with yells; a moment after, and the clatter of horse-shoes would follow, and not unfrequently the derisive laugh of the plunderer, as with heels tucked under the horse's flanks he sped towards the Sutlej, unmindful of the sentry's stray bullet. Their mode of proceeding argued consummate wisdom in their craft; creeping up to the line, like a reptile, the Punjaabee horse-stealer lies quietly down beside the sleeping grass-cutter, and most probably right under the coveted horse; here he rests himself, and gathers breath for the undertaking. When a period of silence has warned him that the mo-

ment of action is come, he, without leaving the recumbent position, slips off the heel-ropes and loosens the head-gear; then, stealthily gathering himself up, an instant more and his right leg is over the animal's back, and with his head laid close to the neck, or on one side of it, he touches him on the flank, and bounds off like an antelope. The astonished syce, suddenly aroused from his secure nap by the indistinct glance that he gets of his master's horse, scarce knows whether he was being ridden or only broke loose from his picket; but the scornful laugh of the marauder is borne back to him, and he in vain curses his bad luck. Hundreds of horses were in this way stolen, and found their way into the stables of the Sikh captains.

On the 10th of January, 1843, the general order appeared, dissolving the armies of Affghanistan and Reserve; our brigade was ordered to march on the 13th, and on the 15th not a single tent was on the ground that five days gone had borne 150,000 human beings.

CHAPTER XI.—THE NEW CANTONMENT.

Our brigade, consisting of one European and two native regiments, marched into the provinces to found a new cantonment, with but two short months in which to get up walls and roofs to shelter them from the hot winds of Hindostan. In Upper India, rain is of frequent occurrence in the cold season, and during this march it fell almost daily, and occasionally in such quantities as to inundate the roads. Marching is miserable work in wet weather, which tends in many ways to retard progress and divest the marching establishments of any comforts they otherwise might have. If fortunate enough to arrive at the end of the morning's march, and find tents pitched and ready, you may rejoice and be thankful. Well, you have done so; and not only that, but have succeeded in getting breakfast cooked, and in eating it, when the rain falls. The clashie, or tent-pitcher, cuts a canal round the outer kannat, to carry off the water. The rain continues, and increases in severity; the canal shews symptoms of soon becoming inadequate to the demands made upon it, and you find the interior of the tent gradually becoming more spongy and damp. Carpets are taken up, and the inmate must sit with his feet upon the table! Every half-hour the chance of getting any dinner diminishes, until the long odds against it are established. The domestics can only obey their master's call by wading up to their knees in mud, and leaving cavities within and without the doorway, admirably calculated to entrap you unawares. It is damp and chilly, but no firewood sufficiently dry to burn is to be had, and the little square stove in the corner looks as black and discouraging within as the clouds are without. Having gone to bed dinnerless, and set your mind upon sleeping out the bad weather, no sleep comes, but the time is marked as with a watch, by the drop, drop, drop, upon the counterpane, which satisfies you in a wonderfully short period that your bedding is already unpleasantly damp. Having fallen at length into an unrefreshing slumber, you dream of taking your meditated furlough to England, and all that you have heard of the coldness of the people

there, and the vileness of the climate, is realized; yes, and you consign the climate to the d——l, for you have felt cold as death from the first step you took from the poop of the *Mariana*; moreover, you have indulged in phantom peacoats, and purchased every variety of waterproof clothing from Macintosh's and Berdoe's, down to the Tweeds and Codringtons sold in the flash shops for 16s.; but nothing can make the congealed blood of an Indian circulate in such a climate. As a last resource, you make an imaginary visit to Sir Peter Pillbox, the fashionable physician, who tells you that if you wish to save the little portion of your lungs still remaining, to be off again to Bengal without delay. You awake in considerable irritation of mind, and find a foot of water in your tent, and that your bedclothes, having hung over on one side, had been acting the part of a syphon all night.

Camels and hackeries are bad carriage on slippery roads, and the increased quantity required for the transport of a European regiment hampered our progress in every way. Time, however, was valuable; and the brigadier pushed on, leaving tents, and camels, and hackeries in the mire. The flooded ditches on either side the road were at short intervals dammed up with camels dead and dying; it was like a retreat, in which every thing was abandoned to its fate; tents, boxes, and beds were lying in heaps upon the road beside the prostrate camels that had carried them. As no precautions were requisite, such as in an enemy's country, in order to avoid cutting the road up more than absolutely necessary, the regiment was ordered to remain in camp at Patassa, whilst the other two pushed on. This order rendered us much more comfortable, for when we started, two days afterwards, the rain had cleared off, and our tents become dry. Two forced marches brought us up with the brigade, not a tent of which had been pitched since they left us, and, all unpacked, they were strewed along the road. A European soldier had been left with every broken-down party; as I passed one of them, lying on a kannat, I inquired how long he had been waiting. He had been reading, and starting up at an officer's voice, replied, "This is the third day, please your honour." I looked over his shoulder, the volume in his hand was the "Holy Bible."

Nearly two months in a standing camp, occupying the site of our new cantonment, passed over. All had become learned in the philosophy of brick and mortar. Beams, bricks, bamboos, lime, grass, and gravel lay in heaps around. Officers and officers' wives practising fancy architecture; and a total respite from shell-jackets and blue frocks. Every description of habitation was in progress—stable, cook-room, bungalow, and pukka house. He of the latter affected to look down upon the sub who first built his stable or cook-room to serve as a shelter until a better was built; talked largely of bow-rooms, and thermantidotes to cool them, nicely laid-out gardens, and interest for money. But one short hour equalized the hopes and ambition of us all—for it passed through the camp that a hurkaru had arrived at the colonel's tent. All anticipated the news, for but a few days had gone since the intelligence of hostilities in Scinde had reached head-quarters. I

was in the act of giving an order for the morrow's work, when an orderly placed in my hand the following note :—

My dear D.—We are ordered off *instantly* to Schade ; I lose no time in letting you know, that your various arrangements may be begun at once.

Yours, in haste,

J. W.

My wife leaned on my arm whilst reading, and as I crumpled up the note, and thrust it into the pocket of my shooting-jacket, she little thought to what misery she had wedded herself in linking her destiny with that of a soldier.

Our half-built house was now without an owner ; and the many days of anticipated happiness therein—where were they ? At morn and eve after I had left, she, whose heart I had well-nigh broken in leaving, stole, day after day, like a ghost, through the workman-deserted rooms. The largest of our two tents I had pitched on the little property for her use ; and when her little camp was arranged for a movement towards a home she hoped might be more of a home than this, she lingered among the walls, as though she could not part with them also ; and but a few days had passed over, when the young grass sprung up in pale unhealthy shoots from between the tiles with which the rooms were floored, and even from the hearth, and the chimney became tenanted by bats. The field-rat again occupied the spot whence he had but a short time gone been driven by the purwa of the bildar. Where is the ruin so melancholy as the building that hath never been finished ? for a better token of rapid decay and the ephemeral prosperity of man, there is not. But this was not all ; filled with forebodings of evil, she clung to the least hope of a recal or countermand as long as hope remained ; but at last that went, and what was there but the consolation of tears ? It was a bitter time for one so fragile, and when no recal came, but only intelligence that the regiment had left the last station of the British provinces behind it, like her of old, she "refused to be comforted."

It was a trial, too, to leave the half-built bungalow, for together had we planned it out ; the future garden had been sketched by both, and when the sun had sunk, she had daily come to cheer me in my toil, and we thought it might, peradventure, be our home for many a day. Another little incident acted deeply on her feelings. A dog, the favourite of all I had, I left for her protection, and that of her scanty property, a small terrier, diminutive in size, but for symmetry of form remarkable. This little favourite never left the side of her mistress ; visited with her the crumbling walls of our intended home, and by her wistful look asked, in the language of a dumb animal, so easily understood, for her absent master. She knew she was the sole protector of her mistress, and her temper became so morose and irascible, that she scowled upon all save one ; never absent, and deriving consolation from this companionship alone, it was not wonderful that when a lengthened sickness confined to her pallet the pining one, she never left the little

mat placed for her at the foot of the couch. But this confinement affected still further the health and temper of the faithful creature ; she scarce would permit any one to enter the sick chamber save the medical attendant, and him she seemed to recognize as one from whose care good might come. An unnatural fierceness of disposition became habitual to her, and at length none but her mistress could with safety approach her. She had not forgotten her master, and when his familiar name reached her ear, she would jump joyously up, when, as suddenly recollecting the bereavement of her charge, with a low wail she would place her head on her mistress's knees, and sigh at intervals. It was melancholy to see the little terrier's grief ; but that was not all, for she died, and as her mistress stood by to see her laid at the foot of an ilex, she wept, and drew an unhappy omen of the future, and almost wished that she slept beneath it too.

We marched. I took with me as small a kit as possible, for carriage-cattle was scarce ; it consisted of two camel-trunks, a bed or charpoy, a table and a chair, one hill-tent, one strong yaboo horse, and my dogs Teazer and Tinker. The first march was dull ; even the most thoughtless had some ideas that possibly they might never return ; but the feeling soon passed away, and happy were they in their ignorance of the misery, sickness, and death that awaited them. We made a halt at Loodianah, and old friends everywhere pressed us to remain with them an evening, and say farewell. "God bless you, D.; we'll ne'er see each other again!" was the parting speech of my friend C. It was intended as kindness, yet was harsh to my ear ; and although the absurdity of it gave rise to a burst of laughter, the glee was but momentary, for the desolate heart of her I had left behind, should the prophecy be fulfilled, phantom-like, appeared before me.

The blasted tree of the Army of Reserve greeted our entry into Ferozepoor, where we halted a day to procure carriage. A gale of dust and sand, heated to 100°, blew the whole time ; nothing could be cooked, or nothing that was cooked could be eaten. A single day of this was enough for any of us ; and, saving that it was the last station where we might see those whom we liked, we turned our backs upon Ferozepoor with little regret.

COUNT BJORNSTJERNA'S "THEOGONY OF THE HINDOOS"

It is highly creditable to this Swedish nobleman that he should have acquired so intimate a knowledge of the theory and practice of the British Government in India, and the ancient history of the very ancient people subjected to it, as is evinced in this "Essay" (as it is modestly termed), and in his previous work, "The British Empire in the East." The Count has evidently not intended upon the present occasion to do more than exhibit a sketch of the subject, or subjects, of which he treats; but the Essay discovers a very comprehensive acquaintance with the best authorities, and a general accuracy, which convince us that, had he designed more, he would have well executed the design.

Although the title of the work seems to confine it to the Theogony, Philosophy, and Cosmogony of the Hindoos, it really embraces a much larger area of inquiry. After an introductory sketch of the early condition of India, and the ancient writers who have mentioned it, the Count gives a "General View of the Religion of the Hindoos;" describes their division into castes, and treats of the high antiquity of the Brahminical religion, and the early development of culture and science in India. He considers that there is a defect in the social system of the Hindoos through the want of an aristocracy, since neither the caste of Khetrys (Cshatriyas), nor that of the Brahmins, can be compared to the "nobility" of Europe, or correspond to the idea of an *aristocracy*; "and this," he remarks, "serves to explain the reason why the despotism of the Indian princes has been so unbounded, and why the people, incapable of making any resistance (for which purpose points of union and support are requisite), have done so little to defend their country and their hearths against foreign invaders." His estimate of the Brahminical religion is favourable. He observes that "the Hindoos acknowledged the immortality of the soul, as an article of religion, long before the time when a small number of philosophers in Greece and Rome had elevated themselves to this creed. An equally favourable sentence is pronounced upon the astronomical science of the Hindoos, who, the Count is of opinion, are proved to have "preceded all other nations in the application of the higher astronomy." He thinks that "the accordances between the religion of the Brahmins and of the ancient Egyptians leave no doubt that the one takes its origin from the other;" and he adduces a variety of proofs to shew that "the Hindoos have a greater claim to the

* The Theogony of the Hindoos, with their Systems of Philosophy and Cosmogony. An Essay. By Count M. BJORNSTJERNA. London, 1944. Murray.

primogeniture of religion, and consequently to the primogeniture of civilization, than the people of ancient Egypt.

The Count then gives an exposition of the religion of the Hindoos as a nation; of their philosophical systems; and of their epic poetry, as part of their religion. He then treats of Buddhism, of the Jainas, and of the Sikhs, as a sect. After a brief sketch of the nations of India, including the Mahomedan tribes, the Parsis, and the Syrian Christians, he investigates the cosmogony of the Hindoos, in the course of which inquiry he reviews the traditions of that people, and of all nations, respecting the Deluge, pointing out some remarkable coincidences in the independent accounts preserved from very remote ages of "a great flood overflowing the earth and destroying the greater part of mankind," and cites the results of geological science, with a view of ascertaining how far they accord with tradition.

In the last place, the Count examines the evidence with reference to the "first migration upon earth," in order to ascertain whether the inference, drawn by him from the cosmogony of ancient nations, that "the human race was, in all probability, associated on the high land of Central Asia," in the first ages of the world, can be established; and "whether there are grounds to conjecture that, previous to this period, some other part of the earth was inhabited by the parents of the human race." From geological and physical data, he concludes "that the polar regions must have been inhabited earlier than those regions situated nearer to the equator;" and as both polar regions must have been prepared equally early for the reception of mankind, "it is possible that the appearance of man took place at the same time in both regions;" and "perhaps, the *white* race in the countries about the north pole, and the *black* race in those about the south pole." In proportion as the earth became cooler, he supposes mankind retired from the polar regions, and approached those of the tropics, and Siberia, not then cold and desolate, but "the land of the golden age, the mythic era, and the hyperborean culture, spoken of by Plato and Solon, by the *Vedas* of India and by the Egyptian priests of Sais," was "the first in our Asiatic European continent to receive mankind." In proportion as the temperature of the land decreased, the great river-valleys of Siberia led our ancestors up to the high land of Central Asia, whence, after a long abode, they migrated to India, China, and Persia, long before the cataclysm we call the Deluge.

When we mention that all these vast questions are discussed in a book of 182 pages, it is needless to say that they are not deeply investigated; but all the leading points are put with much force, and supply subjects for present reflection and for further research.

INCREASE OF THE SALT TAX IN MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

TO THE EDITOR.

LETTER II.

SIR: In a former letter, I endeavoured to show that, as the tax upon salt in Bengal did not exceed 400 per cent. upon the prime cost of the article, and, as it was about 1,600 per cent. in Madras, the enhancement of the tax in the latter presidency, upon the plea that the tax in Bengal was absolutely higher, was an act of gross injustice, and that it was an insult to the people of Bombay and Madras to tell them that the repeal of the town and transit duties would compensate them for the duplication of the salt tax, inasmuch as these duties fell exclusively upon luxuries consumed by the better orders, whilst it was upon the lower orders, that is, upon the great mass of the people, that the additional salt tax fell with peculiar severity. What would the French people say, if their government was to profess to benefit them by repealing the Octroi duties, and substituting a capitation tax?

Let us now examine the financial policy of the measure.

The original price of salt at the pans in Madras is from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 the garce; under the native governments, salt paid duties which raised the price to Rs. 20 to the wholesale dealer. In 1805, we established a monopoly of the article, and fixed the monopoly price at Rs. 70. In 1810, we raised the price to Rs. 105. After a few years of trial, in doubt whether the revenue was as productive under the high as under the low price, we reduced it again to Rs. 70; and then again, finding the sales increase, we raised it once more, in 1827, to Rs. 105; so that what cost the Government Rs. 10, cost the consumer in the maritime districts Rs. 151, and the consumer in the interior from Rs. 204 to Rs. 235. It has been demonstrated that the surest way of securing a large revenue from an article of general consumption, is to put a moderate duty upon it; that an excessive duty is the parent of smuggling, and that the extent of illicit trade depends upon the facilities which are afforded for carrying it on. It was when the tax upon Madras salt amounted to 1,000 per cent. upon the original value, and where salt is made, or rather makes itself, along a coast extending for upwards of a thousand miles, that the Supreme Council determined to put an additional tax upon it of 71 per cent. Was this addition made in the knowledge that the old tax sat lightly upon the people; that the consumption of salt had increased with the population; or upon any evidence that the people of Madras were in a condition to pay a higher tax? No; this resolution was adopted in the face of proof that the consumption of salt was gradually declining under the pressure of the existing tax; that the consumption in

1839-40 was	...	...	37,455 garces.
1840-41	...	...	35,496 "
1841-42	...	...	35,441 "

What other effect, then, can the enhancement of price have but to accelerate this decline, and to defeat the very object for which an additional tax is imposed, viz. an augmentation of the revenue? And am I not warranted in expressing an apprehension, that the comparatively small increase which the Court of Directors have sanctioned will prove to be the feather that is to break the horse's back? It is idle to talk of the addition that will be made to the means of the people to purchase salt by the abolition of the transit duties, for these duties had, years before, been purged from what made them oppressive to the lower classes; the great mass of salt consumers profited, therefore, nothing by their abolition.

Almost to double the price of salt, in the teeth of proof that the people could hardly pay the existing price, would have been a financial blunder, if the tax upon salt had stood alone; but coupling that measure with the whole financial system of the minor presidencies, the blunder will appear to have been of an exaggerated character. This tax was imposed under a total forgetfulness that the Governments of Madras and Bombay stand in the place of the landlords of the soil; that there are millions of acres of fertile waste belonging to the Government estates, which it is the great object of Government to bring under cultivation, because every acre cultivated brings not only an addition to the public revenue, but a proportionate addition to the public wealth of the country. Why, then, is all this land waste? Simply because the people want capital to bring it into cultivation? Why is capital wanting? Because the assessment presses so heavily upon the people as to prevent its accumulation. Who, then, are the great consumers of salt? The persons employed in agriculture, who form the great majority of the people. From what fund, then, is the new salt tax to be paid? Certainly, from that fund which, if the land tax be heavy, must be appropriated exclusively to pay that tax, or which, if it be moderate, would be invested in bringing fresh land into cultivation. It is clear, therefore, that the new salt tax must be paid at the expense of the land revenue—either of present revenue, or of revenue which would be created if the means of the ryot were not absorbed by another tax. If a ryot, with only a halfpenny in his hand, is called upon to pay a halfpenny for his land, and an extra farthing for his salt, one demand must remain unsatisfied; the Government can only get the halfpenny—the farthing may add to the salt revenue, but there will be a corresponding deficiency in the revenue for land, for it is the Government, be it remembered, that makes the double demand. This has always been the result. In 1810, we made an addition of fifty per cent. to the salt tax at Madras, which has been levied ever since; what has been the consequence? The

				1809-10.			1839-40.
Land Revenue was	...	...	...	£3,396,217	...		3,024,001
Salt Revenue	...	...	...	228,572	...		340,259
				<hr/>			<hr/>
				3,624,789	...		3,373,260
The gross revenue of Madras was	...	...	...	£4,127,509	...		£4,000,249

Increase of the Salt Tax in Madras and Bombay.

Both the land and the salt revenues of Bombay appear to have gradually increased of late years ; but whether the salt revenue has increased from internal consumption, or from foreign demand, is not shown in the accounts which are before the public. Moreover, the territory of Bombay is of comparatively recent acquisition, and it is only lately that the full assessment upon the land has been levied.

The prosperous condition of the revenue of that presidency, in all its branches, was the very reason that should have induced the Supreme Council to leave things alone, instead of arresting that prosperity by doubling the price of a necessary of life.

Those who have thought the most deeply upon the subject—the late Mr. Mill amongst others—have considered it a great boon to India, that the rent of the land, instead of being alienated to individuals, as in Europe, has been reserved in India to defray the expenses of the state, because the community, by this reservation, are saved, *pro tanto*, from taxation ; but we cannot take a heavy rent from the land, and lay a heavy impost upon the cultivator at the same time, under the name of a salt tax, for that is only another name for an increase of rent. We cannot do this without causing a reaction upon the land revenue. The increase of the land revenue in India is the spontaneous act of the people ; the increase of revenue by an additional tax upon salt is an act of the Government ; and it is because the additional tax upon salt falls with such peculiar severity upon that class who already pay so heavily for their land, that it is eminently unjust. If the Government of this country had the same interest in the land which the Governments of Madras and Bombay possess, we may be sure that there would be no malt tax, or any other tax that has a tendency to check the consumption of corn. Taxes would be imposed exclusively upon the non-agricultural classes, because any thing taken from the agricultural class in the shape of tax would tend to retard the cultivation of the land and the progress of the land revenue. In Bengal, the Government does not possess the same interest ; it ceased to have the same interest in the lower provinces when it made over all the waste land in perpetuity to the zemindars, and in the upper provinces when it made over the waste to renters for a term of years ; there is no fund, therefore, in Bengal for an increase of revenue from the land. If the Government want more revenue, they must look for it from other sources. It was not, therefore, a financial blunder, however objectionable it might have been in other respects, for the Government of Bengal to tax the produce of the land, under the name of transit duties ; neither does it rob itself by imposing a high tax upon salt, or upon any other article ; it merely gets from such imposts what it would have got from the land if it had retained its rights in the waste. But at the other presidencies, every rupee taken by such taxes from the agricultural class is so much abstracted from the land revenue.

It may be said, perhaps, that Government cannot afford to wait the tardy progress of the land revenue,—that they must have immediate compensation for any thing that they give up. But no such exigency was

felt when the transit duties were abolished in Bengal; the people of that presidency were not directly taxed (for the salt tax operates as a direct tax, as none can escape it) to fill up the *hiatus* which that abolition made in the revenue; the Government looked for compensation to the gradual increase of trade, and to indirect taxation through the medium of trade, and their expectations have been fully realized. Why, then, was not the same course pursued at the other presidencies? Why, if immediate revenue was the object, were the import duties lowered at Madras from 8 to 3½ per cent., the export duties from 8 to 3, the duties on foreign bottoms from 16 to 7? Why did the Supreme Council insist, in the teeth of the opinion of the Madras Government, upon the abolition of the excise duties upon betel, tobacco, pepper, sandal-wood, and other articles of pure luxury, and the duplication of the salt tax? The question between the two Governments was, whether it was advisable to continue a tax upon luxuries which fell upon the rich consumer, or to make the poorest labourer in the land pay 3-5ths instead of 3-8ths of his daily earnings to the state in the shape of an increased tax upon salt; and, to the astonishment of all reflecting persons, the Supreme Council came to the conclusion that the community would be benefited by the abolition of the tax upon luxuries, and an enormous enhancement in the price of salt. We may be pretty certain that such a conclusion would not have been come to if Madras and Bombay had been allowed to fight their own battles in the Supreme Council. The attention of that Council would have been drawn to the facts, that whilst the land revenue of the rich provinces under the Bengal Government, with a population of thirty millions, amounted to three millions and a half sterling, the land revenue drawn from the arid plains of the Madras presidency, and from a population of only thirteen millions, yields three millions and a quarter; that the total produce of the four great sources of revenue in Bengal—viz. land, Sayer and Abkarry, customs and salt—is Rs. 5,87,23,710; that the same sources yield in Madras Rs. 4,34,40,945; that the former sum, divided amongst a population of thirty millions, gives an average payment of 1r. 15s. 3p. per head, and the latter 3rs. 5s. 5p. The introduction of these facts would, perhaps, have led the Supreme Council to inquire into the whole system of taxation of the four presidencies, and into the relative condition of the people of all the presidencies, before they determined to inflict upon the people of Madras and Bombay a duplication of the salt tax, upon the plea that the people in Bengal and Agra pay a still higher tax.

If the Supreme Council had dealt as generously with the people of the minor presidencies as they did with the people under their own charge, by the gratuitous abolition of the transit duties, the measure would have been hailed as a benefit; but, as the enhancement of the price of salt is felt exclusively by the poorer orders, and as these orders greatly predominate, the burthen imposed exceeds the relief given. If we thus give the last turn to the financial screw in time of peace, what are we to do when our military expenses are doubled in time of war? "Every great state," says Sir Thomas Munro, "must have the

means of raising extraordinary taxes in time of war; if it has not, it can only meet its expenses by reductions in peace,—a resource which must soon fail, as it cannot, without danger, beyond a certain limit. This principle ought to be kept in view in all revenue measures, and ought to be fully explained to the inhabitants." May I venture to observe, that, if the authorities in Bengal would condescend now and then to look at the lights which have from time to time illumined the presidency that they are fond of calling "benighted,"—if they would look into the writings of Munro and Malcolm, of Clive and Webb, of Walker and Read,—they might, perhaps, find information that would help them in the great and difficult task of legislating financially and judicially for India.

I have trespassed so much upon your space, that I must reserve what I have to say upon another injustice which has been done to the people of Madras by the abolition of slavery, without compensation to the owners, to a future opportunity.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

S.

PRESENT CONDITION OF PERSIA.

A LETTER from Tabreez, dated 26th October, published in a London paper,* gives a deplorable representation of the present condition of Persia :—

Poverty and misery prevail at Teheran to a frightful extent, and the Court itself offers the most piteous appearance. When the Shah rides out, he is accompanied by some hundred servants, constituting his guard of honour, one-half of whom are without shoes, and covered with rags. The courtiers, the civil officers, and the troops receive no pay, and the exchequer is completely exhausted. In proportion as the population diminishes and poverty increases, the amount of taxes received in the provinces becomes more feeble, and scarcely suffices for the support of the Government. The trifling income derived from the provinces falls into the pocket of the grand vizier, Haji Mirza Agasi—a man extremely avaricious, who feels but two passions—to fill his cellars with gold, and to cast cannon. The cannon foundry costs the Government enormous sums of money. Every week a twelve or twenty-four pounder is cast, and on that occasion the grand vizier never fails to be present. This rage for casting cannon produces no advantage in a military point of view, as there is not a single gun-carriage for all the cannon already cast. The poor Shah cares but little for the dissipation of his resources. He reposes unbounded confidence in Mirza Agasi, his ancient tutor, whom he believes to be a saint. Mohamed Shah is but thirty-eight years of age, but he is already old, in consequence of his debaucheries. He cannot walk twenty paces without support, and he is obliged to be lifted on his horse by four servants. He loves not state affairs, which he leaves entirely to the direction of his grand vizier. Three passions occupy this monarch—luxurious and enormous eating, the amusement of counting his diamonds, and the witnessing executions, either by cutting off the nose and ears of convicts, or by putting them to death by the bastinado.

* *The Times.*

"INDIA AND LORD ELLENBOROUGH."

SECOND AND CONCLUDING ARTICLE.

HAVING in the former paper disposed of a few preliminary points mooted or suppressed in this pamphlet,—and in doing so exhibited specimens of the disingenuousness of the writer,—we now proceed to his political and military criticisms, in which he dogmatizes with wonderful confidence, considering that they are diametrically opposed to the avowed opinions of the Duke of Wellington.

In order to form a correct judgment regarding the measures pursued by Lord Ellenborough, and his orders and documents (which the writer has garbled), it is indispensable that the state of India, when his Lordship set foot upon its shores, should be clearly understood: we scarcely need, therefore, to say that the writer keeps this essential part of the subject as much as possible out of sight. He confesses, indeed, with awkward reluctance, that the position of Lord Ellenborough was one of unexampled difficulty: "In *ordinary* candour," he says, "it must be admitted, that, on the arrival of Lord Ellenborough in India, his situation was neither enviable nor easy. He found the long-triumphant flag of England humbled by disaster and defeat; a vast army had been sacrificed without any countervailing advantage; isolated bodies of British troops still remained exposed to danger, while a number of unhappy captives were in the hands of a ruffian chief, on [of] whose probable disposal of them no one could guess; the power of the British name had received a fearful diminution; the spirit of the army was shaken by the disasters which had overtaken their comrades, and the past and the future seemed alike involved in gloom." When he was appointed to his high office, the result of the expedition to Afghanistan was supposed to have belied the prognostications of the Duke of Wellington, and realized the most sanguine hopes of its projectors and the approvers of that great political error: amongst the latter, according to the hypothesis of the pamphleteer, must be ranked the Court of Directors, who did not recal Lord Auckland, and are therefore responsible for his acts. Shah Shooja was then seated firmly, to all appearance, upon the throne, and the British forces had so completely secured the *secret* object of the expedition (which has since transpired), the military occupation of Afghanistan, that Lord Auckland has since declared "he was pressed to reduce a part of our force in that country."* Amongst thinking men, indeed, an impression adverse not only to its justice, but to its wisdom, was gaining ground, and the sentiments of the

* Debate in the House of Lords, 20th February, 1843.

then ministers were known to be opposed to its policy. Previous to his departure, Lord Ellenborough professed his intention to be, "to establish peace on both banks of the Indus,—a peace giving that sense of security to the people without which peace itself is valueless, and by means of that peace to create a surplus revenue, the only true security for great public improvements, for liberal, even for honest government." It is one of the unfair expedients resorted to by his maligners, to contrast these pacific sentiments with his warlike policy,—that is, to try his acts under one condition of things by the rules he laid down for another and a totally opposite condition. Yet, although he retained his post for only two years, "within so brief a period" he achieved what he promised; he *did* establish peace on both banks of the Indus, and not a hollow, treacherous peace, like that which lured our commanders to their destruction at Cabul, but a peace "giving that sense of security to the people without which peace itself is valueless," and he *has* "created a surplus revenue, applicable to great public improvements."

Upon his arrival in India, he found, to his astonishment (for, having performed the journey by sea, he had no previous warning), that every thing was changed;—that there was disastrous war where he expected to find peace; that victory had given place to defeat, and confidence to dejection and dismay. The resolution of Lord Auckland and his Council, upon the first news of the insurrection at Cabul, was, to abandon our fatal connection with Afghanistan, and withdraw our forces from that country as soon as practicable.* This fact is generally disbelieved, and, of course, the writer of the pamphlet suppresses it. Throughout the whole of his letters and despatches, before the fall of Ghuznee, before the repulses in the Kyber and Kojuck passes, Lord Auckland urges the necessity of withdrawal; every successive announcement of disaster only makes him more earnest upon this point; in spite of the strong recommendation of Mr. Clerk, the able resident at Lahore, to Sir Jasper Nicolls, the commander-in-chief, that we should "hold Jellalabad, with the view of advancing upon Cabul, at the fit season, simultaneously, from Candahar and Jellalabad, and having regained our influence by this proof of power, withdraw with dignity and undiminished honour,"† Lord Auckland reiterates, both to Sir Jasper and to Mr. Clerk,‡ his determination to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad, and almost the last letter written by his Lordship to the Commander-in-Chief, less than a fortnight before the arrival

* Despatch, Dec. 22, 1841. Papers relating to Mil. Operations in Afghanistan, 1843, p. 5.

† Despatch, Jan. 24, 1842. Papers, p. 118.

‡ Despatches, Feb. 10, 1842. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.

of Lord Ellenborough, contains this passage : " We lose no time, in continuation of our last despatch of the same purport, in desiring your Excellency expressly to instruct Major-General Pollock to direct all his efforts and measures to the withdrawal of Sir Robert Sale's force from Jellalabad to Peshawur, with the least possible delay, the major-general having a full discretion, if he finds it proper, in aid of his own military proceedings, to make such arrangements with the Khyberces or other tribes as may seem most likely to facilitate the easy attainment of that object."* With respect to the force at Candahar, it was at first intimated to Major-General Nott that he should retire by the Bolan pass, and Brigadier England was to advance to the Kojuck pass, " so as to facilitate and support such withdrawal." Afterwards he was instructed " to act for himself, upon his own distinct military responsibility."† In none of the papers where these orders are reiterated, is the release or safety of the prisoners made a condition precedent. In the despatch we have last quoted, there occurs, indeed, the following vague observation upon this subject : " We need not assure your hon. committee, that the painful situation of the officers, families, and European and native soldiers who are prisoners in Afghanistan, engages our most anxious thought, and that any measures which we can adopt, with fair and honourable prospect of advantage, for their comfort or release, will be eagerly adopted by us." And, in his letter to Major-General Pollock, dated 24th February, 1842,‡ Mr. Maddock is instructed to write, that the rescue of the prisoners, including even the widow of the late envoy, may be made the subject of negotiation, looking to " the ultimate possibility of some general arrangement ;" but the surrender of Dost Mahomed Khan was not to be stipulated for in exchange, although the major-general was authorized " to speak of his release as an event which, under various contingencies of circumstances, might not be altogether impossible ;" but Mr. Maddock adds : " Such a measure must be regarded as one of important state policy, and to be deliberately determined by the Government, upon considerations affecting only the general well-being and advantage of the empire." This can only mean that no serious risk should be incurred, and no sacrifice of other objects should be made, not even the surrender of Dost Mahomed, to secure the release of the captives. We mention this last fact without the design of imputing any want of humanity to Lord Auckland and his Council, but because the pamphleteer has brought a charge against

* Despatch, Feb 15, 1842. *Papers*, p. 141.

† Despatch, Feb. 19, 1842. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

‡ *Papers*, p. 154.

Lord Ellenborough, not in direct terms, but by means of innuendoes printed in capitals, that he intended to sacrifice the captives, "brave men, delicate women, and innocent children," by adopting the very orders issued by his predecessor for the withdrawal of our troops from the Affghan territories,—that predecessor, whom it suits the purpose of the pamphleteer to bespatter with praise, being "an upright, conscientious, and intelligent functionary."

This was the state of affairs when Lord Ellenborough reached Calcutta on the 28th February, 1842. His predecessor had lost no time in collecting troops and stores; but sickness was disabling the army of General Pollock, and Col'snel Wild had been defeated in an attempt to withdraw the garrison of Ali Musjid, in the Kyber pass. Amongst other indications of hostility, it is material to mention that Major Outram had announced, at this critical time, the incipient treachery of the Ameers of Scinde;* and they were immediately warned by the Governor-General, that "designs on their part hostile to the British Government would be punished by confiscation of their dominions."†

On the 15th March, the new Governor-General in Council came to the following decision as to the course proper to be pursued in the then existing state of things, and which he communicated to the Secret Committee on the 22nd: that Affghanistan should be abandoned, "the ground upon which the policy of the advance of our troops to that country mainly rested having altogether ceased to exist;" that "whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations," a position recognized by Lord Auckland, "and have in the first instance regard to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops at Jellalabad, Ghuznee, Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and Candahar, to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk, and finally, to the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Affghans, which may make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith, and that we withdraw ultimately from Affghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed;" that the only effectual control of the Sikhs, the Scindians, and other nations beyond and within the Indus, was the knowledge that we still possessed an army, perfect in its equip-

* Papers, p. 147.

† Correspondence relative to Scinde, p. 315.

ment, and able to act, at any time, with vigour against an enemy ; that no unnecessary risk should be incurred, but that the object of striking a decisive blow at the Affghans, especially to relieve Ghuznee, a blow which might re-establish our military character beyond the Indus, and leave a deep impression of our power, would be one for which risk might justifiably be incurred, with all due and proper precautions ; that, to effect the release of the captives " was an object likewise deeply interesting in point of feeling and honour, which could, probably, only be accomplished by taking hostages from the country, and with reference to this object, and to the relief of Ghuznee, it may possibly become a question, in the event of Major-General Pollock's effecting a junction with Sir Robert Sale, whether the united force shall return, or take a forward position near Jellalabad, or even advance to Cabul ;" but notwithstanding the advantages which would be derived from the re-occupation of that city, the occupation of an advanced position beyond the Khyber pass could not be sanctioned unless Major-General Pollock should be satisfied that he could, by his own strength, without depending upon the purchased forbearance of the tribes near the pass, or the fidelity of the Sikhs, overcome all who disputed the passage, and keep up his communication with the Indus ; that the force under Major-General Nott, crippled by want of cavalry (of which the general had complained) and of draught animals, could not be safely relied upon, even in conjunction with Brigadier England, to effect any thing beyond withdrawing the garrison at Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and its own retreat at the proper season.*

It will be seen that Lord Ellenborough, adopting the prudent resolution of his predecessor, to abandon Affghanistan and withdraw our troops, accompanied that resolution with another, which Lord Auckland had rejected, namely, to incur some risk in order to strike a decisive blow whereby to re-establish our military reputation and punish the enemy ; that he consented, under due precautions and conditions, to an advance by General Pollock, one object being the release of the prisoners, left by Lord Auckland to the " ultimate possibility of some general arrangement," and for which that nobleman would not sanction an advance of our troops, nor even the release of Dost Mahomed Khan.

The measures adopted to carry out these views, from which even the pamphleteer cannot withhold his approbation, are next to be considered. Reinforcements for the armies at the two extreme points of operations were urged as rapidly as the means of march

would at that season allow; the military commanders were no longer to be embarrassed by the control of young political agents,—the abatement of which “nuisance,” Major-General Napier says, “gave so much offence to those who profited by it,” and the Governor-General left Calcutta for the north-west provinces, in order to be near the scene of operations. “This *seasoned*,” the pamphleteer says, “to indicate not only great energy, but great determination of purpose.”

A few weeks, however, brought news of disasters which might well make a prudent ruler of India pause before he put its resources in the slightest degree to hazard. Ghuznee was surrendered. Major-General England, advancing (with a force which included five companies of a Queen’s regiment) to the succour of General Nott, was defeated, and forced to retreat, occasioning serious apprehensions for our station at Quetta. The spirit of the troops under General Pollock, upon whom every hope seemed to depend, was bad, desertions, as well as insubordination, prevailing amongst them. With respect to the last point, “the unfortunate panic among the Hindoo sepoyas, already reported,”* writes General Pollock, from Peshawur, on the 11th March, “has, in a measure, been overcome; but they still dread an advance to Cabul by this road;” and he expressly says that he limits his object to “relieving Sir R. Sale at Jellalabad, and bringing him back;” but he only “*hopes* he may calculate on his troops consenting to advance to Jellalabad,” and for even this purpose, he expresses an anxiety for the dragoons and horse artillery.† A confidential letter from the general to Capt. Macgregor, at Jellalabad, speaks in plainer terms:—

It must, no doubt, appear to you and Sale, most extraordinary that, with the force I have here, I do not at once move on. God knows, it has been my anxious wish to do so, but *I have been helpless*. I came on a-head to Peshawur, to arrange for an advance; but was saluted with a report of 1,900 sick, and a bad feeling among the sepoyas. I visited the hospitals, and endeavoured to encourage by talking to them; but *they had no heart*. I hoped that, when the time came, they would go. On the 1st (March), the feeling on the part of the sepoyas broke out, and I had the mortification of knowing that the Hindoos of four or five native corps *refused to advance*.‡

The despatch of Major-General England, giving an account of his defeat at Hykulzye, states that the enemy were in great force; that they fought well; “I have seldom seen better cavalry,” he

* Some unfortunate creatures from Cabul had come to the camp, and represented that, being Brahmins, food had been thrust down their throats by Mussulmans, and that they were spit upon. Others exhibited mutilated hands and feet.

† Papers, p. 191.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

says, "than those which, for the first time, displayed themselves, when the light companies fell back on her Majesty's 41st regiment," and that the resources and communications were in the hands of the enemy. Lieut. Col. Stacey adds, that "our intelligence was next to nothing."

The prospects at Candahar, at this time, notwithstanding the bravery of its garrison and the skill of its commander, were discouraging. General Nott, indeed, does not seem at any time to have despaired; but Major Rawlinson, the able political resident, speaks of the war becoming "one of great inveteracy," and of the necessity of "an overwhelming force."

In these circumstances, Lord Ellenborough came to the deliberate conclusion, which he communicated to the Secret Committee on the 22nd April,* "that it was expedient to withdraw the troops under Major-General Pollock," who had then forced the Khyber pass, and relieved Jellalabad, "and those under Major-General Nott, at the earliest practicable period, into positions wherein they may have certain and easy communication with India. That opinion," he adds, "is founded upon a general view of our military, political, and financial situation." General Nott was accordingly directed to draw off the garrison, and destroy the fort of Khelat-i-Ghilzie; to evacuate Candahar, ruining the defences, and retire to Quetta. The motives for the recal of General Nott are stated by the Governor-General in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief;† namely, that the fall of Ghuznee had removed the principal object for which it was expedient to retain the force at Candahar, whilst the disastrous and unexpected check experienced by Major-General England tended to cripple the before-limited means of Gen. Nott. "Thus," says the pamphleteer, "the moral courage of Lord Ellenborough oozed away as he approached the scene of action, and the 're-establishment of our military reputation, the decisive blow at the Affghans,' and the safety of the prisoners, were all cast to the winds." The misrepresentation is shameful. The fall of Ghuznee, the refusal of General Pollock's troops to march to Cabul, and the actual defeat of Brigadier England, were events which totally changed the state of things, and destroyed the very conditions upon which the decisive blow at the Affghans was contemplated, stated expressly to "rest solely on military considerations," and "to have, in the first instance, regard to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops" in Affghanistan. The ulterior objects, of re-establishing our military reputation and punishing the Aff-

* Papers, p. 228.

† *Ibid.*, p. 224

ghans, were not, however, as the pamphleteer asserts, "cast to the winds;" new "aggressive movements upon Afghanistan," to revenge our losses and re-establish our military character, were to be the subject of consideration after "our troops had been redeemed from the state of peril in which they had been placed,"* and concentrated in secure positions; the release of the prisoners was to be made the subject of negotiation, the Government consenting to relinquish all our prisoners without reservation, including Dost Mahomed Khan; and Lord Ellenborough, in his despatch to the Secret Committee, 17th May, declares: "The best means of effecting the liberation of the prisoners now in the hands of the Affghans has occupied my anxious consideration."† This was no vague promise. In a despatch to General Pollock, upon this single subject, Mr. Maddock writes the following instructions:—

The only safe and honourable course for a government to pursue, under such circumstances, is to effect the release of the prisoners by a general exchange, and if the Affghans had any regular government with which to treat for that object, there would be on our part no reservation whatever of any prisoners in our hands; but it is apprehended that the British prisoners are rather in the power of individual chiefs, who hold them for their personal benefit, by exchange or ransom, and it may be impracticable to make their release the subject of a general arrangement; the general is, therefore, authorized to make partial arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, not, however, surrendering Dost Mahomed without the express sanction of Government. "Your attention," Mr. Maddock adds, "will naturally be, in the first instance, directed to the release of the female prisoners; the sympathies of all are engaged in their fate; nevertheless the Governor-General feels it to be right to remind you, that all British subjects have an equal claim upon the consideration and protection of the Government, and that it is as much the duty of yourself, and of all the British authorities, to endeavour to effect the release of the last sepoy as that of the first European, by all means not tending to establish an injurious precedent, and consistent with the honour of the British Government."

Yet the pamphleteer has the confidence to assert that "the safety of the prisoners was cast to the winds."

What more could have been done? Was all to be put to peril for the release of these unfortunate persons, whose lives were in no danger? Could such release have been effected by any risk? Might not the advance of the armies into the Affghan territories, instead of releasing them, have changed their mild condition of prisoners of war into that of hopeless slavery in the depths of Central

* Letter from the Governor-General to Sir Jasper Nicolls, April 19, 1842. Papers, p. 225.

† Papers, p. 230.

Asia? It is expressly stated by Mohun Lall,* our agent at Cabul, that the prisoners had been removed from Cabul, it was supposed, with a view of their being carried off to Toorkistan, if the advance of General Pollock had forced Mahomed Akhbar to quit Cabul. Was not this their doom when the armies did advance? and was it not averted by mere accident and the treachery of their Affghan keeper, who had orders to put them to death, rather than suffer their recapture, and betrayed his trust for lucre? "Had not Sala Mahomed's love of gold," writes one of the captives, from Jellalabad, 26th October, 1842, immediately after their release, "been stronger than his love to his master, not all the efforts of Pollock's and Nott's armies combined could have saved us from the horrors of slavery, to which it was Akhbar's intention to have consigned us."† Yet the pamphleteer, in order to irritate the public mind, asserts that, "from the time Lord Ellenborough quitted his Council, and acted without advice or check, the burthen of his instructions was, 'retire, and leave the British prisoners to be maltreated and murdered!'"

The forcing of the Khyber pass, by General Pollock, though a great military feat, had but little improved the aspect of affairs. That officer writes from Jellalabad that, notwithstanding the successful negotiations of Capt. Mackeson with the maliks (chiefs) of the Khyber tribes, they could not be depended upon, as "any reverse on our side, or even the whim or caprice of a chief, might close the pass in twenty-four hours." The difficulty of obtaining camels and draught cattle, the general adds, went far to paralyze the movements of the reinforcements, and "from the Sikh authorities I obtained no assistance." In short, he wrote in "great anxiety." Sir Jasper Nicolls, referring to the circumstances of General Pollock, expresses a "great doubt that he can equip the force for a movement in advance at such a distance from our resources, and under the rooted dislike and fear of the Affghans entertained by every class of camp-followers: if they move ill-equipped, or are placed in an unhealthy position, the losses may be very heavy." Surely these representations, from the only individuals competent to form a correct judgment, ought to have rendered the Governor-General extremely wary in giving way to the very natural impulse to advance. "The general is a clear-headed, good officer," adds Sir Jasper, "and you have loaded his advance with heavy cautions:" that is, he may be safely trusted after the lessons of caution which you have judiciously impressed upon him,—not, as

* Papers, p. 316.

† *As. Journ.*, vol. xi. p. 22.

this passage has been perversely read, "you have embarrassed him with unnecessary cautions."

The Commander-in-Chief, "a very able and experienced officer," the pamphleteer condescends to say, on the 29th April, "having re-considered the whole subject," directed General Pollock to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad, under certain conditions, and the Governor-General approved of his instructions.

The communications, meanwhile, from General Nott, at Candahar, to the Indian Government, were to the following effect. That officer, being unacquainted with the motives which had influenced the Government, felt himself in some "perplexity and embarrassment" from the conflict between the determination "to redeem the credit of the British arms in Afghanistan" and the orders issued to General Pollock to withdraw the Jellalabad garrison. Although, he says, the Government had prescribed to him no decided line of conduct, he had inferred from the tenor of their communications, that, if he could maintain his position at Candahar, without risking the safety of the troops, it was the wish of Government that he should do so, and "all his arrangements had consequently been made with a view to the present maintenance and future extension, should such prove desirable, of our power in Afghanistan."* Now there is nothing in the printed papers which authorizes such a calculation; the utmost ever contemplated was the re-establishment of our military reputation by striking a decisive blow at the Affghans, and then withdrawing from the country. It is to be noticed, that General Nott, at this time, was not aware of the fall of Ghuznee, which had occurred nearly a month before, and one of his grounds for disapproving of "the abandonment of our position at Jellalabad" was, that it would sacrifice the garrison at Ghuznee, the unexpected fall of which place was one of the reasons which had weighed with Lord Ellenborough. It is evident, moreover, from the whole of the general's letter, that he argued the question upon the assumption that we ought to re-conquer and retain Afghanistan. "If it should be the wish of Government to retain Afghanistan,"† are his words. True, he exposes, with much force, the possible effects a hasty retreat from the country would have upon Beloochistan and the navigation of the Indus, and the obstacles it would throw in the way of any future entrance into Afghanistan; but, in a subsequent letter, the general enumerates the difficulties under which he laboured, and which go far to neutralize all his arguments. His force, he says, was too small to oppose the enemy

* Papers, p. 244.

† *Ibid.*, p. 242.

in the field, and at the same time garrison Candahar; the troops and establishments were in arrear of pay, and there was not a rupee in the treasury, nor could money be borrowed; he had no medicine for the sick; there was a deficiency of ammunition, and no draught or baggage cattle, and though he had asked for supplies, none had been sent. Why? General England, nearly a month before, on the way to succour him, had been forced back; another event which had influenced the determination of the Governor-General. With this event General Nott was acquainted, and his remark, that "its moral influence had been great throughout the country, and added considerably to the difficulties of his position," made a serious deduction from the force of his arguments in favour of an advance, and accordingly the Governor-General did not vary his instructions.

Meanwhile, every letter from General Pollock contained a representation of the difficulties which beset him at Jellalabad, and on the 20th April, before the issue of Sir Jasper Nicolls' orders to retire, he writes to Mr. Maddock, "I have maturely considered the question of our advance by this road to Cabul, and I confess that I see too many difficulties to warrant our risking such a course. The force I have the honour to command, if well supplied, is ready to march any where," *i.e.* to incur any risk or face any danger, "and if I could have advanced by the route of Candahar, our success would be certain."* This important passage, like many others, is carefully suppressed in the pamphlet.

At this moment, an offer came from Akhbar Khan and the Ghilzie chiefs, to release the prisoners, under certain conditions, which was, perhaps, never sincere, and led eventually to no result, although the negotiations were urged as eagerly as possible, and £20,000 was offered for their ransom, by General Pollock, who was expressly authorized by the Governor-General to treat for this object with even a *de facto* government. This negotiation, as the pamphleteer well knew, is a refutation of his assertion that the retirement of the British forces from Afghanistan would "leave the prisoners to be murdered," since "the withdrawal of the greater part of our troops" was one of the conditions on which the prisoners were to be released. Moreover, General Pollock received letters from Major Pottinger, one of the prisoners, and had oral communication with Capt. Mackenzie, another (who was allowed to go to Jellalabad on his parole), and no intimation whatever was given that they might be "murdered" or even "mal-

treated," if the armies did retire! Akhbar Khan, in his letter, calls the prisoners "my guests."* The pamphleteer's own term of "dishonest" would not be too strong wherewith to brand such bare-faced misrepresentation as that to which he has resorted on this whole point, in order to exasperate popular prejudice against an English nobleman.

Two months nearly had elapsed since General Pollock had reached Jellalabad, and he yet remained there in a state of inaction, not owing to any orders he had received, but to the difficulty of moving. This circumstance made another alteration in the state of things. "The retirement of the enemy immediately after the victory gained by Sir R. Sale, the forcing of the Khyber pass, and the relief of Jellalabad," writes Mr. Maddock to the general (June 1st), "would have had the appearance of a military operation successfully accomplished, and even triumphantly achieved; its retirement, after six months of inaction," for it could not now retire before October, "before a following army of Affghans, will have an appearance of a different and less advantageous character." The Governor-General, therefore, expresses a hope that the general, before he finally retired, would have an opportunity of "striking an effectual blow at the enemy," and "making his strength severely felt," of "throwing a portion of the force over the Cabul river, for the purpose of a *chappour*, and of bringing in prisoners of importance, whom he could use in exchange:"† the release of the prisoners, so far from being "cast to the winds," is never lost sight of. But the letter closes with the following passage:—

You have properly no political duties; you are to be governed by military considerations alone; to make the force you have at your disposal felt by the enemy, whenever you can, and withdraw it at the earliest period, consistently with its health and efficiency, into positions wherein you may have easy and certain communication with India. The execution of these military objects will, of itself, accomplish all the political objects which the Government now has in Affghanistan.

This apparent partial change of views, and the letters which precede it, have given the pamphleteer occasion for seven or eight pages of dull special pleading, in which, by the aid of italics and capitals, he professes to shew that the conduct of Lord Ellenborough "is that of a man so vacillating as to shift with every breeze, and even without any external cause for change, or so incompetent to the duties of his high charge, that all his faculties were overwhelmed, and he forgot by the end of the month what he had

* Papers, p. 283.

† *Ibid.*, p. 287.

written at the middle of it ; or, what is far worse, that of a trickster, anxious only so to play his cards as under all circumstances to exonerate himself from blame, and, whatever might befall the army at Jellalabad, be able to secure his own reputation from wreck." This notable conclusion is sought to be worked out by reasoning upon dates of letters and isolated passages in them, with the dexterity of an Old Bailey lawyer.

Meanwhile, General Nott, under the orders of Government, had withdrawn the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzie ; but, in a note to General Pollock (May 30), he observes that the evacuation of Candahar would take some time to arrange, and the Government would have an opportunity to send him, if deemed advisable, other orders ; adding, that he had defeated the enemy in gallant style ; 8,000 Affghans, led by Suftur Jung and many chiefs, could not stand our 1,200 men for one hour. " I would at any time lead 1,000 Bengal sepoy against 5,000 Affghans," he says ; " my beautiful regiments are in high health and spirits."

The successes of this able general, his confident tone, above all, the passage of the Bolan and Kujuck passes by Major-General England, and his junction with a large force with General Nott, again gave a different turn to the aspect of affairs.

General Pollock, in reply to a letter from Mr. Maddock, dated April 28th, in which the latter speculated upon the possibility that the general might have been tempted by the disorders at Cabul to advance upon that city,—adding, however, that it would in no respect vary the view of the Governor-General as to the policy of withdrawing the army within the Khyber,—wrote, on the 13th May, that he had considered that letter as conveying discretionary powers, and fearing the effects of withdrawing the army upon our character and the release of the prisoners, he suggested that his remaining in the vicinity of Jellalabad, or a few marches in advance, was " essential to uphold the character of the British nation," and that General Nott might hold his post, " at all events, till a more favourable season." He says the troops were not more unhealthy there than at Agra ; that the climate of Peshawur was not preferable ; that in two marches he should find a better climate, and be able to dictate better terms than he could at Peshawur. He adds : " I cannot imagine any force being sent from Cabul which I could not successfully oppose ; but the advance on Cabul would require that General Nott should act in concert, and advance also." It will be recollected that, on the 20th April, the general wrote that " he had maturely considered the question of his advance by that road to

Cabul, and that he saw too many difficulties to warrant his risking such a course." It was in compliance with the suggestion in the letter of May 13th, that Mr. Maddock wrote that of the 1st June, in which he sanctioned, and even urged, the striking a severe blow at the enemy, making prisoners, &c., still, however, in connection with his former orders, to withdraw at the earliest practicable period. In a letter of May 20th, the general refers to the letter of May 13th, desiring a reply to it, and the letter of June 1st is a reply to the letter of the 20th.

Now the letter from General Pollock of the 13th May is made the foundation of a charge against Lord Ellenborough of a most odious character. The document was not included in the volume of papers respecting the military operations in Afghanistan first laid before Parliament. Its absence being pointed out, it was forwarded from India, and printed in the Supplementary Papers, the following explanation being given of the reason why it had not appeared with the other papers. The original despatch was lost in transit; the duplicate was received on the 11th July, and was inadvertently put by a person in the Secretary's Office in a wrong bundle of papers. This explanation is a simple and satisfactory one; yet the pamphleteer has accused Lord Ellenborough of wilfully suppressing this paper, and when detected, telling a falsehood about it. This is the effect of his six or eight pages of suggestions, insinuations, and innuendos; for the writer, having probably the penalty of the new libel law before him, shrinks from a direct charge. The accusation is as improbable as it is calumnious. The very despatch is mentioned in that of May 20th, where General Pollock says, "I have already, in my letter dated the 13th inst., *entered on the subject*, and must receive a reply before I shall be able to move." Why was not this passage suppressed, if it was intended to suppress the other despatch, since it naturally led every reader to seek for the letter in which the general had "*entered upon this subject?*" The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors must have been parties to the fraud to render it effectual. In fact, if we could admit the possibility of a person of Lord Ellenborough's manly and straightforward character stooping to so base and despicable a trick, his attempting it, with such a certainty of detection, and for so trumpery an object, would still be incredible.

On the 4th July, the Governor-General writes to General Pollock, that no change had taken place in his views of the expediency of withdrawing the army in October; and on the same day he despatches an autograph letter to General Nott, to the following effect:

His opinion that the bringing back the armies then in Afghanistan at the earliest period, consistently with their health and efficiency, into positions wherein they may have easy and certain communication with India,—a measure commanded by considerations of political and military prudence,—remained unaltered; but, as General Nott's force had received ample supplies and equipments for any service, this improved position of his army induced his Lordship to "leave to the general's option the line by which he should withdraw the troops." He warns him, however, that, if he moved upon Cabul, he would require a large amount of carriage, and would be practically without communication; and that "the loss of another army, from whatever cause it might arise, might be fatal to our Government in India." His Lordship observes: "I do not undervalue the aid which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution by your army of a march through Ghuznee and Cabul, over the scenes of our late disasters; I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which no one more than myself would rejoice to see effected; but I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin; and I would endeavour to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be obtained by success, the risk is great also." In the event of the general's deciding upon this march, he instructs him how to act at Ghuznee and Cabul, and to arrange his measures so as to form a junction with General Pollock the first week in October, before that officer should have left Jellalabad. General Pollock was furnished with a copy of this letter, and instructed, "by a forward movement, to facilitate the advance of General Nott." The operations of the two armies were to be combined so as to effect with the least possible loss the occupation of Cabul, and keep open the communications between Cabul and Peshawur, and every effort would be made from India to diminish the difficulties in the matter of provisions in the narrow valley of the Cabul river. "This letter remains absolutely secret," is the conclusion.

An autograph letter, communicating this order, was sent to General Pollock, and to the extent of it, necessarily superseded his former instructions.

Upon the face of these letters, nothing arises which appears capable of being even distorted into any charge against Lord Ellenborough. An improved state of circumstances in the position of both armies induced him,—not to abandon his fixed determination to withdraw them in October, but to sanction the march of General Nott on Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad, instead of Sukkur, after laying before that officer all the considerations adverse to such a march which occurred to the Governor-General himself and his military advisers, leaving General Nott to decide, "upon his know-

ledge of circumstances," and assuring him "that the most favourable construction would be put upon his conduct." The instructions to General Pollock were a necessary consequence of the former. Yet these two letters are characterized in the pamphlet before us as "unexampled specimens of political chicanery;" that to General Nott is termed "a master-piece in that crooked science which disregards means and looks only to selfish ends." Page after page of malicious comment is bestowed upon these letters, twisting, distorting, and falsifying their plain meaning, for the purpose of making it appear that Lord Ellenborough, after harping upon the necessity of retreat for months, "after his timid and cowering instructions for retreat," had changed his policy, but "masked the change," and by "a contemptible juggling," threw upon General Nott the responsibility of it. "So dishonest a paper as the second letter, addressed, on the 4th July, 1842, by Lord Ellenborough to General Nott, has rarely seen the light," says the pamphleteer; "but dishonesty is not its only characteristic; it is ungenerous to a degree that could not have been expected in a man holding the office of Governor-General of India." The writer knew very well, when he wrote this, that Lord Auckland had done the same thing.* Even the fact that the letter was not put upon record, for the sake of secrecy, is actually pressed, we cannot understand why or wherefore, into the charge against Lord Ellenborough.

If there was any necessity for disproving the pretended change of policy, and for vindicating Lord Ellenborough from the imputations cast upon him in the pamphlet, the following passage in his letter to the Secret Committee, August 16, would suffice:—

You will perceive, from the perusal of these letters (those of July 4th), that I adhere absolutely to my original intention of withdrawing the whole army from Afghanistan; and that I have, in the most emphatic manner, repeated the order before given for that withdrawal. Some risk I deem it justifiable to incur for the recovery of the guns and of the prisoners, and with the view of exhibiting the triumphant march of a British army over the ground on which it once suffered defeat; but I consider the preservation of the army in Afghanistan essential to the preservation of our empire in India; and, however the world might forgive or applaud me, I should never forgive myself, if I exposed that army to any material and serious danger, for the possible accomplishment of any object now to be obtained in Afghanistan.

The writer of the pamphlet winds up his charges with a plentiful volley of abuse against Lord Ellenborough about the Ghuznee spoil,—"a mouldy old club and a pair of rotten gates,"—and he would

* Papers, p. 119.

probably have vilified him with equal bitterness if he had suffered them to be left behind. Upon this frivolous part of the subject he expends four or five pages of very ordinary "fine writing," against the Somnath proclamation, its encouragement of idolatry, its offence to Christians and Mahomedans, &c.; and here the pamphleteer breaks off. It would have drawn too largely upon his "ordinary candour" to have recalled to the reader's recollection that British honour *was* vindicated; that the disasters of the British arms *were* avenged upon every scene of misfortune; that our armies *were* withdrawn triumphantly from the Affghan territory, and that all the prisoners, men, women, and children, *were* released. And this whilst revolutions were acting in the Punjab, and the Ameers of Scinde were waiting only for an opportunity to join our foes.

It would have been but candid, likewise, to give some explanation of the error into which the Court of Directors fell, in the view they *then* took of all these misdoings of Lord Ellenborough. When, on the vote of thanks of the House of Commons to his Lordship,* some members of the opposition (not including Lord John Russell) vented a few of the suggestions contained in this pamphlet, who was the indignant vindicator of the Governor-General? Mr. Hogg, the organ of the Court of Directors. More than this; the Court, on the 8th March, 1843, voted *nem. con.* their thanks to Lord Ellenborough for the "ability and judgment" he had manifested in the execution of those delicate and difficult operations.

Having thus minutely exposed the disingenuity and unfairness which pervade the writer's criticism of the conduct of Lord Ellenborough with relation to the operations in Affghanistan, we shall dispose more briefly of the questions respecting Scinde and Gwalior, which are, indeed, very cursorily discussed by the writer. Brief as his remarks are, however, they are pregnant with misrepresentation and injustice.

The charges made against Lord Ellenborough in relation to Scinde may be comprised under the following heads: that, "almost from the period of his entering upon the duties of his office, he seems to have contemplated the reduction of Scinde to the condition of a British province, in name as well as in fact;" that, with this view, he fomented quarrels with the Ameers, whom he irritated by threats and communications "breathing gunpowder;" that he "treated their dominions as though they were his own;" that he tried cajolery, as well as menaces, to get a portion of the property of

* February 20th, 1843.

the Amceera, in order to give it away to a third party;—this," observes the pamphleteer, "is the morality of a British Governor-General who flourished in India in the year 1842!"—That, in these dishonourable acts,—for dishonourable they must be, and in the estimation of the writer immoral,—"it cannot be denied that, in Sir Charles Napier, the Governor-General found an efficient and by no means a scrupulous agent," who, he adds, "shows a degree of aptitude for following up the suggestions of his superior which is perfectly astonishing!" that "both the Governor-General and the chief military and political functionary had made up their minds to a particular course, and, this being the case, there was no difficulty in finding reasons to justify it;" that, "in furtherance of the *dénouement*, which had long been foreseen and prepared, the existing treaties were voted obsolete and inapplicable to the then state of affairs, and new ones were submitted to the unhappy Amceera, which it was anticipated they would reject," comprising "terms nearly as offensive as it was possible to frame," and "studiedly drawn to give them as much pain as possible;" that, in proposing the draft of the new treaty to the Amceera, "a strange and disgusting combination of vile intrigue and unjustifiable violence marked the course of Sir Charles Napier;" that "the annals of the most depraved of native states cannot furnish any thing more crooked, despicable, and base than" the policy pursued towards the Amceer of Kyrgeer, by Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles, &c. &c.

These charges are interspersed with various offensive expressions and insinuations, marking the *animus* of the accuser; and we hazard contradiction from no one when we say that, either Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, instead of receiving testimonies of approbation and marks of honour from the Crown, ought to have been severely punished, nay, condemned to infamy,—or the pamphleteer is a libeller. It is impossible to escape from this dilemma. If Sir William Nott deemed it cruel and degrading, after his services to his country, to be called to answer charges derogatory to him "as a religious man, an honourable gentleman, and a British officer," what must be the feelings of the gallant governor of Scinde, after the services he has rendered to his country, at finding himself stigmatized by a partisan of the Court of Directors, as a "by no means scrupulous agent" in a system of vile intrigue, unjustifiable violence, cajolery, unnecessary bloodshed, immoral policy, and shameful spoliation and plunder? But our business is not at present to inquire into the conduct of Sir Charles Napier, which has been amply vindicated by his brother, in the

work we noticed last month; and in our examination into that of Lord Ellenborough with regard to Scinde, we shall have recourse not to that work, but only to the evidence which the pamphleteer professes to make the foundation of his charges, namely, the "Correspondence relating to Scinde," printed by order of Parliament.*

If the terms which the pamphleteer has applied to the policy and proceedings of Lord Ellenborough towards the Ameers had reference to the manner in which those princes had been treated up to the time when the Government of India devolved upon him, perhaps, this writer might not be chargeable with more than a pardonable degree of exaggeration in a partisan. It appears that, from 1838, when, though independent sovereigns, under no obligations whatever of obedience to the Government of British India, they were compelled, in spite of their expressed aversion, to receive a British resident at their court, down to the termination of Lord Auckland's reign, a series of encroachments was made upon their authority, and successive concessions were extorted from them, which might lay a *prima facie* ground for concluding that "the reduction of Scinde to the condition of a British province" was contemplated, and had, "in fact," been effected. The last treaty, of 11th March, 1839 (for the documents which legalized these successive usurpations and spoliations on our part were, by a flagrant abuse of terms, called "treaties"), wrung from the helpless Ameers by Lord Auckland, left them hardly a vestige of independence; a British force of 5,000 men, paid by the Ameers, was to be stationed in their territories, and they surrendered the right of making war, and referred all their disputes to the British resident. Nay, in the despatch of Lord Auckland to the Secret Committee, dated 13th March, 1839,† communicating this treaty, his Lordship congratulates the Court upon the measure as one "by which our political and military ascendancy in *that province* is now finally declared and confirmed," and he proceeds to argue that, by this "complete submission of the Ameers," the country had been in fact surrendered to our own purposes, commercial and political, and his Lordship seems to deprecate the censure of the Court for not exerting our power further, "because," he says, "I am anxious that all our measures should *bear the character of a just forbearance and moderation.*" It is evident that Lord Auckland conceived that he would have been justified even then in taking the country, and it is plain that he had previously meditated the deposition of the Ameers in the event

* Our readers will find a full and impartial analysis of these documents in our first vol. N.S. p. 491.

† Scinde Papers, p. 177

of their being detected in hostile proceedings, for Colonel Pottinger, our resident, had been directed by his Lordship to signify as much to those princes. "There had been too much reason for this precautionary statement," observes his Lordship, in the same despatch, "for intelligence had reached me, in March, 1838, of letters having been written by the two principal Ameers to the Shah of Persia, professing deference to his power, and encouraging his advance; and, even at that early period, I caused it to be notified to the Ameers, that these proceedings could not be tolerated. This warning was not taken, and down to the latest period advances have been continued by the principal Ameers to the Shah of Persia, and every measure in their power readily, though covertly, adopted, which might have the effect of counteracting the objects of the British Government." Colonel Pottinger, indeed, avowed the manly opinion,* that "it would be better at once to take possession of Scinde (or such parts of it as we require) by force, than to leave it nominally with the Ameers, and yet deal with it as though it were our own. The one line," says Colonel Pottinger, "is explicit and dignified, and cannot be misunderstood; the other I conceive to be unbecoming our power, and it must lead to constant heartburnings and bickerings, if not a rupture of all friendly relations." These important facts, so necessary to a knowledge of our relations with Scinde at the time of Lord Ellenborough's accession to the Government, are (we do not employ his own term "dishonestly") suppressed by the pamphleteer, who gives ill-informed readers reason to suppose that the helplessness and subjection of the Ameers, and the oppression which had reduced their country "in fact" to the condition of a British province, was the result of the "vile intrigues and unjustifiable violence" sanctioned by Lord Ellenborough; whereas they were the fruits of his predecessor's policy, approved, according to the pamphleteer's hypothesis, by the Court of Directors!

The hostile measures which Lord Auckland found the Ameers so ready covertly to adopt in order to thwart the objects of the British Government, were resumed, very naturally, when our troubles in Afghanistan began. Whilst the Indian Government was full of anxiety respecting the situation of General Pollock's and General Nott's armies; when the peace of India hung, as it were,

* Scinde Papers, p. 165. Colonel Pottinger, in other parts of his correspondence, hints at the policy of conquering Scinde. January 6th, 1839 (Papers, p. 115), he writes: "My idea is, that we must settle Scinde to our satisfaction, even should the Ameers force us to subjugate it, before we look beyond it." And again: February 13th, 1839 (Papers, p. 128): "If we are ever again obliged to exert our military strength in Scinde, it must be carried to subjugating this country."

upon a hair, and the slightest reverse might have been ruin to our power, the political agent in Scinde (Major Outram) wrote, on the 8th May, 1842,* "I shall have it in my power shortly, I believe, to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers to such an extent as may be deemed by his Lordship sufficient to authorize the dictation of his own terms to the chiefs of Scinde, and to call for such measures as he deems necessary to place British power on a secure footing in these countries;" and Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Secret Committee, 8th June, 1842:† "I am sorry to notice that Major Outram has detected intrigues on the part of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde which evince clearly that these chieftains entertained projects of a hostile nature, if any farther disasters to our arms in Afghanistan had afforded them a favourable opportunity of attempting to throw off their allegiance to the British Government." Again, Sir George Arthur, the Governor of Bombay, recorded a Minute, concurred in by Mr. Anderson, on the 2nd September, 1842,‡ in which he says: "There can be no doubt that most of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde have, for some time past, been engaged in intrigues against us; in fact, that they only want the *power*, not the *will*, to make an attempt, in imitation of the tribes of Afghanistan, to expel us from their country."

On the return of our armies from Afghanistan, the Governor-General published his well-known proclamation, dated Simla, 1st October, 1842, in which he declared that, "Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the Government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs its allies, and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects;" but he coupled this pledge with another, that, "sincerely attached to peace, for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British Government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed." So early as February, 1842, in consequence of the reiterated reports he had then received of the intrigues and treacherous designs of the Ameers, the Governor-General had authorized the British resident distinctly to warn them that the certain penalty of treachery would be loss of power. "On the day on which you shall be faithless to the British Government," are his emphatic words, "sovereignty will have passed from you." It was, therefore, with a full knowledge of the risk they incurred, that these princes were impelled by

* Papers, p. 316.

† *Ibid.*, p. 336.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

their detestation of our past conduct towards them, and tempted by the supposed crisis of British interests, to engage in designs which left the Indian Government no alternative but to exact the penalty. Yet, according to the pamphleteer, the Ameers, patient and faithful, were the innocent victims of the rapacity of Lord Ellenborough and his "by no means scrupulous agent." "It is but a new illustration," he says, "of the old fable of the Lion and the Lamb!" How largely must this writer have calculated upon the credulity of the English public! Upon Lord Ellenborough was cast the ungracious office of doing what his predecessor had left undone in 1839, not from inclination, but policy, because he was "anxious that all our measures should bear the character of a just forbearance and moderation." The testimony of one of the most powerful assailants of Lord Ellenborough's Indian policy justifies him upon this head, quoting the very words of the pamphleteer: "Instead of asserting," says the *Times*,* "that, from the commencement of the late Governor-General's administration he appears to have contemplated the reduction of Scinde to the condition of a British province, it would be more correct to say that, on the commencement of his administration in 1842, our relations with the Ameers were in such a state, that, considering their duplicity and our engagements with them, it was morally impossible that they should not rise against the authority we had already usurped, and finally sink by defeat into total subjection." The course pursued by Lord Ellenborough towards Scinde was that which Colonel Pottinger declared would have been the dignified course in 1830, when we had neither the same title, under treaty, nor the same degree of provocation, which existed in 1842. If that able and experienced negotiator was satisfied, in 1839, that, "if we are ever again obliged to exert our military strength in Scinde, it must be carried to subjugating the country," where could Lord Ellenborough have sought a justification had he not visited the hostility of the Ameers with the only penalty which his predecessor had left him to exact? If those princes are objects of sympathy, it is not on account of the acts of Lord Ellenborough, but of the oppressive and rapacious policy of which those acts were the unavoidable consummation.

The Gwalior question is dismissed by the pamphleteer in three pages; it would have embarrassed him to discuss this question, because the ground upon which Lord Ellenborough is censured for his Gwalior policy is, that he *did not* take possession of that state,—for doing which he had not even a pretext. The objection taken

by the pamphleteer, indeed, is not very intelligible. All that he urges against Lord Ellenborough amounts to this; that his interference in the affairs of Gwalior (the necessity of which the writer does not directly question) was based upon the treaty of Boorhanpoor, which was obsolete,—“long consigned to the worms;” that every thing done by his Lordship was done by fits; that he might have effected his object of obtaining a new treaty without bloodshed, and that he was guilty of the absurdity of distributing gold mohurs amongst the troops on the field of battle: in short, that every thing he did was wrong, and every thing he did not do, ought to have been done. “When you have nothing to say,” an old axiom recommends, “say nothing:” and it would have been more prudent in this writer to have held his peace, than to have betrayed his impotence by so feeble an attack. The Court of Gwalior, a state located upon a weak part of our frontier, and bound to us by treaty, had become the scene of intrigue and disorder; the rajah was a minor, and the regent, widow of the deceased prince, a girl of thirteen, was a ductile instrument in the hands of a faction hostile to our interests; the treaty of Boorhanpoor,—a treaty never abrogated,—not only sanctioned, but, under the circumstances, required, our interference on behalf of the rajah himself, whose authority was usurped; negotiations were tried, but at a Court where falsehood, deceit, and treachery are the current media of diplomatic intercourse, negotiation removed the object daily to a greater distance; the presence of force, therefore, was the only expedient that could control the elements of disorder, and especially the large mutinous army, in which the power of the state was gradually merging. The “pusillanimous” Governor-General, being upon the spot, accompanied that force to the field,—a step not to be recommended in ordinary circumstances, but in this attended by no bad, perhaps, by good effects. However practicable it might have been to subdue the refractoriness of the durbar without bloodshed, the army, which had renounced the authority of the durbar, knew that submission would be annihilation, and had been evidently, all along, bent upon the fiercest resistance. That army was crushed and disbanded, and security was provided for the rajah’s just authority and for the peace of India, without any abuse of victory. The only possible ground upon which this part of Lord Ellenborough’s policy can be impugned is that to which we have adverted, namely, that he neglected a plausible opportunity of extinguishing the native government and adding another kingdom to our Indian empire. His forbearance, however,* on this occasion, is as justifiable and com-

mendable as his appropriation of Scinde. The rulers of the latter state, after full and distinct warning, put to hazard the slender relics of their power, in the hope of winning back what they had lost; the ruler of Gwalior never provoked our hostility, but was himself a sufferer from those who defied our interference. We entered Gwalior as allies of the ruler, and its seizure would have been an act of treacherous spoliation; we invaded Scinde in the avowed character of foes, to demand the reparation of injuries inflicted upon us, in violation of treaties, by the princes themselves.

So much for this pamphlet. If we could suppose that it embodies the defence of the Court of Directors, we should have no hesitation in saying that, at least, they were not justified in recalling the late Governor-General of India. But the writer, as we before remarked, suggests,—in the manner of a certain class of old ladies,—that “there may be even reasons for the recal of which the public have no suspicion,” and we must wait till those unsuspected reasons, of which the writer appears to have been indulged with some glimpses, shall be divulged. Meanwhile, we cannot but express our sorrow, that the name of the Court of Directors should in any way have been connected with this pamphlet, for, unjust and improbable as the supposition is, that they should have even countenanced such a tissue of misrepresentation and abuse, the fact of the writer being their thick-and-thin partisan is calculated to lend an apparent confirmation to the rumour of such countenance, and thereby prejudice them in public opinion.

FROM KHĀKĀNĪ.

جستن از روزگار آسایش

نبود مرد را زندانی

آنکه از خود همی نیاساید

تو چگونه ازو بیاسایی

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SENTINEL.

CHAPTER VI.

As I required any admissions from those who oppose themselves to the infliction of corporal punishment, I would simply ask them to allow that the human body has not any inherent or prescriptive right to an immunity from torture. I know that the ultra-opponents of flagellation insist that it must be offensive to the Almighty to see his own image insulted and desecrated, and that, therefore, the use of the whip is an outrage upon religion. But so long as parents whip their children, and the state hangs criminals by the neck until they be dead ; so long as good Catholics shrive themselves, women pierce their ears and lace themselves into deformity, pugilists punch one another until "all is blue," and Pariahs perforate their sides, backs, and tongues at their Poojah festivals, I am at liberty to assume the liability of the flesh to maltreatment, and, therefore, need ask no concessions whatever.

The body, then, being amenable to chastisement, and such chastisement presenting, in many cases, a means of communicating with the mind, the only questions for discussion are,

1st. The efficiency of such means of communication ;

2ndly. The possibility of substituting a punishment that shall be equally efficacious, and not so offensive to current prejudices.

3rdly. The effect of the existence of the penalty of flagellation upon the respectability of the army.

With regard to the first question, I hold it to be an undeniable truth, amounting to an axiom, that all punishments are efficacious which are regarded with sufficient terror to deter men from the commission of crime. The fear of corporal punishment acts in various ways upon various minds. A large proportion of every army consists of extremely ignorant men, of whom it is not too much to say that the degree of reason with which they are endowed hardly rises superior to the instinct of the quadrupedal part of the animal creation. With a dulness of perception, and a bluntness of feeling, scarcely to be credited by people of cultivated understandings, they exhibit an utter indifference to every appeal to their pride, their notions of right and wrong, or their sense of professional duty. Their immoral tendencies and insubordinate inclinations are thus only held in control by the acute sense of bodily pain, which they share with the beasts of the field, and hence the salutary influence of corporal punishment as the scarecrow of their irregularities. Upon the better informed and more sensitive classes in the army, the disgrace of public chastisement operates as a check to aberrations. They may be indifferent to the physical torture which the lash is capable of inflicting, or able to wind themselves up to a patient endurance of suffering ; but the odium of appearing barebacked before a whole regiment of comrades, and being subjected to a severe punishment, is too much for their pride ; and they, therefore, studiously

avoid the commission of crimes which expose them to the revolting penalty.

It is true that flagellation does not always act as a preventive, any more than the substitution of transportation or imprisonment for hanging has diminished the number of convictions for forgery. The hope of escaping discovery, or the impossibility of controlling evil impulses, will always provide a few victims to the law, in spite of the terror a retributive punishment is calculated to inspire. It is as much as can be expected, therefore, that corporal castigation should have a tendency to deter men from the commission of crime; and I think, in this respect, its efficacy, for the reasons I have given, is indisputable. It inspires the rough and uncultivated with an apprehension of bodily pain; it fills the higher order of soldiers with dread of disgrace.

But there are two objections yet to be disposed of. The advocates of the abolition of flogging in the army assert that the publicity of the punishment, instead of augmenting the disgrace of the criminal, excites a sympathy in his favour, while the punishment itself, so far from reclaiming, tends to harden the recipient of the lash. I deny both positions. Setting aside that the private infliction of punishment is revolting to the spirit of the British constitution, as affording a cloak for injustice, I feel satisfied that little or no sympathy is felt for the culprit who has perpetrated one of those offences which well-regulated soldiers hold in utter contempt. The man who has robbed his comrade, fled from his colours, assaulted a superior, or perilled the safety of a camp by yielding to the seductions of liquor while on duty, becomes an object of detestation, whose subjection to the law is viewed without compunction. All thought of the bleeding back is merged in a consideration of the offence to which it is a tribute. As to the effect of the punishment upon the conduct and character of the culprit, without asserting that it has never tended to blunt the edge of sensibility, I may be permitted to think that excoriation by the cat-o'-nine-tails is sufficiently painful to render a repetition of the punishment a thing to be carefully avoided. For one man rendered callous, it is not too much to assert, half-a-dozen are rendered cautious.

But supposing that the arguments against chastisement were permitted to prevail, what substitute punishment—to come to the second part of our inquiry—would be adopted? In the native army in India, dismissal from the service has been provided as a succedaneum, and the effect has been ludicrous in the extreme. Desertion has certainly become unnecessary, for the dissatisfied soldier has only to pilfer from a brother in arms, or commit some equally odious crime, to be immediately discharged by the sentence of a court-martial. It would be manifestly absurd, therefore, to extend this mode of punishment to the European. Shall solitary confinement, then, be tried? This already exists as a minor or secondary penalty, and is on every ground more objectionable than flogging. If we adopt the idea of the pseudo-philanthropist, who, confounding the degradation of crime with the

degradation of *punishment*, looks upon it as debasing to a man's nature to be treated like a horse under the lash, we cannot but regard it as even more revolting to his free spirit to be confined like a monkey in a cage. If we deem it oppressive to the feelings of the intellectual and social being to be debarred the pleasure of communion with his fellows, we must not forget that the man whose mind is cast in a ruder mould (and such are the majority of offenders) regards a prison as a species of welcome rustication, the more agreeable from its mere contrast with the noise and devilry of the barracks, and the listless formalities of parades, guards, and roll-calls. To him, moreover, whose ordinary diet is humble, the regimen of the guard-room or congee-house is no very severe visitation. Increase the severity of the incarceration; enforce the horrible silent system; deny the prisoner the privilege of breathing the pure air for an hour *per diem* under the auspices of a sentry; build your prisons in the circular form, after the ingenious plan of the Grand Duke Constantine, who found that the prisoner had *too much* entertainment in contemplating the four corners of his dungeon; manacle your captive; make confinement really and truly a punishment, instead of a relaxation; you will then, most undoubtedly, effectually embitter the existence of your victim, destroy his health, perhaps unseat his reason: but what becomes of your asserted *humanity*? Bah! And when you have done all this, are you sure that you have not been doing an injustice to the well-conducted soldier outside the prison-walls? Are you sure that you are not imposing upon the State a tax which it did not contemplate in the formation of its army? Every soldier has an allotted portion of duty to perform, and it not unfrequently happens that, from a paucity of troops in particular situations, this duty is of so severe a nature, as scarcely to afford the men the luxury of sleeping in their beds above three nights in the week. Withdraw a man—one single man—from his share of the labour, and confine him for a fortnight in a cell, his duty then falls on the well-conducted, but already overworked, soldier, and three men at least must have the additional labour thrust upon them, of keeping guard over the captive, and attending to his wants. He is thus not only rendered unproductive in himself, but the cause of unproductiveness in others. And what is the effect of this mode of punishment upon the minds of other soldiers? Can they enter into his feelings? Are they all capable of estimating the amount of mental agony which they do not—cannot—see, and thence resolve to eschew the offences which lead to such a hideous punishment? Not a bit of it. The imagination must be addressed through the sense of sight or the sense of hearing, and neither of these is operated upon when a man undergoing incarceration is shrouded from view by the walls (a foot deep) of a prison out of earshot.

So much for the cruelty and uselessness of confinement in garrison. How is it in the field? Suppose the army to be in front of the enemy. Not only is it weakened by the number of men withdrawn as prisoners and as guards of prisoners, but it is harassed by being clogged with an

unwieldy burthen,—an excrescence, which, taking up the room of a limb, is of no use to the body, whilst it sucks nourishment therefore sufficient to sustain a natural and useful member. The most disastrous consequences might be fairly attributable to this cause, and the lives of many be sacrificed to a short-sighted humanity, which, it is truly said, often ministers to human misery.

The continental armies—where, by the way, the use of the rattan is common—have a pension for a species of punishment which neither draws blood from the culprit nor deprives the state of his services; but they are, in their way, exceedingly degrading, and would not be accepted by British soldiers as a substitute for the penalties to which they, when guilty of disgraceful crimes, are liable, for any consideration that could be named. In some armies, men are forced to walk about the barrack-yard with a log at their heels, like stray donkeys; in others, they are exposed in the stocks or the pillory. Running the gauntlet and drumming out, public deprivation of their uniform, branding, the galleys, the knout, with an infinite variety of minor tortures, distinguish their codes of martial law, leaving the Englishman little reason to blush at the result of a comparison between the foreign and the national service.

Hence it is clear that corporal punishment, while in itself comparatively merciful, is infinitely preferable to other methods of vindicating the law, because it does not involve the loss of the services of other men, or throw upon the innocent and respectable soldier the labour which the disreputable man is engaged and paid to perform.

To come to the third question. Is the respectability of the army asserted by the existence of flagellation?—in other words, is the difficulty of recruiting enhanced by the public knowledge of the means in force to repress military crime? The best answer to this is the fact of there being no deficiency at present, or at any time even during war, in the number of good soldiers and true in the ranks of the British army. To hesitate about entering a service because of the penalties attached to professional and other crimes, presupposes a disposition to commit them. The only persons, therefore, who are deterred from embracing it, are the disreputable members of society, who would, at some time or other, become liable to the severer punishment to which criminality in civil life is exposed. As well might it be urged against the hangman's operations, that they deter decent foreigners from coming to England,—as well might it be objected to the guillotine, that it is a bar to our enjoyment of the gaieties of Paris,—as pretend that the punishment of military offences by flogging is an obstacle to the acceptance, by decent, well-disposed people, of the shilling which ratifies the contract between the sovereign and the soldier. If there were a stigma attaching to the army because of its penal code,—if the British army were a bye-word,—the argument against the peculiar punishment under consideration might be allowed some weight; but when, by the common consent of society, the profession of arms stands higher than any other in existence, even in our commercial community, it is absolute imbecility to

suppose that men are deterred from embracing it because of the method in force for chastising violations of its conditions.

In what I have said above, I have considered the question of corporal punishment with reference to the European troops only, though much of the argument will of course apply to the sepoy also. The experience of nine or ten years, in respect to the latter, might have been supposed conclusive of the propriety of abolishing the penalty in the native army; but it is *not* so, as the discussions very lately carried on in India sufficiently demonstrate. If the sepoy was obedient and subservient to discipline during the wars in Afghanistan and China,—if he was tolerably steady in garrison for three or four years after the abolition,—he has since then been rebellious in an unparalleled degree, difficult to manage in very many regiments, and has availed himself in a thousand instances of the facility afforded him of getting his discharge by the substituted punishment of dismissal. Old officers declare that Jack Sepoy is not by any means the man he was thirty or forty years ago. And yet, it is to be borne in mind that, coevally with the abolition of corporal punishment, the Government established a system of *rewards for good conduct*. New titles and orders were created, which, though they cost the state little or nothing, supplied a motive for honourable exertions a thousand times more potent than the terror of the lash. *Let the European soldier be assured that he, too, may rise to commissioned rank, become a bahadoor, and wear the order of "British India," or any other that may be created for him, and I will not swear that corporal punishment must be of necessity continued.* At present, his only stimulus to steadiness is Fear.

To resume this somewhat rambling and discursive narrative. I was now fairly established as a paymaster's clerk, or, as they called me, "an uncovenanted assistant." There is something very taking about that title "*uncovenanted*." It speaks of freedom from engagements,—a fine independent state of existence, which involves no sort of obligations to come or go, to write or talk, at the beck and call of another. Your "covenanted" assistant is, in terms, a species of gentleman-slave, who is bound, hand and foot, to his honourable masters, and dares do nothing that could awaken their displeasure. But the mischief of the comparatively free condition of the "*uncovenanted servant*" is that, if there be no contract on his part to serve, there is, on the other hand, no obligation on the part of the Government to pay him liberally. While the one, therefore, revels in the liberty of going about his business when he pleases, and is only too happy if he can get Rs. 50 *per mensem*, with the prospect of rising to treble the amount after several years of his voluntary service, the other luxuriates in a golden captivity, beginning upon Rs. 300 and a moonshee, and terminating with Rs. 10,000 and a mansion. I suspect—such is the infatuated love of gain that possesses mankind—that the majority of those who work for the Company would prefer the chains, with all their gilding, to the independence of control and its attendant, chilling penury. I plead guilty to a leaning towards the vulgar notions of the masses; in fact, while

eating the bread of uncovenanted service, I felt that the difference in means between that condition and the bondage of the covenanted completely reversed the natural order of things, rendering the former a proscribed class, with whom it would be contamination to associate, and elevating the latter to a species of aristocracy, which, if it has not all the blood, has at least all the pride, of "all the Howards."

Well, I was, as I have said, a paymaster's clerk. There were three of us,—Mr. Brown, of whom I have already spoken, and Mr. Jeffrey Snops, a country-born youth. Our duty, from 9 A.M. until 5 P.M., was to examine accounts, write official letters to the auditor-general to learn if the pay-bills or abstracts were "all right," pay accounts, copy, index, register, &c. In the evening, we took walks about the cantonment, and then drank tea with friends of the same class, many of whom were most courteous and hospitable to the new-comer. In fact, there is a great deal of kindly interchange of hospitality amongst the uncovenanted; they imitate the freedom from reserve common amongst the higher classes in India, for, probably, the very same reason,—their dependence upon each other for relief from the tedious monotony of Indian existence. Jeffrey Snops was particularly fortunate in the possession of a large circle of acquaintance, and he—but let me describe my fellow-clerk.

Jeffrey was the son of Major Snops, of the — regiment of Bombay Native Infantry,—a gentleman with a protuberant abdomen, a "jolly nose," limbs of the tobacco-pipe order, and a head which, if the straggling gray hairs without were any indication of the scantiness of the furniture within, would not have been of very material use to the owner if he happened to get himself into a fix. Jeffrey's mother—"oh, no! he never mentioned her"—went in early youth by the pleasant appellation of Beebec Golaub Peerun, and occupied a detached bungalow in the then Lieutenant Snops's compound at Surat; but when I was at Poonah she was in the autumn of womanhood, and content, as the begum, to waddle about the verandah of the major's house, abuse *her cousin*, the old khan-sumah (who, the scandalous subs in the regiment *did* say, was a "gay young fellow" in his hot youth), and make particularly hot pickles and exceedingly pleasant hookah tobacco. Jeffrey had, about five years previously, emerged from one of the academic establishments in the island of Bombay, where, for the peculiar grace of his pot-hooks and hangers, the extent of his acquaintance with the History of England, and the comparative facility with which he had got over the difficulties of Lindley Murray's Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody, he had received a prize, in the shape of Enfield's *Speaker*, bound in calf, and a distinct expression of approbation from the senior chaplain, who presided at the annual examination of Mr. Thomas Boyce's pupils. Introduced by his father to Captain Jaimeson,—who had, in days lang syne, hunted pigs and shot crows in company with the lieutenant,—Jeffrey was not long in obtaining a situation as a copyist. Death and the pension list soon made a vacancy in the more responsible offices, and Jeffrey, having stuck as steadily to his kaligraphy as the various temptations and allurements

with which his youth was beset would allow, felt himself entitled to ask for promotion and an "increase" of salary. His request was complied with, and I found him installed as second clerk in the office. Jeffrey's habits were very regular. He rose early, took a constitutional in *mufvi* up and down his verandah, and on the days when the *Bombay Courier* came in, glanced over its luminous pages with rapidity, lest one of the quintette who shared the subscription with him should send for it before he, Jeffrey, had read the letters of *SUBUTATOR* and *CRITES*. Snops then devoted a quarter of an hour to an examination of his interesting features in a looking-glass, 12 inches by 6, wondering what singular property in the reflector gave to his head the shape of a fiddle and to his fine black eyes a fearful strabismus. He next tootled for half an hour upon a one-keyed flute, and then proceeded to Adonise.

Notwithstanding all that some writers have said about a physical aristocracy,—an air of refinement,—which is perceptible under the veriest rags, I am entirely of opinion, with Bob Acres in the *Rivals*, that dress "*does make a difference.*" Who that ever contemplated my friend Snops in his dark pyjamas and seedy banyan, would now recognize him in the costume which, after half an anxious hour passed at the toilette, adorned his person and qualified him for the *day's* work? His bushy black hair, scientifically greased and combed over the right side of his forehead, terminated in a killing curl, as large as a half-crown piece; an incipient downy moustache relieved the effeminacy of his upper lip, while a miniature imperial supported the lower part of the mouth; and an ample shirt-collar, encircled by a kerchief of black, yellow, or sky-blue silk, fell from his neck, and furnished, with a jacket of purest white nankeen, a powerful contrast to the brilliancy of his figured-velvet waistcoat, which in its turn was rivalled by a pinch-beck chain, as long as the American sea-serpent, twisted through divers button-holes and across waistcoat-pockets. The waistcoat was succeeded by a pair of tight-fitting unutterables, exhibiting the contour of a leg eminently calculated to excite the jealousy of a Bengal *hargee-lah*. His hat—*gods, what a hat!*—a chimney-pot would have been a better title for it. The brim was of the narrowest, contrasting powerfully with the extraordinary altitude of the crown; and the nap,—like that which a chief-mate takes upon his watch, or a soldier on sentry,—something of the shortest. Jeffrey placed it gently on one side, giving it very much the appearance of the leaning tower of Pisa; and thus attired, was wont to sally forth. I pass over his manner of skipping over the highways and threading the narrow lanes of the town, for I might be tempted into digressions regarding sundry visits, and, perhaps, tell how completely more than one heart had been caught, captivated, and chained by his irresistible dress and bewitching address. He reaches office; plods at his work, which, in his eyes, rivalled in consequence the labours of a statesman; and returned home in the evening to discuss a curried fowl and a glass of very weak brandy-and-water, preparatory to the pleasures of a tea-party.

Jeffrey, as I have said, had a large circle of acquaintances, and as he wished to make my existence as agreeable as, according to his notions, society *could* make it, he proposed to introduce me to his principal friends. An opportunity presented itself soon after my arrival. There was to be a wedding in a Portuguese family with which Jeffrey was on terms of peculiar intimacy, and he had asked and obtained leave to bring me as one of the guests.

The Portuguese of Western India are a curious race of people. Mrs. Postans has described their leading attributes with much truth and pleasantry in this Journal; but the details of their lives remain to be described. Descended from the intrepid settlers in Western India, of whose deeds they have a variety of amusing traditions, they claim to be regarded as a few degrees above the natives in order of civilization; and, in their attempts at European costume, the adoption of the Roman Catholic forms, and the use of the Portuguese tongue, carry about them the badges of an origin of which they are not a little proud, without exactly knowing why. But their religion and language all bear strong traces of the truth of the apophthegm regarding "evil communications." The one is a compound of Hindoo superstitions and Catholic principles; the other a medley of jargons, in which Hindostanee, Guzerattee, and Portuguese, struggle for mastery. I remember once, in my rambles about Poonah, being attracted to a large building, within which a great number of cooks, clerks, butlers, sutlers, and all their families, were assembled. The quadrangle within the building was lined with seats, and a canopy of thin coarse cloth was spread over the centre. Pieces of bamboos, covered with fancy paper, stuck round the ground, supported earthen salvers for lights. In the centre of the square, a salver, larger than the rest, contained four or five lighted wicks. On one side, a group of native songsters were vociferating a song, to the words of which the party listened with great interest, and occasionally responded in terms of satisfaction or the reverse. Asking the reason of the assembly, I was informed that Mr. Fernandes was about to be married to Miss Gomes, and that the vocalists were invoking "Sootee Peer" to ascertain if the first fruit would be a son or a daughter, but that the desired information would not be forthcoming before three or four in the morning! Here we had a graft of the superstition of the idolater upon the religion of the Christian. The language of Lusitania is equally corrupted. "*Toom atcha, mame?*" asks a Feringee of one of his female acquaintances; and the answer is, "*Bhoot atcha, graca Deos; vosse tem bon?*"

To the wedding of Mr. Pereira and Miss Caetano—but this may form the subject of the next chapter.

PROFESSOR WILSON'S "HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA."*

THE first volume of the continuation of Mr. Mill's *History of British India*, by Professor Wilson, fulfils the utmost expectations we formed of it from the various qualifications of the writer. Whilst the narrative is perspicuous and elegant in its style, the facts are deduced from, as well as fortified by, a vast variety of original authorities, including the official records at the East-India House, in manuscript, as well as printed by order of Parliament, and contemporary works, the examination of which must have cost much time and labour. We can readily believe Mr. Wilson when he states that, although he had resided in India during nearly the entire period his continuation embraces,—which is another circumstance that will impart a peculiar value to his work,—and was familiar with the general course of events that had occurred, he found he had miscalculated the time and the toil which such a work demanded. When it is completed, we have no doubt that the public will have to congratulate themselves in possessing what Mr. Wilson desires to make his work, a history of India “in which they may place some trust.”

We shall defer giving a full analysis of the work till it is more advanced; observing, meanwhile, that the present volume comprehends the interval from the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattas in 1805 to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. This period includes many occurrences of great delicacy and importance in the history of British India, with regard to some of which the opinions of such a writer as Professor Wilson are valuable. Having been ourselves not inattentive to the events of Indian history, anterior even to 1805, we may venture,—knowing the excitement produced by some of those events, and the prejudice which still lingers regarding them,—to speak with a little confidence of Mr. Wilson's general tone of moderation and equity.

* The History of British India, from 1805 to 1835. By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., &c. Vol. I. London, 1845. Madden and Co.

Critical Notices.

The Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindostan. By R. M. CALDECOTT, Esq.
London, 1844. Darling.

THE autobiography of the Emperor Baber, translated from the original, in Jaghatai Toorki, by Dr. J. Syden and Mr. William Erskine, is one of the most curious and valuable of Eastern works, and one of the best versions from an oriental into an occidental tongue. It is, however, voluminous, and contains much matter which, however useful in illustrating the manners and opinions of the age, possesses no interest in the eyes of general readers. Mr. Caldecott's abridgement in which he says, "many geographical descriptions have been altered and enlarged, with the aid of later authorities"—Mr. Erskine having, as we infer, aided him in the execution—will render the work more popular. One-third of the volume is occupied with "Observations on the Life and Time of Baber," which are too diffuse, and bear too little upon the subject.

The Overland Guide Book; a Complete Vade Mecum for the Overland Traveller. By Captain JAMES BARBER, H. C. S. London, 1845. Wm. H. Allen and Co.

ALTHOUGH many Hand-books and Guides for the overland route have been published during the last five or six years, so many changes are constantly occurring, and there is so much scope for improvement and variety, that there will probably be a long succession of these works before the route is perfectly established in all its incidents. Capt. Barber is well known as an indefatigable labourer in the cause of steam-navigation; his experience, therefore, and knowledge are well adapted to the compilation of such a work; and he has succeeded, by means of well-written descriptions and clever cuts, in providing amusement for his readers, while he gives them a correct notion of the scenes and objects they will meet with in their journey. The work embraces all the matters necessary to be known by an overland traveller through Egypt, out and home,—including regulations respecting the steamers, charges and expenses, lazaretto rules, &c., &c. The maps are conveniently printed on calico.

Recollections of the First Campaign West of the Indus, and of the subsequent Operations of the Candahar Force, under Major-General Sir W. Nott, G. C. B.
By A BENGAL OFFICER. London, 1845. Smith, Elder, and Co.

THIS little work appears to give a faithful representation of what occurred under the observation of an eye-witness of the expedition to Affghanistan, as well as the events at Candahar, in the march from thence to Cabul, and in the retirement of the British forces from that country. The author shuns the opposite extremes of partial eulogy and partial censure. He speaks his honest sentiments, without asperity, where they are unfavourable, and, though one of the Candahar heroes, he does not refrain from condemning Sir W. Nott, for his "ungenerous conduct" towards Col. Lane and the brave garrison of 2,000 men left at that city, when the general, with the rest of the force, was decoyed fifty miles in pursuit of the enemy, who doubled upon him; and for his omission to notice the services of the second brigade, at the retaking of Ghuznee. His defence of the late ruler of India against the "party-feeling" which is striving to rob him of his due share of credit is temperately expressed. With respect to

the "Somnauth gates," the writer states, that "the removal of this 'military trophy' to Hindostan has had the very best effect throughout the Company's territories;" that "he has heard from the lips of native soldiers that our triumphant march throughout Afghanistan was universally scouted and disbelieved, until the 'famous gates' were paraded from Ferozepore to Agra, which at once removed all doubts on the subject."

A Journey from Naples to Jerusalem, by way of Athens, Egypt, and the Peninsula of Sinai, including a trip to the Valley of Fayoum; together with a translation of M. Linant de Bellefonds' "Mémoire sur le Lac Maris." By DAWSON BORRER, Esq. London, 1843. Madden and Co.

MORE of the countries and places visited by Mr. Borrer are so well known, that, although we agree with him, "there is a halo of such sublime interest encircling these countries, that the slightest information regarding them is worthy of attention; yet it is rather by the manner in which the facts are related, than by the facts themselves, that the interest of such a work can be supported. In this respect we can give this volume a strong certificate of character; it is written in a lively, agreeable style; its descriptions are vivid; its narrative is pleasing and unaffected; the incidents are often amusing, and, lastly, it discovers traces of taste and learning in the author.

Introduction to the Second Edition of the Highlands of Ethiopia. By Major W. CORNWALLIS HARRIS, of the Hon. E. I. Company's Engineers.

A Statement of Facts relative to the Transactions between the Writer and the late British Political Mission to the Court of Shoa. By CHARLES T. BEKE.

THESE two pamphlets relate to matters of dispute between Major (now Sir William) Harris, chief of the late Mission to the Court of Shoa, in Abyssinia, and Dr. Beke, a scientific traveller, then in the country, with reference to services alleged to have been rendered by the latter upon conditions not fulfilled by the former. If we were inclined, as we are not, to enter into such questions, which are much of a personal nature, we should require more evidence, and a larger space than we could appropriate to the discussion. Dr. Beke complains of having been ill-used by Sir William Harris, and Sir William speaks of having "enemies of the most implacable and malignant character," amongst whom he is supposed to include Dr. Beke and Mr. Johnston, the author of "Travels in Southern Abyssinia." Dr. Beke has certainly put forward some very strong facts, apparently supported by documents written by Sir William Harris.

Royal Asiatic Society.

THE Society commenced its meetings for the season on the 7th December; the Right Hon. Sir A. Johnston in the chair. A considerable number of presents to the library were submitted; among them were:—The third part of *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character in the British Museum*; presented by the trustees. *Berggren's Guide Français-Arabe vulgaire des Voyageurs et des Francs en Syrie et en Egypte*; from the author. *Thom's English and Chinese Vocabulary*; from the author. *Medhurst's Chinese and English Dictionary*, 2 vols. 8vo.; from the author. *Mémoire sur la Possibilité et la Facilité de former une Eglise générale au moyen de laquelle tous les peuples de la terre puissent s'entendre mutuellement sans que les uns connaissent la langue des autres*; par Don Sinabaldo de Mgo; Masso, 1844. *Wilson's History of British India*, vol. I. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Nos. 1 and 2. *An Account of the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon*; by James Stewart, master-attendant at Colombo; 4to. 1843; presented by the author: this volume is illustrated by beautiful original coloured drawings.

The time of the meeting having been occupied in receiving the donations to the library, and other preliminary business, no paper was read.

4th January.—Professor H. H. Wilson, the director of the Society, in the chair.

William Wilberforce Bird, Esq., and — Soub, Esq., were elected resident members; Major-General W. Cullen, political resident at Travancore, was elected a non-resident member; and Francis McGregor, Esq., H. B. M. consul-general in China, was elected a corresponding member of the Society.

A letter was read from A. B. Orlebar, Esq., of Bombay, forwarding a prospectus of two works about to be published at that presidency, on the Theosophy and Pneumatology of the Mahrattas, by Mr. R. X. Murphy; and it was resolved that the Society subscribe for a copy of each of these works. The prospectus states that, in one of them, "the various developments of the Pytho-mesmeric system, which prevails in Western India under the name of *Waren*, are fully described."

Among the books presented to the library at this meeting were:—M. Bur-nouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, tome I. 4to.; Paris, 1844. *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society*, 3 vols. 8vo.; Albany, 1842-4. *Transactions of the Royal Agricultural Society of Jamaica*; and eight Prize Essays on the Cultivation of the Sugar-cane, &c. &c.

The honorary secretary read a paper, by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, giving an analysis of the *Ganésa Purána*, with special reference to the history of Buddhism. In examining this work, which is one of the *Upa-Puránas*, the doctor met with two legends, which he considers to refer to the rise and fall of Buddhism in India. The *Purána* relates the misfortunes of Somakánta, a king of Surat, who, in consequence of being afflicted with leprosy, left his home to wander in the wilderness. He there meets with one of his progenitors, the sage Bhrigu, who details to him what Brahma in ancient times related to Vyása in praise of Ganésa. Through these representations, Somakánta is induced to worship Ganésa, according to the directions of Bhrigu, as a means of getting rid of his disease, with which it appears he had been afflicted in consequence of sins committed in a former life. The second *Khanda* of the *Purána* is devoted to the exaltation of Ganésa, and to whom are accorded all the attributes of the Vedantin Brahma; and the modes of worship-

ping him are pointed out. At one time he is identified with the Supreme Spirit, and is to be adored in mystical contemplation; at another time, religious homage is to be paid to him, by crowning his image with flowers, presenting to it offerings, and by celebrating his annual festivals.

The particular legend referred to is interwoven with the principal theme of the *Purāna*, after the manner of a story in the *Arabian Nights*, and commences with the history of Gritsamada, whose grandfather, Bhīma, was king of Viṣṭarbhā, the modern Berar. The king, grieved at having no children, left his capital to wander with his wife in the forests, in order to propitiate the deity. A sage directed him to worship Ganēsa; he did so, and had a son born to him, whom he named Rukmānga. After arriving at manhood, this son, while one day hunting in the woods, came to a Rishi's hermitage, whose wife fell in love with him. Rukmānga refuses to listen to her; but the god Indra, assuming the form of the virtuous prince, gratifies the passion of the Rishi's wife; and the fruit of the connection is the sage Gritsamada.

Gritsamada was not aware of his origin; and, being one day reproached with spurious descent by some Rishis, at a shradda performed by the sovereign of Magadha, he quitted their society. After a short abode with Mūnis of a different profession, he betook himself to meditation on the Supreme Being. Ganēsa appeared to him, gave him pre-eminence in all his transmigrations above all other Brahmans, and allotted to him a beautiful shrubbery, in which he might enjoy his devotions. After this, he is treated with great respect by a whole band of sages, who even worship him with oblations. One day, a beautiful boy addresses Gritsamada as father, and tells him that he is sent to him by the deity. Gritsamada adopts the child, teaches him the mystic incantation *Om*, and directs him to propitiate the supreme Ganēsa. After austere devotion, the deity appears, and tells the child to ask a boon. The boy asks for power to conquer the three worlds, which is granted, the deity promising at the same time that he should fall by no weapon except that of Siva. He is to have possession of three famous cities,—of iron, silver, and gold; and, on leaving the world, he is to be absorbed into the divine essence. The child turned out to be the famous Tripurāsura, who speedily set to work and vanquished Indra and all the gods. The gods, in this predicament, apply to Nārāda, who tells them that, to regain their power, they must apply to the same source whence Tripurāsura had gained his,—to Ganēsa. The gods and Rishis address their prayers and devotions to Ganēsa, who is propitiated; and, inconsistently enough, is represented as disguising himself as a Brahman, for the purpose of fomenting a quarrel with Siva. The stratagem is successful; and, after a hard struggle, Tripurāsura is conquered by Siva; and, leaving the earth, mingles with the divine essence.

This legend Dr. Stevenson supposes to be an allegorical representation of the conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism, and quotes passages which lead to that inference. Tripurāsura is represented as having caused the shutting up the fire-temples, prohibited sacrifices to the gods, oblations to the manes, burnt-offerings, and the study of the *Vēdas*,—all which agree with the practices of the Buddhists. Dr. Stevenson thinks the final state of bliss, into which Tripurāsura is said to have entered after death, was no part of the ancient system of the Brahmans; nor was celibacy,—both which are taught by the Buddhists. In conclusion, the doctor suggests that the circumstance of Tripurāsura's meeting with Mūnis of a different order, agrees with what is said in the Buddhist historical work, the *Mahawanso*, of Buddha's meeting with the *Doctors of Reason*, whose religious ideas were similar to his own.

MEETING TO WELCOME SIR GEORGE POLLOCK.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta, convened by the *sheriff*, took place on the 7th October last, for the purpose of publicly bidding welcome to Sir George Pollock to the presidency, and was attended very numerously by all classes of the community, but especially by members of the civil and military services. R. H. Rattray, Esq., was unanimously voted to the chair.

The *Chairman* said :—"Gentlemen, I would fain take advantage of the occasion, under the privilege you have just conferred upon me, to render an honest compliment, not to him only whose deeds have drawn you hither, but to our military friends generally, on the brilliant services and consequent high position of that body of which they may well be proud to count as members. I find it impossible, however, to do this as it should be done. So many dazzling claims present themselves for notice ; so many places become bright spots of the earth as the scenes of bold achievement ; so many dauntless spirits, grasping and winning honour and distinction, as leaders or partakers in what was then achieved ;—I am bewildered in the very excess of that which I had invoked to aid me, and feel I must forego the satisfaction. Without disparagement to any, however, I may hail the auspicious hour in which the gallant soldier we are met to honour became a leader in this noble army, and may point to the name of Pollock, and the halo which encircles it, as a sample of that record which I have shrunk from unfolding. It has been said that the laurel o'er-topped and cast its shade across the olive. Be it so : no blight has followed ; and let it not be supposed that there is one in this assembly who grudges its wreath to the soldier's brow that wears it ! Few of us stand unconnected by the ties of family or friendship with our fellow-exiles of the sword ; and if any change has marked us, it is only that a deeper tone of feeling has been awakened by their exploits. In the language of this land, "may their shadow never be less !" and may it never be lengthened by a decline of that favour which has shone, and may still shine, upon their fortunes. As an honour and ornament to that profession which has produced so many, and so much to admire and to imitate, Sir George Pollock stands second to none. His acts will be found recorded in the bright pages of his country's annals ; our part is to shew that they are duly estimated by those whose opportunities rendered them best qualified justly to appreciate them."

Mr. *Pattle* spoke as follows :—"We are assembled here to commemorate the signal military services of Major-General Sir George Pollock, and to welcome his advent amongst us as a citizen of the metropolis of this vast empire. The emulation which has made this meeting so general and numerous is no less complimentary to him than it is honourable to us all. The calamitous consequences which succeeded the insurrection at Cabul need only to be mentioned to be vividly recollected. It would be difficult to decide whether affliction for the fate of the brave and unfortunate who were its victims, or burning anger and desire to inflict on treachery the fullest force of retributive justice, were the feelings most predominant in our breasts. Recalling those emotions, you will, I am sure, concur with me, that the skill and valour which surmounted all obstacles, conquered all opposition, put Cabul again in our possession, and planted the British flag once more on the Bala Hissar citadel, can receive from you no praise too great, no honour too distinguishing. I will not recite to you the numerous successive occasions on which the comparatively small force commanded by Sir George Pollock was victorious,—defeating every opposition offered by the

enemy to his progress to Cabul,—as, were I to do so, I should be anticipating most interesting details, which will be read to you by the chairman. But I cannot refrain from briefly noticing the consummate military skill which rendered nugatory the very formidable fortification at the mouth of the Khybur pass, and enabled Sir George Pollock to take his force into the rear of that fortification, and successfully to advance his troops into the pass; to compel the enemy to evacuate the fort of Ali Musjid, and to relieve the band of heroes composing the small garrison of Jellalabad, who, but for this brilliantly achieved success, would never have returned. On this important event depended also the release of the captives, whose fate had until then appeared to be hopeless. Our gracious Sovereign has marked her sense of Sir George Pollock's military services by conferring on him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament have been voted to him, and to the forces under his command; and the Hon. East-India Company have placed him in the Supreme Council of this presidency. It remains for you, gentlemen, as siders of the metropolis of this vast empire, to crown the accumulation of honours so justly conferred on him by a suitable recognition of his pre-eminent merits. He is now your fellow-citizen; as such you may be justly proud of him, and as such he will place a very high value on your estimation; for here, in our own country, it is the privilege of the metropolis to confer distinction. I may be allowed to mention to you, that Sir George Pollock's state of health would compel him to decline any public entertainment. It has, therefore, occurred to many of his friends, that an address would, perhaps, be a form of compliment the most acceptable to him; and, under this impression, an address has been prepared, which the chairman will read to you.

The Chairman accordingly read the address, which was as follows:—

"To Major-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., Member of the Supreme Council of India, &c. &c. &c.

"Honourable Sir,—Your recent nomination to a seat in the Supreme Council of India was hailed with expressions of no common satisfaction by all classes throughout the empire. It was regarded as reflecting honour on those who had conferred honour, and came in grateful unison with those feelings which your great and well-timed services had universally excited. If by others this was so appreciated, with us it had a peculiar value and more immediate interest, as involving your presence and permanent residence amongst us; and we now bid you welcome, as a member of our community, with that sincerity and cordiality which your merits and our obligations are calculated to inspire.

"It were a superfluous trespass here to recapitulate the services to which we have alluded, as constituting the basis of our professions towards you; but as this is a public exposition of our sentiments, it behoves us publicly to declare the source they spring from. The shortest abstract will suffice to satisfy inquiry, why it was that the inhabitants of this capital so greeted your arrival, and rejoiced to enrol you as a fellow-citizen.

"From the records of the day, we learn that the reverses and calamities of the close of 1841 had thrown a deep gloom over the land, and that when, at the commencement of 1842, you proceeded to assume the command of the army destined to the relief of Jellalabad, sickness to an alarming extent, severity of the season, and deficiency of carriage, with daily increasing numbers flocking to the ranks of the enemy, combined to oppose your progress. The Khybur pass, through which only the object of your advance was accessible, was fortified and manned by the enemy—as they believed, impregnable; they

greatly exceeded you in numerical strength; and with a thorough knowledge of the intricacies and capabilities of the dædæ, were animated by recent success, and bold in reliance of safety in their stronghold. Yet, with all this array of obstacles to thwart and discourage, we learn with admiration that, on the 5th of April, 1842, the pass was carried by a masterly display of skill and bravery; and that, on the 16th of the same month, the garrison of Jellalabad was relieved, and gave its strength to support your future operations. The Government notification, published on this occasion, sets forth that, 'Receiving the command of the army at Peshawar under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, Major-General Pollock had, in the midst of new and unforeseen embarrassments and difficulties, preserved a firm mind; and, justly relying on his own judgment, had at last, with equal discretion and decision, accomplished the object he was directed to effect.' We do not stop to comment upon this achievement; others, not less admirable, are before us. It would appear that want of carriage detained the troops at Jellalabad till August, on the 20th of which month they moved towards Gundamuck. On the 23rd, the enemy were found collected at Mamoo-Khail, and on the 24th, were attacked and completely routed; and this with only a small part of your force, the greater portion not having yet come up, and being thereby vexatiously deprived of sharing in the victory,—thus rendered the more creditable to the few that gained it. On the 7th of September, we find you leaving Gundamuck, and on the 8th, engaged with the enemy strongly posted on the heights before Jugdulluk, whence, after a thorough defeat, again by a comparatively small force, they were dispersed in all directions. From Jugdulluk, the next move recorded is to Teseen, which your first division reached on the 11th of September, joined, by a forced march, by the second; but the exhausted cattle requiring a halt on the 12th, Mahommud Akbar was enabled to collect from sixteen to twenty thousand men in the vicinity; and the result of the action which ensued, added another laurel to those already won by you. On the 15th, the army reached Cabul; and the day after, the British flag was flying on its citadel, the Bala Hissar. 'Thus,' says the Gazette, announcing these events, 'have all past disasters been retrieved and avenged on every scene on which they were sustained; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Guznee and Cabul, have advanced the glory and established the accustomed superiority of the British arms. In the name of the Government, and of all the people of India, the Governor-General offers to Major-General Pollock and Major-General Nott, and all the officers and troops under their respective commands, his grateful and heartfelt acknowledgments of the important services they have performed.' A salute of twenty-one guns for each capture was the crowning compliment.

"To enhance the value of these services, it must not be omitted that, although the return to Cabul was for some time delayed, it was from the earliest moment the course dictated by your own sense of what was due to the brave who had fallen, and the glory of British arms. We honour you for the reluctance you evinced to return to the provinces from Jellalabad; which return, with that unattempted which by your perseverance was at last accomplished, would have left a stain upon your country which time nor circumstances could ever have effaced. Your address to the Government, of the 13th of May, 1842, had been mislaid, it seems, and it is only recently that we have been made aware, through the medium of the press, of this addition to our obligations to you.

"The remainder of this, ~~your~~ short but glorious career of service in Afghanistan, now assumed a character of intense and painful interest, requiring the most cautious discretion, combined with an energy and decision that seemed scarcely compatible with its exercise. Too much or too little of either, in however slight a degree, and we had still to mourn—how many of our countrymen, women and children, held in hopeless captivity by an exasperated enemy, who had every motive to humble and insult, and none to spare them! It were tedious to you, the chief actor in it, to listen to the repetition of the many changes of doubt, and hope, and failure, and eventual success, which marked the progress of this memorable transaction. It is probably that portion of your past life which you look back upon with most complacency. The courage and ability demanded and displayed were in the cause of humanity,—a cause which was hallowed and approved by Heaven; and those who, abandoned, had pined and sunk to an untimely grave, live to bless the name of him who restored them to freedom and to life.

"We think there is enough exhibited in this brief sketch, imperfect as it is, to shew that, on this occasion, we have performed a duty to ourselves. We are aware of your former services in Ava, and of your having then won distinction at the hand of your Sovereign; but those services have been eclipsed by these we now gratefully acknowledge, and that distinction we rejoice to lose in the lustre of those greater honours which you have earned so worthily.

"It only remains for us to assure you that nothing on our part shall be wanting to render your residence amongst us as much a matter of choice as of official necessity; and, as the guarantee of this, we point to the pledge you hold in the respect and admiration with which we regard you."

Brigadier Frith moved that the address be adopted.

Colonel Burton observed, that he had most cheerfully agreed to second the adoption of the address, though he was not aware of its contents before it had been read by the chairman. The task, however, of seconding such a resolution would have been a gratifying one to him, considering that, for two-and-thirty years, or more, he had been on intimate terms of friendship with Sir George Pollock; but, having heard the address, he felt himself bound not only to decline seconding its adoption, but to oppose it. It contained a short paragraph casting a reflection on a part of the army when at Peshawur. [The passage alluded to by the speaker was this: that the reverses, &c., "had not only thrown a deep gloom, &c., but had also disheartened our troops on the north west frontier, so as to render a very considerable portion of them already averse to any measures that should hazard the recurrence of similar disasters, &c."] He had been enrolled in that army six-and-thirty years ago; he had served with it on various occasions, and had witnessed its admirable discipline in cantonments, its valour in action, and its patient endurance under sufferings and privations. He was proud to belong to it, and he could not at this eleventh hour,—now that his connection with it was verging towards its close,—sanction a document which contained the passage he referred to. He believed that the circumstances to which that passage bore allusion had been exaggerated; but whether or no, even if all the stories that had been circulated had been perfectly true, reference to them in an address of welcome and greeting was surely unnecessary and out of place. He was also quite certain that Sir George Pollock would deem it any thing but complimentary were he to find in the address any remarks derogatory to the merits of the gallant troops to which he had ever been free to acknowledge he was deeply indebted for the proud posi-

tion he now occupies, the success and celebrity he obtained, and the proud honour with which he had been elevated. Under all these considerations, he felt bound to oppose the address as it stood, and he suggested that the words to which he had objected should be expunged.

The passage (in italics) objected to by Colonel Buriton was, after some conversation, with the general consent of the meeting, expunged, and the first resolution, as moved by Brigadier Frith and seconded by Colonel Buriton, was handed to the chairman.

Mr. Hume pointed to another part of the address, as embodying an unquestionable expiation. The passage ran in these words:—"That although the return from Cabul was essentially in compliance with instructions from superior authority, it originated in the dictates of your own zeal, &c." The words objected to by Mr. Hume were those printed in italics. That statement Mr. Hume considered not to be in keeping with recorded facts, and that it was robbing our generals of a glory greater than all the conquests which they had achieved. He also remarked, that it was not denied that there was a discretionary power to return by Cabul; but honours had been heaped on them for daring the worst to themselves, and thereby achieving the glorious victory which they had achieved. It would, therefore, be contrary to fact to say, that they had advanced "in compliance with instructions from superior authority."

The passage referred to was amended by unanimous consent.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. James Sutherland said, he had a resolution to propose which he hoped would receive the support of the meeting. Mr. Pattie had informed them that the gallant general felt himself compelled to decline a public entertainment of any kind; it became necessary, then, to propose some other mode of doing him honour, in addition to the address, for it seemed to be the general opinion that something more than a mere expression of the public feeling on this occasion was due. The resolution, then, which he would have to propose, embraced a mode of honouring the gallant officer that could not fail, he thought, of being highly gratifying to his feelings. The resolution was as follows:—

"That a gold medal and a sum of money (to be determined by the amount of subscription raised), to be called, 'The Pollock Prize,' be presented annually to the most distinguished cadet of the season at Addiscombe, to commemorate the name and services of Sir George Pollock; and that subscription-books be circulated in the three presidencies to raise a fund for this purpose. No subscription to exceed fifty rupees."

Mr. Pattie, in seconding the resolution, said:—"I may venture to declare, after knowing Sir George Pollock from the date of his arrival, that no compliment could be devised which would be so acceptable as that which has been proposed for your approval. He is an honour to the institution of Addiscombe, which gave to him his military education; and his military renown in this country will, when this resolution has been adopted, not merely perpetuate his fame, but will be the means of stimulating future aspiring young soldiers to gain this honourable prize, glowing with an ardour, the first presage, possibly, of similar after-celebrity. Who shall say but that descendants of Sir George Pollock may acquire this prize? and then the trophy will have enhanced value, associated, as it will be, with a recollection of its origin,—the glorious martial deeds and consummate military skill, in honour of which we are now assembled."

The resolution was adopted unanimously by the meeting, as was the following:—

“ That the following gentlemen be deputed to accompany the chairman on the day appointed for the presentation of the address, with as many more as may choose to attend at the ceremony; and that those so deputed be a committee to carry into effect the last preceding resolution, viz.—Brigadier Frith, Esqut.-Col. Burlton, Chespe, Hawkins, Forbes, Warren, Irvine, and Pewsey; Messrs. Pattle, Rattray, Tucker, Barlow, E. M. Gordon, Reid, Henry Moors, Dickens, O'Dowda, Higgins, Sutherland, Storm, Allan, Gilmore, A. Rogers, and Gillander; Dr. Garden, Capt. Rogers, Dwarakanath Tagore, Rustomjee Cowasjee, and Prosonokomar Tagore.”

On the 2nd November, the ceremony of presenting the address took place at the residence of James Pattle, Esq., in Chowringhee, where the gallant general was temporarily residing. Above sixty gentlemen, representing the different sections of the Calcutta community, attended on the occasion, including the two Mysore princes. The address had received more than a thousand signatures. At the appointed hour Sir George Pollock appeared, when Mr. Rattray, after a few preliminary sentences alluding to that portion of the proceedings of the meeting which determined on founding a prize medal at Addiscombe, proceeded to read the address, and then delivered the roll of parchment in which it was engrossed, together with a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, to Sir George Pollock, when the gallant general, with strong visible emotion, made his reply. Although it was a written one, yet Sir George appeared so overpowered by his feelings, as to be unable, more than once, to proceed with it. The reply was as follows:—

“ Gentlemen,—I return my most heartfelt thanks for the honour conferred on me by this address, presented from the inhabitants of this great metropolis. I shall ever be proud of such a testimonial, proceeding, as it does, from so large, so respectable, and so intelligent a body of fellow-citizens. The flattering sentiments and special welcome thus communicated to me, I consider a highly honourable addition to the acknowledgments already vouchsafed to me by our gracious Sovereign, by the Parliament, and by the Hon. the East-India Company, for my military services; and I shall ever remember with gratitude this spontaneous demonstration of generous public feeling.

“ For my own share of the results which, under the favour of Divine Providence, attended the campaign in Afghanistan in 1842, I claim but little merit. It was my good fortune to be selected to command the army which forced the Khyber pass, relieved Jellalabad, and took possession of Cabul; and I gladly avail myself of the opportunity you now afford me of again publicly declaring that I owe my success to the indomitable bravery, devotion to the service, and indefatigable perseverance of the officers and men (European and native) under my command. My debt of gratitude to them, and my recollection of their unshaken heroism under many trying circumstances, will never be obliterated from my memory; nor shall I ever forget that it is to their determination to conquer, and vindicate their country's cause, I am indebted for the enviable station to which I have attained.

“ I feel it impossible adequately to express my sense of the obligation you have conferred on me by the desire you have shewn to perpetuate, in my native country, your too flattering estimation of my military services, by the presentation of medals to students at Addiscombe. Though not educated at Addiscombe, I concur most unreservedly in the very high respect and estimation

justly bestowed on the institution by public opinion. Two of my sons have there received their military education; and I cannot but look forward to their career with confidence, when I reflect on the many highly-gifted soldiers that institution has prepared for the British armies. You have thus conferred on me a lasting distinction, at once glorious and far beyond my deserts.

"I trust to include, gentlemen, by assuring you that, though conscious of my inability fully to express how very deeply I feel the generous eulogium you have passed on me, neither time nor distance will ever diminish my sense of the obligation, nor the fervency of my wishes for your uninterrupted prosperity."

Chronicle.

The following is published in the Times, of January 28th, as a copy of the address of the Chairman of the Court of Directors to Sir Henry Hardinge, upon his appointment:—

"I have the pleasure of congratulating you on your appointment to the high and important office of Governor-General of India.

"You have already been informed that you have been elected by the unanimous voice of a full Court of Directors. It is unnecessary, therefore, to assure you that you are in possession of their entire confidence—a confidence founded on the reputation you have established for yourself, not only as a soldier, but as a statesman.

"You are fully acquainted with the system which the wisdom of Parliament has devised and established for the administration of the vast territories which the East-India Company has acquired for the British Crown in India. To the Court of Directors, subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, is intrusted, as you are aware, the general administration of those territories. The orders, which, from time to time, are transmitted to India emanate from the Court, and being confirmed by the Court, are then issued, in the name of the Court, for the direction and guidance of the local authorities. You will perceive, therefore, that the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court is demanded by the existing system of the Indian government; and we are persuaded that you will impress this feeling upon our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but by your example. On the part of the Court, I have, at the same time, the happiness of assuring you, that, reposing the utmost confidence in your judgment, and bearing in mind the heavy responsibility under which you will be called upon to act, at so great a distance from the controlling authorities, they will ever be disposed to regard your measures in the most favourable view, and to afford to you, in the exercise of your high office, their steady and cordial support.

"In the discharge of the onerous duties of government you will be aided by your constitutional advisers, the members of the Council of India—men selected for the high and responsible station which they occupy, with reference to their knowledge, experience, and honourable character. In the servants of the Company, both civil and military, you will find talent and every necessary qualification for the various duties to be discharged, and an ardent zeal for the advancement of the great interests committed to their care. Much has been done to secure, for both services, the advantages of due preparation, and you will not fail to recollect that the members of the civil service are educated not only with particular care, but with a special view to the important duties of civil adminis-

tion, upon the upright and intelligent performance of which so much of the happiness of the people depends. I doubt not that your experience will coincide with that of the great men who, in former times, have filled the office of Governor-General, in enabling you justly to appreciate the eminent qualities of the civil servants of India; and I feel persuaded that your confidence in them will be returned by the most zealous exertion on their part to promote the success of your administration.

"Upon the merits of our army it would be presumptuous in me to enlarge, to one so much better qualified to judge of its character and to estimate its services: but I cannot refrain from earnestly recommending the native soldier to your protection and encouragement; you will find that he possesses most valuable qualities; that he is eminently susceptible of kindness, and most grateful to his benefactors. Your kindly offices will be rewarded in the manner which you will most highly value; they will conciliate the affections of the soldiery to the service, strengthen the bonds by which their interests are united with those of the Government, and render them more efficient by enlisting their feelings in support of their duty. At the present moment, difficulties have arisen in our native army requiring to be met by prompt and decisive measures. We trust that ere you arrive in India those difficulties may have passed away; but, should you find them still existing, we are confident that you will act towards the Sepoy with every degree of consideration and indulgence compatible with the maintenance of order and obedience, the first and paramount duty of the soldier.

"By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. I need not say that it is our anxious desire that it should be preserved. You, Sir, well know how great are the evils of war, and we feel confident that, whilst ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honour of our country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. To the native states which still retain independence, you will extend the shield of British protection. It has hitherto been considered a wise and just policy to uphold and support those which are in alliance with us; and in dealing with those who are immediately dependent upon our government, we have, with a view to soothe the feelings and conciliate the attachment of both chiefs and people, permitted the former to retain the recognized emblems of authority, their titles, and other insignia of rank and station.

"Peace, apart from its other advantages, is desirable with a view to the prosperity of our finances and the developement of the resources of the country. From a natural desire on the part of our Government to render the public service as efficient as possible, there is always a tendency to an increase of establishments. A steady and vigilant attention will be, therefore, necessary to enforce the strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service. This duty is rendered the more urgent by the existing state of the finances of India; but it is at all times necessary, from the difficulty experienced in that country in devising new resources of revenue, or rendering those already existing more productive, and more commensurate with the exigencies of the state. I feel assured, therefore, that your early and anxious attention will be directed to the best means for averting financial embarrassment, and for placing the public finances on a sound and satisfactory footing.

"It has long been the desire of the Court to encourage education among the people of India, with a view of cultivating and enlarging their minds, of raising them in their own and our estimation, and of qualifying them for the

more responsible offices under our Government. It is, however, necessary, with reference to the subject of education, to exercise great prudence and caution, in order to avoid even the appearance of any interference with their religious feelings and prejudices, and to maintain on such points the strictest neutrality.

"Finally, Sir Henry, I would earnestly recommend the whole body of the people of British India and its dependencies to your paternal care and protection. It has always been the earnest desire of the Court of Directors that the government of the East-India Company should be eminently just, moderate, and conciliatory. The supremacy of our power must be maintained, when necessary, by the irresistible force of our arms; but the empire of India cannot be upheld by the sword alone. The attachment of the people, their confidence in our equity of justice and in our desire to maintain the obligations of good faith, must ever be essential elements of our strength. I beseech you, therefore, to keep these sacred principles habitually and permanently in view. The Court has selected you for the high office of Governor-General with reference not less to the confidence which they entertain in your character for justice, moderation, and benevolence, than to your firm and undoubted possession of a sound practical judgment and indomitable spirit. You are already in possession of the highest renown as a soldier, and we feel assured that you will now rest your happiness and your fame on the furtherance of measures tending to promote the welfare and best interests of the Government and of the people committed to your care. And it is our earnest prayer that, after an extended career of useful and valuable service, you may return to your native country, bearing with you, as the best and most gratifying reward of your labours, the thanks and blessings of the people of India."

Whitehall, Jan. 16.—The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, granting the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the Right Honourable Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart., *q. c. z.*, and Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of her Majesty's Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and of the island of Prince Edward, and Governor-General of all her Majesty's provinces on the continent of North America, and of the island of Prince Edward, and to his heirs male, by the title of Baron Metcalfe, of Fern Hill, in the county of Berks.

Her Majesty has appointed (Jan. 1) Thomas Thompson, Esq., to be superintendent of police for the island of Ceylon.

Her Majesty has appointed (Jan. 10) Major Matthew Richmond to be superintendent of the Southern Division of the Colony of New Zealand.

Mr. Pritchard, late Consul at Tahiti, has been appointed Consul at the Navigators' Islands, one of the most populous and important groups of the Polynesian archipelago. The *Patriot* says: "We know he leaves England determined to pursue the same straightforward line of conduct which has already rendered him so obnoxious to the French tools of the Propaganda," and that he "goes out with the full confidence of Lord Aberdeen." He took his departure on the 17th January.

Such of our readers as are interested in the grants of batta for the operations in China, will be glad to learn the subjoined particulars respecting its intended issue, which, after much reprehensible delay, is at length likely to be speedily, and, we trust, satisfactorily, brought to a close: the Lords of the Treasury

having requested the Court of Directors of the East-India Company to complete the payments with as little delay as possible. These claimants, therefore, who have already quitted, or who are about to leave, India or China, will have to apply for the amounts to which they are respectively entitled to the managers of Leadenhall-street. The shares now being paid are upon the following scale:—To the officers and men engaged in the operations against Canton, and to those not so engaged, but who served from the commencement of hostilities until the end of June, 1841, twelve months' allowance. To the officers and men employed, in 1840, at Ningpo, and on the Canton river, only six months' allowance. The shares to be hereafter distributed are to be apportioned thus:—To the officers and men employed in all the operations which took place between the 1st of August, 1841, and the 29th of August, 1842, twelve months' allowance. To those employed on the Yang-Tze-Kiang river only, and to those left in the occupation of Hong Kong and other stations, six months' allowance. —*United Service Gazette.*

It is contemplated by Government to send out another expedition to the Arctic regions, with the view of discovering the north-west passage between the Atlantic and Pacific. The command of the expedition has been offered to Sir James Ross; should that officer decline it, it will fall upon Sir John Franklin. —*Hampshire Telegraph.*

We have been shown some canned peaches from Sydney, which are said to be the first which have reached England from our Australian colonies. They are quite equal in flavour to the French dried plums, and a much finer fruit. —*Manchester Guardian.*

We extract from the letter of a correspondent of the *South Carolina Spartan* the following account of the Siamese Twins, and their families:—"You may be aware that, some few years since, the Siamese Twins, Chang and Eng, retired from the public gaze, and settled down in this county (Willcox) as farmers. You will also recollect, that during last year it was published in some of the newspapers that they had married two sisters. This notice was treated as a hoax by some of the journals, and I incline to think that public opinion settled that the twins were still living in single blessedness. To my surprise I find that the supposed hoax is a literal fact, and that those distinguished characters are married men. Mrs. Chang and Mrs. Eng are well known to several of my personal acquaintances, and are said to be very amiable and industrious. Each of the ladies presented her particular lord with an heir, in the person of a fine, fat, bouncing daughter. It is said that Chang and Eng, with their wives and children, contemplate making a tour through this country in a year or two. The twins enjoy excellent health—are very lively, talkative, and apparently happy; and will doubtless prove more interesting and attractive in their second tour than they did in their first over the civilized world. Having families to provide for, as prudent husbands and fathers, they may think their bachelor fortunes insufficient for all the little Changs and Engs of which they now have the promise." —*American paper.*

The *Public Ledger*, in giving its usual annual review of the tea-market, states, that the regularity of the supplies through the season just closed, and the general confidence existing in the pacific working of the new treaty, have relieved the trade from those anxieties which formerly, under a different aspect of affairs, caused so much fluctuation. In taking the value of congou, as a description of tea well representing the currency of the year, there has not been a greater margin of change than 8½d. per pound, the highest quotation appearing as 1s.

1d. per pound, and the lowest quotation 9½d. per pound, while the closing quotation for the year is 1½d. per pound. The concluding remarks of the *reviewers* give a fair view of the present state of the market.—"The past year has afforded the first trial under the new treaty, and it has been found to work generally well. As anticipated, the chief trade continues to be carried on at Canton. The new ports have furnished two or three cargoes only of tea obtained in better, and though, probably, shipments will gradually increase, there seems at present no indication of their quickly becoming rivals to the old port. The quantity of tea in China has been found ample, but there has not been any disposition to force it upon us, which seemed likely, when the cogency of new ports to the tea districts were first contemplated; and hence this fact has increased confidence by relieving the trade from the fear which existed at the close of last year, viz. that an overwhelming supply would be the result of opening fresh places of shipment. The qualities received this year have been good of the several denominations; the cash prices at Canton have been rather lower than last year, but the public quotations have been so mixed up with those of barter, that we cannot give them accurately. The consumption of this country is going on satisfactorily, steadily increasing with the population, and the improved habits of the people; the importers find safe and prudent buyers in the wholesale and retail dealers, and these receive a remunerative profit from the demand for consumption, and the year closes with but one important uncertainty hanging over the market, namely, whether the government will now grant the boon of reducing the duty on tea. The stock on hand in the United Kingdom we now estimate at 30,500 lbs.; at this period last year it was 27,500 lbs. The present price of common congou is 1½d.; the price last year was 1s. to 1s. 1d."

The leading members of the tea trade held a meeting at the Jerusalem Coffee-house, on the 18th January, when it was determined to address a memorial to the government, in favour of a reduction of duty on that article.

On the 10th January, a dinner was given to Sir Henry Portinger, by the members of the Oriental Club, at their house in Hanover-square: the Earl of Auckland in the chair.

On the 28th January, Mr. R. Forbes, jun., ship and insurance broker or agent, of Broad-street, was brought before the Lord Mayor, and held to bail to appear to answer any charge for having published libels concerning the firm of Rickards, Little, & Co., East India merchants, and particularly Mr. L. M. Rute, one of the partners.

Mr. Bourne's Postal Convention with the Pasha of Egypt has been sent to England to be ratified. The conditions are not so satisfactory as expected. It is believed that it is based on the same principles as the one made with the French Government for the India mails proceeding through France, and that Mehemet Ali will receive an amount of postage on the mails passing through Egypt, to and from India, at the rate of 6s. per lb. on letters, and 1s. per lb. on newspapers. The term is for five years. The mails will be conveyed through the country by the Viceroy at his own expense, and will be accompanied by English messengers.

Mr. Galloway, the engineer, author of the pamphlet shewing the importance of a railroad from Suez to Cairo, is said to be on his way to Egypt, to commence that important undertaking; but the *Times*, of January 29th, states:—"Our accounts from Alexandria of the 6th inst. mention that the plan of establishing a railroad between Cairo and Suez had been nearly abandoned." This plan appears to be that of M. Mangel.

The Egyptian Transit Company is still in a state of discomfiture, the real directors not being ~~known~~. In the meantime the Government continues to take measures to make a monopoly of the transit through Egypt. The British and several European consuls at Cairo have received instructions from the Egyptian Government to prohibit travellers from crossing the Desert between Cairo and Suez by their own conveyances, as the means of proceeding between those two places are to be strictly confined to the Egyptian Transit Company.

A correspondent in the *Times* says—"Why do not others do as I do—stick six blue stamps on every India letter, instead of offering a premium on its destruction by paying a shilling with it? I have been sending letters to India and Malta, ever since stamps came into use, with the six blue heads on them, and have never found any letter miscarry. As a matter of taste, the six heads may be objected to; but there is no real inconvenience in their use on the half-ounce India letters."

A contract has been entered into by Government for the conveyance of the mails between Suez and Calcutta and China.

The division on the Tahiti question in the French Chamber of Deputies, on the 27th January, left the ministers in a majority of only 8; the numbers being, for the paragraph of the address relating to Tahiti, 213, and against it 205. The majority in favour of the whole address was 183.

The Dutch papers state that the Netherlands Commercial Company have received letters from Batavia, informing them that, in consequence of the failure, of the crops (especially of coffee) they should freight 9,000 tons of loss to fetch the produce of 1844.

On dit.—It is said that Lady Emily Hardinge, who is at Nice, has relinquished the intention of joining her husband, the Governor-General of India, owing to the state of her health, which would not bear the journey, and would receive benefit from a residence in Italy.—It is currently reported at the clubs that her Majesty has been pleased to appoint Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor-General of Canada, in the place of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose state of health renders his early removal necessary.—The *Atlas* states that "A rumour has been freely circulated, and obtains increasing credit, that Sir R. Peel intends to submit to Parliament a scheme for taking the power of governing the British territories in the East out of the hands of the Hon. East-India Company, and placing them immediately under the Crown."—The *John Bull*, a weekly paper, having imputed to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, late of the Bengal civil service, the authorship of the pamphlet, "India and Lord Ellenborough," Mr. Prinsep has denied all connection with the production, and, indirectly, disavows any concurrence in its contents.

Detachments from the 51st, 58th, 96th, and 99th regiments (281 men) embarked for Van Diemen's Land, in the freight ship *Ann*, on the 10th January; they are under the command of Lieut. col. R. H. Wynyard, of the 58th, with the following officers of the same regiment:—Capt. J. H. Lays, Ensign G. H. Wynyard, and Assist. surg. T. M. Philson; Assist. surg. W. McAndrew, of the 96th, also embarks with them. A detachment from the 11th and 17th regiments (50 men) have likewise embarked for Van Diemen's Land, in the *Henry and Elizabeth*, convict ship, under Lieut. E. H. Cormick, and Ensign W. F. Austen.

Abstract

Company's officers. Under the orders of Sir John (Lord) Keane, he was summoned in the command of a division by Lord Major-General Willehien, Major-General Nott having continued in command of a brigade, though Sir John was the senior officer. With his characteristic spirit, he remonstrated with the commander of the forces upon this injustice, and he made it likewise the subject of a formal appeal to the Supreme Government upon which (with reference to the orders of the Governor-General and the Court of Directors) he considered "a very great grievance." This remonstrance led to an interview between Major-General Nott and Sir John Keane, the particulars of which, by some means, became public.* Sir John is represented to have told the major-general that he intended to leave him in command of the second brigade in the district of Bikan. Major-General Nott replied that he was the only major-general of the Company's army with the Army of the Indus; that those who were to go forward were his juniors; and requested that he might go forward with the regiment of the brigade present in camp (the 43rd), or, if that could not be allowed, without any change. Sir John's dry answer was, that he acted under the Governor-General's positive orders, in his own handwriting. The major-general urged that the greater portion of the troops in advance were of the Bengal presidency, yet there would be four Queen's major-generals with it, and not one Company's; that his rank entitled him to some command, and he should view a refusal not only as a personal injustice to himself, but to the Company's service generally. The firmness, however respectful, with which Major-General Nott enforced his arguments, seems to have given displeasure to Sir John Keane, not the most mild and patient of mortals, who told him he had "insulted his authority," and that "he would never forget his conduct as long as he lived." We have not passed over this incident in the history of Sir William Nott, which made a great noise in the army at the time, because it displays the qualities of his character, and shews how many accidents interfere with the rise of men who are capable of rendering the most useful services to the public.

Under this arrangement, Major-General Nott was placed in command of the second brigade, consisting of the 2nd, 42nd, and 43rd regiments of Bengal native infantry. He was soon, however, engaged in active services. In November, 1840, he recovered the fortress of Khelat, and early in the following year he was appointed to the command of Candahar and the districts in its vicinity. From this time, the military talents of Major-General Nott, though his measures are said to have been checked and impeded by the young "politicals,"† had freer scope, and were conspicuous in the defeat of the insurgent forces, in the defence of Candahar against an overwhelming superiority of numbers, and finally in a triumphant march from that city to Cabul, defeating the Afghan forces by the way, redeeming British honour at Ghuzni, and restoring the captive sepoy to freedom.

The despatches of General Nott are remarkable,—those of a purely military character for their Caesar-like brevity and simplicity; the political letters for their correct appreciation of the state of affairs, and the character of the enemy; for the confidence reposed by him in his own resources, and especially in the bravery of his troops, and for the truly British tone in which, though sur-

* See *Asiat. Journ.*, last series, vol. xxx. p. 180, As. Intell.

† For example: a letter from Candahar, dated 27th September, 1841, states that Gen. Nott gave direct orders that Utkar Khan should be followed up, immediately after his defeat at Bala-Alim; but that Lieut. Paterson, officiating political assistant, had the power to control and over-ride, so that Gen. Nott's orders were not carried into effect. See *Asiat. Journ.*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 324, 325.

rounded by enemies, and assailed by constant announcements of treason, he speaks without the slightest hesitancy, encouraging not only his own troops but even his own government. Such ill-timed courage, as nothing else could have obtained for General Nott, on the 15th August 1842, would have been a mere blunder, otherwise the British would have been able to have easily done, by four general movements, what they failed to do by the mere force of arms, and their only contribution to the British cause would have been to witness under their own eyes the destruction of the British army, and the consequent loss of the British empire in India.

Reverberations were bestowed upon Major-General Nott with a grandeur which The Duke of Wellington's panegyric alone was equal to a life. There was voted to him by Parliament, the Queen conferred upon him the highest military distinction, by creating him a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and the Court of Directors, with the ready sanction of the Board of Control, granted him an annuity of £1,000. This last token of gratitude was communicated to him only three months before his death.

Having re-conducted his brave army into India, where it met with such reception due to its merits and services, General Nott received the honourable and lucrative appointment of Envoy to the King of Oude. Ill-health, however, compelled him to resign this appointment in December, 1842. At the age of 61, the effects of forty years' service in the climate of India, and of the arduous duties of the last four, began to tell upon a constitution originally robust, and he made preparations for his return to Europe. At a fancy ball given to Lady Nott, at Calcutta, on the 29th January, 1844, Sir William, on his health being drunk, is reported to have made use of the following remarkable expressions:—"I must attribute the honour conferred on me as a mark of your approval of my conduct during the wars in Afghanistan. I cannot now enter into the particulars of the difficult scenes in which I found myself engaged. I am convinced that, when the conflicting opinions which now exist shall have subsided, history—impartial history—will inform the world who it was that, in spite of opposition, in spite of that despair and the unaccountable panic which pervaded India, upheld the honour of Old England, and asserted the reputation of our arms." In one of his private letters, he speaks more plainly—"Few people are aware," he says, "of the difficulties I had to overcome. A dreadful panic had seized every man, from the governor down, and for six long months all I could do failed to make them act as Englishmen ought to do. If there is any thing praiseworthy in having asserted the honour of dear old England in Afghanistan, and in making the British arms and character feared and respected throughout Central Asia, the credit is mine, and mine alone; and history will do me justice. Had I not remained sternly determined, there would have been no advance on Ghuzni and Cabul. We should have left Afghanistan in disgrace, laughed at by the whole world, and all India would have been up in arms. Our sepoys always acted nobly, and I could have done any thing with them. I could in perfect confidence have led 5,000 sepoys against 15,000 or 20,000 Afghans."

On the 7th February, Sir William, with his family, embarked at Calcutta, and landed at the Cape, where they remained a short time. Re-embarking for Europe, he was attacked by symptoms of the disease of the heart, from which he suffered severely on the voyage. Upon his arrival in England, in September last, he lost no time in repairing to his native place, Carmarthen, where he had re-purchased Job's Well, having directed the house to be pulled down, with the view of building a residence there, in the Elizabethan style, better adapted to his rank. *Dixi aliter visum.*

Mr. William Nott was twice married; his first wife was the daughter of Mr. Henry Swinhoe, an attorney in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. The issue of that marriage is two sons, two unmarried daughters, and one married daughter, now in India. One of the sons is in the church; the other in the Bengal army. By his will, dated in September, 1848, he has left his two unmarried daughters £2,000, and the residue of his property to his widow, in addition to her marriage settlement of £3,500. He bought Job's Well for £3,000, a few months before his death; but the assets of the estate, it is said, will be little more than sufficient to cover the debts.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

- Dec. 2. At Brighton, the lady of D. Wilson, Esq., Calcutta, daughter.
 23. At Cheltenham, the lady of Capt. Brown, H.M.'s 44th Foot, son.
 Jan. 18. At Brighton, the lady of Henry Walters, Esq., late of the Hon. E.I.C.'s civil service, Bengal, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

- Dec. 21. At Trinity Church, Colden-common, the Rev. Edward Kilvert, a.s. curate of Binstead, to Elizabeth Emma, second daughter of the late Major J. E. Gabriel, of the Hon. E.I.C.'s service.
 — At Rushton, Somerset, Sarah, elder daughter of Mr. W. P. Tribe, of Liverpool, to the Hon. Sir Charles Metcalfe Ochterlony, of Ochterlony, N.B. Bart.
 Jan. 9. At Kibblethmont, Capt. G. Gordon, Hon. E.I.C.'s service, to Mary Elizabeth, daughter of W. F. I. Carnegie, Esq.
 13. At St. Anne's, Soho, Mr. R. P. Harding, of Cornhill, to Marion, only child of the late Mr. J. Ryle, of Calcutta.
 14. At St. George's, Hanover Square, Thomas Adis, Esq., to Sarah Helena eldest surviving daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Moor, Bombay artillery.

DEATHS.

- Oct. 3. On board the *Samarang*, on his passage from India, William Augustus Neave, Esq., Madras civil service, son of Sir Thomas Neave, Bart.
 Dec. 10. At Adrianople, John Kerr, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's consul at that city, and nephew of the late Mr. Niven Kerr.
 24. At Clifton, Lieut. George Shakespear, youngest son of the late Col. Poggson, Bengal army.
 26. At her house, Sandford-lodge, Cheltenham, Miss Marian Impey, youngest daughter of the late Sir Elijah Impey, formerly Chief Justice of Bengal, aged 64.
 30. At Worthing, Henry Gore, Esq., late of the East-India House aged 79.
 31. Of apoplexy, Mr. James Stephen Flower, chief officer of the *Maudstone*, East Indiaman, aged 31.
 Jan. 1. At his residence, Carmarthen, Major-Gen. Sir W. Nott, a.s. Bengal army, aged 62 years, 11 months, and 12 days.
 2. In South Audley-street, Lady Baynes, relict of Sir Edward Baynes aged 76.
 5. At St. John's Wood, Helen Sophia, relict of the late Col. Darley, and daughter of the late John Turing, Esq., Madras civil service.
 9. At Morton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire, John Jeffries Hooper, Esq., late of Calcutta, aged 61.
 11. At Strout Provost Rectory, Dorset, Mercy, relict of the late T. Denton Esq., H.E.I.C.'s M.S.
 13. At Hans-place, Sicane-street, Lieut.-Col. C. R. Kennett, late Hon. E.I.C.'s Bengal service.
 24. Cordelia, relict of the late Capt John Jones, Hon. E.I.C.'s service.

CHRONICLE.

SLEEPING.

ARRIVALS.

Dec. 20.—*Earl of Harwood*, Madras, Liverpool; *Mary*, Bombay, Downs; *Diana*, Bengal, Portsea; *Sons of Commerce*, Bengal, Portsea.—21. *Eclipse*, Mauritius, Portsea; *Samuel*, China, Liverpool; *Semetry*, Ceylon; *Mary*, Madras, Ceylon; *William*, Madras, East India's Dock; *John*, Madras, Portsea.—JAN. 2. *Lord of the Sea*, Bengal, off Fowey; *Rebecca*, Singapore, Ceylon.—3. *John*, Madras, Ceylon; *Wight*, Alexandria, Bengal, Portsea; *Mary*, Madras, Portsea.—4. *Earl Stanhope*, Bengal, Ceylon.—5. *Orion*, Bengal, Madras, Ceylon; *Moulmein*, Downs; *Narcissa*, Ceylon, Downs.—7. *Patina*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Argus*, Bengal, Holyhead.—8. *John*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Clay*, off Fowey, China, Brighton; *H. M. S. Isis*, Cape of Good Hope, Portsmouth; *Samuel*, Batavia, Brighton; *Mary Ann*, Bombay, Clyde; *Warwick*, Coast of Africa, Crookhaven.—9. H.M.S. *Harlequin*, Borneo, Plymouth; *Gates*, Bengal, Salcombe; *Argus*, Bengal, Dublin; *Harriet*, Manila, Ceylon.—10. *Cervantes*, Bengal, Downs.—11. *Gardie*, Van Diemen's Land, Falmouth; *Samuel*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Isis*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Samuel Kerr*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Flora Kerr*, Bengal, Liverpool.—12. *Paydant*, South Australia, Downs; *Larkins*, Madras, Downs; *Essex*, Mauritius, London; *Henrietta*, Bengal, Downs; *D'Arcy*, Singapore, Liverpool.—14. *Margaret Poynter*, Madras, Downs.—15. H.M.S. *Palmer*, China, Portsmouth; *Edward Robinson*, China, Downs; *Tynwald*, Mauritius, Downs.—16. *Samarang*, Madras, Dartmouth; *Cumberland*, China, Dover; *British Merchant*, Singapore, Downs; *Edna*, Bombay, Downs; H.M.S. *Cockatrice*, Rio, Portsmouth.—17. *Dublin*, Mauritius, New Romney; *Lady Rowena*, Bengal, Downs.—18. *Fortesque*, Manila, Portsmouth; *William Prowse*, China, Downs; *Hindoo*, New South Wales, Holyhead; *Curweny*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Avoca*, Mauritius, Newhaven.—19. *Lord Amherst*, China, Liverpool; *Equestrian*, Madras, London Docks; *Samuel*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Isabella Thompson*, Ceylon, Liverpool; *Olya*, Batavia, Torbay; *Graham*, Mauritius, Downs; *Pekia*, Bengal, Downs; *Amazon*, Bengal, Downs; *Maria*, Mauritius, Downs.—21. *Lady Kinaird*, Bengal, Downs; *Widan*, Batavia, Portsmouth; *Anne Margaretta*, Batavia, Hastings.—23. *Trusty*, Batavia, New Romney.—25. *Helen Mary*, Mauritius, Downs; *Mona*, Batavia, Downs; 27. *Bessy Robertson*, Mauritius, Liverpool; *President*, Bengal, Downs; *Bella Marina*, New Zealand, Downs; *Derwent*, Mauritius, Downs; *Britannia*, Bombay, Downs; *Mary*, Madras, St. Katherine's Docks; *Samarang*, Mauritius, Falmouth.—26. H.M.S. *Dido*, Singapore, Portsmouth.

DEPARTURES.

From Gravesend.—JAN. 21. *Rebecca*, Hobart Town; *Letitia*, Bengal.—24. *Eclipse*, Mauritius.

From Liverpool.—DEC. 23. *Express*, Bombay.—26. *Alexander* and *Royal Albert*, Bombay.—27. *Joseph Wheeler*, Hobart Town; *Antilla* and *Courier*, Calcutta.—31. *Manilla*, Hong Kong.—JAN. 2. *Manchester*, Bengal.—3. *Elizabeth Jane*, Calcutta.—5. *Prince of Waterloo*, Bombay.—7, 8. *John Horton* and *Judith*, China.—8. *Patriot King*, Calcutta.—9. *Louisa*, Bombay.—13. *Santos*, Manila.—16. *Ann Bridson*, Hong Kong; *Baboo*, Bengal.—17. *Ann and Jane*, Singapore; *Ranger*, Batavia.—23. *Kilblain*, Calcutta; *Princess Royal*, Port Phillip.

From Portsmouth.—JAN. 2. *Tartar*, Madras and Bengal.—9. *Palmyra*, China.—21. *John Fleming*, Madras and Bengal; *Plantagenet*, Bengal.

From Shields.—DEC. 21. *Ann*, Cape of Good Hope; *Grafton*, Bombay.—25. *Warlock*, Bengal.—JAN. 20. *Morning Star*, Mauritius.

From Waterford.—JAN. 22. *Lucinda*, Bombay.

From the Downs.—DEC. 23. *Penny Park*, Sydney; *Passenger*, Singapore and China; *Zemindar*, Calcutta; *Anna Maria*, Hobart Town; *Ann*, Calcutta.—JAN. 1. *Glensly*, Bombay; *Bleir*, Manila; *Wm. Stovold*, Port Phillip.—8. *Arrow*, Madagascar; *Fortitude*, Ceylon.—15. *Vanguard*, Calcutta; *Maria*, Calcutta; *Plantagenet*, Madras and Calcutta.—20. *Clara*, Bombay.—13. *Nancy*, Algoa Bay.—14. *Agile*, Cape.—16. *Ann*, Sydney.—20. *St*

Chronicle.

Edward Paget, Madras and Bengal; *Amelia*, Holland, Mauritius; *Cassiope*, Mauritius.—21. *Caledonia*, Bombay.—21. *Essex*, Bengal.
 From the Cape.—Dec. 19. *Breadalbane*, Bengal.—21. *Boadicea*, Bengal.
 From the Cape, Calcutta.
 From Whitehaven, Dec. 26.—*Isis*, Aden.
 From Cochin.—Dec. 5. *Isis*, Aden.
 From Calcutta.—JAN. 12. *Assala* (P. O. Packet), New South Wales.—
 From Hong Kong, Madras and Bengal.
 From Plymouth.—JAN. 14. *Waterwitch*, Africa; *Deputy*, Hong Kong.
 From Bordeaux.—Dec. 6. *Sophia*, Bengal.

INCIDENTS.

LIVERPOOL, JAN. 30.—The *Hindoo*, arrived from Sydney, experienced a hurricane on 11 inst. at sea, which threw the vessel on her beam-ends, and carried away her boat and bulwark.

LIVERPOOL, JAN. 28.—The *Manchester*, Hall, from Liverpool to Calcutta, driven on shore on West Heyle, and expected to become a wreck.

KALAMUNNY, JAN. 23.—The *Hong Kong*, Dedde, from London to Madras and Calcutta, has put in with loss of foreyard, and one man overboard.

SHANGHAI, JAN. 15.—The *Edwards*, from China to London, is off Shanghai, with 10 ft. water in her hold, having been ashore on the flats.

KALAMUNNY, JAN. 9.—The *John Dalton*, Denton, from Sydney to London, was driven on shore in a gale of wind off Cape Negro, Nov. 16; H. M. ships *Broke*, *Spider*, and *Vesper* had been sent to her assistance, and there were good hopes of her being got off. Passengers and crew saved, except a Mrs. Stephenson.

CARZ or GOON HORZ, Oct.—The *Wellington*, Liddel, arrived at the Cape, was in contact Oct. 8, in lat. 16° S., long. 27° W., soon after midnight, with an American whaling barque; the latter was abandoned, and the crew arrived in Table Bay on board the *Wellington*.

LONDON, V. D. L. Aug. 29.—The *Elizabeth Jane* arrived at Circular Head Aug. 15, and discharged part of her cargo 18th; on 17th and 18th, it came on to blow a hard gale from the eastward, and after striking heavily, the vessel drifted ashore; at the latest account she was buried 5 feet in the sand, and had 7 feet water in the hold.

PASSENGERS.

For steamer *Great Liverpool*, from Southampton to Alexandria.—Lady McCaskill; Mesdames C. Dick, H. Forbes, Mc Taggart, Woodfall, Wood, Tule, Hutton, Graham, Gubbins, Smith, Davis, Taylor, Misses Brice, Willford, Whittaker, Brown, Mc Caskill, Greig, Groube; Col. McLeod, Capt. Reilly, Woodfall, and Roberts, Lieuts. Smith and Pattie; Messrs. C. Dick, B. Dick, Dr. Porteus, H. Forbes, W. Thompson, Chambers, Wood, Sutton, Hutton, Ross, Willford, Chapman, Gardner, Roughton, Travers, H. Moller, Graham, Hind, Lafar, Sam, Raper, Oake, Sim, Comalata, Davis, Agnew, Drew, Bayley, Hughes, Giffard, Phipps, Bamford, Clark, Gubbins, Corbet, Angelo, Brodie, Sweet, Stevens, Taylor, Lunnet, Scott, Lloyd, Holroyd, Matland, Williamson, Deey.

For steamer *Braganza*, for Alexandria.—Col. and Mrs. Penefather, Mr. Warden, Mr. J. Weyler, Captain Jackson, Captain Durnford, Mr. Da Costa, Lieut. Cheaney, Mr. Todd, Lieut. Scudmore, Mr. J. Bower, Mrs. Portlock, and Miss Manlevra and servant. For Malta.—Capt. Younghusband, Mr. Ross, Mr. M. Green, Mr. and Mrs. Leckie, infant, and servant, Mrs. Rawlinson and servant, Mr. S. T. Smith, Mr. C. Kneller, Mr. Grant, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Hebbert, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jawas, Assist. surg. Williams, Capt. Grant, Major Hunter, Mr. Mackison, Capt. and Mrs. Goldie, child, and servant, Rev. S. Bradshaw, Rev. J. Day, and Lieut. Beckwith. For Constantinople.—Miss Stephens, Mr. Chadwick, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Membraya and child (soldiers' wives); Mr. Walker, Mr. Mann, and Mr. Roberts (engineers). From Gibraltar to Malta.—Mr. and Mrs. Wilson.

For *Essex* to Madras and Calcutta.—Mesdames Bainsfeld, G. H. Smith and

Overland:

daughter, to the Cape; Mr. and Mrs. White, ditto; Mrs. M. D. ditto; Mrs. Coxon, ditto; Miss Strand; Messrs. Thompson, Fletcher, Kenna, Henry, Mrs. Hunt; Dr. Murray; Messrs. Miles, Hamilton, Lewis, Mead, Neill, Douglas, Moore, Cress, Messrs. Dunnington, McDonnell, Stobert, Cross, Messrs. Fleming, Carrington, Smith, Dean, and Fleming.

For Madagascor, to Calcutta.—Lord M. Ker, Messrs. James Turnbull, Vickers; Miss Smith; Major Hall; Capt. Vanden, Wickett; Rev. E. Newman; Drs. Turnbull and Turnbull; Messrs. W. Leslie, Knight, Containe, Higgins, Murray, Rowley, Macdonald, Robinson, Smith, Green, Lamb, Stokes, Maxwell, Messrs. Lindsay, Lister, Messrs. Munro, Williams, Reid, and Rowley.

For Pondicherry, to Coeylon.—Lieut. Fisher; Messrs. Whiting, Kinnear, Beitham, and Clarke.

For John Calcut, to Mauritius and Bombay.—Messrs. Rogers, two children and servant, Bentley, and Barthele; Messrs. Danks (and servant) and Campbell.

For Pondicherry, to Calcutta.—Lady and Miss Mitchell; Messrs. James Bannister, Young, Scott, Bond; Miss Britney, Miss Hutton; Col. Webb, R.A., Dr. Bannister, Rev. Mr. Stott, Rev. Mr. Bedford, Lieut. Young, B.C.; Mr. Johnston; 7th Dragoon Guards; Messrs. Bond, Hudson, and good (names), Fellows, Vaughan, Wight, Wilson, Burchard, Stafford, Thompson, Mallock, Molesworth, Boardman, Kennedy, Mitchell, Searle, cadets.

OVERLAND MAILS: IN INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived in Bombay, (via Suez, Aden, &c.)	Arrived at Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta, (in divisions.)
(old Marseilles)			
Oct. 6	Nov. 15 (per Cleopatra)	Nov. 21	Nov. 24
Nov. 4	Dec. 11 (per Berenice)	Dec. 17	Dec. 20
Nov. 15	Dec. 22 (per Albatross)	Dec. 29	Jan. 1
Dec. 6	Jan. 11 (per Albatross)	Jan. 17	Jan. 19
Jan. 6, 1844	Feb. 11 (per Victoria)	Feb. 15	Feb. 19
Feb. 6	March 13 (per Berenice)	March 19	March 21
March 6	April 8 (per Cleopatra)	April 14	April 16
April 6	May 12 (per Albatross)	May 18	May 19
May 6	June 6 (per Victoria)	June 14	June 15
June 6	July 6 (per Albatross)	July 14	July 17
July 6	Aug. 6 (per Albatross)	Aug. 14	Aug. 15
Aug. 6	Sept. 7 (per Cleopatra)	Sept. 13	Sept. 15
Sept. 6	Oct. 12 (per Cleopatra)	Oct. 19	Oct. 20
Oct. 6	Nov. 12 (per Berenice)	Nov. 17	Nov. 20

A Mail will be made up in London, for Bombay, via Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and via Marseilles on the evening of the 7th February, if not postponed; a Mail will also be made up for Calcutta via Southampton on the 20th, and via Marseilles on the 24th.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London via Marseilles.	Arrived in London via Southampton.
Dec. 1	Berenice	Jan. 5	Jan. 15
Jan. 1, 1844	Cleopatra	Feb. 2	Feb. 14
Feb. 1	Albatross	March 6	March 15 (per Gr. Liverpool)
March 1	Victoria	April 5	April 9 (per Orient)
April 1	Berenice	May 5	May 11 (per Gr. Liverpool)
May 1	Cleopatra	June 5	June 11 (per Orient)
May 20	Albatross	July 4	July 10 (per Gr. Liverpool)
June 10	Cleopatra	Aug. 3	Aug. 10 (per Lady Mary Wootton)
July 20	Albatross	Sept. 11	Sept. 15 (per Orient)
Aug. 27	Victoria	Oct. 3	Oct. 7 (per Gr. Liverpool)
Oct. 1	Albatross	Nov. 5	Nov. 10 (per Orient)
Nov. 1	Cleopatra	Dec. 5	Dec. 10 (per Gr. Liverpool)
Dec. 2	Albatross	Jan. 2	Jan. 11 (per Orient)

* Per steamer Berenice.

Per steamer Albatross.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Agave</i>	333 tons.	Fletcher ...	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 5.
<i>Charlotte</i>	379	Hughes ...	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 7.
<i>Orlando</i>	383	Cockerell...	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 10.
<i>Lady Clarke</i>	440	Lawrence	—	Feb. 25.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Madagascar</i>	951	Weller	E.I. Docks ...	Feb. 10.
<i>Bangalore</i>	989	Nelson ...	—	Feb. 15.
<i>Pekin</i>	900 ..	Laing	—	Feb. 25.
<i>Larkins</i>	701	Hibbert ...	—	March 1.
<i>Orient</i>	600	Wales	—	April 10.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Orator</i>	369	Tayt	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 12.
<i>Nestor</i>	458	Macmeihan	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 20.
<i>City of Poonah</i>	551	Hight	E.I. Docks ...	March 26.
<i>Sir Robert Sale</i>	741	Fawcett ...	St. Kat. Docks	April 1.
<i>Minerva</i>	850	Geere	E.I. Docks ...	May 1.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Grecian</i>	518	Watt	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 2
<i>Radostan</i>	501	West	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 2.
<i>Benkahire</i>	600	Clarkson ...	E.I. Docks ...	Feb. 2.
<i>Neptune</i>	600	Clarkson ...	—	March 1.

CHINA.

<i>Wm. Shand</i>	301	Potter	W.I. Docks ..	Feb. 1
<i>Mary Bannatyne</i>	500	Pichen	Lond. Docks...	March 1.
<i>City of Derry</i>	471	Were ...	W.I. Docks ...	April 1.

FOR SINGAPORE.

<i>Chilena</i>	300	Wylie	Lond. Docks...	Feb. 10.
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FOR CYLON.

<i>Sumatra</i>	400	Duncan ...	W.I. Docks ...	March 10.
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FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Briton</i>	251	Jeffrey	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 7.
<i>Caribbean</i>	246	Fleming ...	St. Kat. Docks	Feb. 7.
<i>Ann Falcon</i>	265	Bowness ...	W.I. Docks ...	Feb. 18.

HELENA.

<i>Vanguard</i>	249	Grigge .	W.I. Docks ..	Feb. 15.
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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

NO. XVII.

Two mails have arrived from India this month, and their respective contents will confirm a remark we have more than once made regarding the suddenness of important political events in that country, where they are often unaccompanied by those premonitory symptoms which, in Europe, usually denote the approach of changes with the fear whereof rulers are perplexed. The Bombay mail, which left that presidency on the 1st of January, reported the foreign States to be perfectly quiet. The Calcutta mail, despatched from that capital only six days later, announces two revolutions, one in the Punjab, and the other in Nepaul. The former of these events is by far the most important.

The comparatively long tenure of the office enjoyed by Heera Sing, the young vizier of the young Maharajah of the Punjab; his talents and prudence; the skill with which he had managed the refractory and rapacious troops; the success which had hitherto attended all his measures, and his recent reconciliation and good understanding with his uncle, the powerful chief of Jumbho, seemed to afford some security for the permanence of his authority, which gave him a command over the resources of the state. That authority, however, has fallen to pieces by a touch. The details of the revolution are, indeed, but imperfectly known, its date being so late as 21st December; but it is evident that it was sudden, if not unexpected.

According to the Calcutta and Delhi papers, the fall of the minister was the result of a combination amongst three parties adverse to him; the old Khalsa (state) chiefs; the army; and the mother of the young Maharajah. It must have been obvious to the former, that Heera Sing would not feel his power secure until he had reduced theirs, and this he would probably have endeavoured to effect by the instrumentality of his uncle, Golab Sing. Moreover, the old chiefs entertained a dislike towards the Dograh family. The mother of Dhuleep Sing has made no secret of her animosity towards the minister, and his recent proceedings, shewing a strong desire to keep the prince in a state of pupillage, if not to usurp his authority, were well calculated to stimulate that animosity. The troops have probably exhausted the only means which Heera Sing possessed of conciliating them, and there seems to have been no other bond of union. This was probably the reason why the

minister retained a body of hill-men, from Jumboo (said to amount to upwards of 2,000 men), at Lahore.

It would appear that the minister, aware of the combination forming against him, determined to cut off the leader, Jowahir Sing, the brother of the Rani, and uncle of the Maharajah (not to be confounded with the brother of Heera), who, backed by his sister, and by some of the military officers, sought a command in the army. A knowledge of the minister's design, or a resolution to precipitate a rupture, induced Jowahir Sing to proceed at the head of a party of the Khalsa troops to the minister's house, and a conflict took place, which ended in the flight of Heera Sing and his adherents, including his favourite councillor and confederate Pundit Jella, their route being towards Jumboo. One of the accounts states that their escape was connived at, in order that the slaughter of the Rajah Sahib's party, which had been determined upon, should not take place in the city, and cause greater commotion there, and perhaps carnage. They were, however, pursued by Jowahir Sing and several hostile Sirdars, and overtaken about twenty miles from Lahore. Heera Sing had with him, besides the Pundit, Meean Sohun Sing (son of Golab Sing), and Meean Lab Sing; his force did not exceed 500 or 600 men. An action took place, which terminated in the discomfiture of the minister's party. One report states that Heera Sing was taken prisoner and is still alive; other and more probable accounts say that he was killed, and that his head, with the heads of Jella Pundit, Meean Sohun Sing, Meean Lab Sing, and two others, were brought to Lahore, carried about in procession, and exhibited before the house which was formerly occupied by Kurruck Sing, and is now tenanted by Jowahir. According to one of the letters, Heera Sing was betrayed by his own followers; another represents that the resistance was fierce, and that upwards of 1,000 men fell on both sides. Jowahir Sing has stepped into the place of the minister, but it appears that the voices of the chiefs and army are in favour of Lena Sing, Majoetee (who was residing at Benares), who had been sent for, as well as Prince Peshora Sing: the latter had recently taken refuge from the resentment of Heera, at Ferozepore.

The capital is said to be quiet; but these successions of violent changes destroy all hope of a permanent Government in the Punjab, at least during the minority of the prince. Lena Sing is reported to be a man of much ability, as well as of honesty, and possesses great influence amongst the Sirdars; but he must expect opposition from some of the sources of ~~discontent~~ which have caused the ruin of

preceding ministers. Moreover, the Jumboo Rajah is not very likely to be a passive spectator of the destruction of his family; and the Affghans are supposed to be preparing to take advantage of the troubles in the Sikh state to recover Peshawar.

The Nepaul revolution does not appear to be of an alarming character. The cause of it is thus explained. The reigning Rajah had promised to relinquish the throne in favour of his son, but had deferred the redemption of his pledge, till the son, a youth of 16 or 17, became impatient, and, in conjunction with Martubur Sing and a powerful party amongst the chiefs, forced the old Rajah to abdicate, and his son has been elevated to the *gadi*. Martubur Sing is the personage who visited Calcutta in 1835, as envoy from the Nepaulese court; he subsequently underwent many vicissitudes, and at length became a pensioner upon our Government, and resided at Umballa, till the party which occasioned his exile had been removed from power.

The transactions in the Southern Mahratta country and in the state of Sawuntwarree have realized, unhappily, the apprehensions expressed in our January Review. The outbreak, as it was termed, which was then supposed to be of a trivial and an evanescent character,—one of those slight and sudden explosions of discontent which, in countries where there are no political safety-valves, perform an office analogous to that which, in the physical world, is the function of mud-volcanoes,—turns out to have been of the true revolutionary complexion, an insurrection of masses against the government, prompted by a sense of oppression, and supported by a determination which prefers death to submission. The resolution with which, in the face of superior forces, the insurgents (as they are termed) maintain the contest, can only be attributed to confidence in the justice of their cause, which, connecting itself, perhaps, with superstitious and national prejudices, supplies a species of bastard patriotism to men who have no “country,” in our sense of the term, to fight for.

It will be recollected that, in our last Review, we detailed the events of the campaign down to the period of the surrender of Bhatthergud, the capture of Colonel Ovens, and the march of Major-General Delamotte upon the fort of Pavangur, or Powanghur, in which that officer was confined. The Bombay Government have at length deemed it expedient to publish the official despatches relating to these occurrences, which exempt us from the necessity of trusting to the dubious reports of anonymous writers.

The British field force appears to have marched from Bhatthergud

(or Budderghur) on the 20th November, and arrived before "the strong fortress of Punalla and the adjacent fortress of Powanghur," about forty-eight miles, on the 24th. These two fortresses (Punalla being represented as "a Gibraltar on the Neilgherries") were occupied, according to the Government Notification, "by a large body of insurgent Gudkurries and Seebundies, belonging to the Kolapore state." The first operations were directed against the *pettahs*, or fortified villages, on the northern side of the two forts. Whilst the force was engaged in taking up ground round the forts, examining positions for guns, and cutting and clearing roads, the garrisons were firing in all directions, and exhibiting every symptom of preparation for a stout defence. A sharp skirmish took place between a party under Capt. Jephson, Queen's Royals, and a body of the enemy, whilst attempting to establish a piquet and occupy a village below the ridge to the west of the fort.

It appears from the despatch of Major George, that, under the direction of Colonel Hicks, commanding the 3rd brigade, a detachment was ordered to storm the *pettahs* on the morning of the 27th November, consisting of 30 men of the 14th Light Dragoons, under Capt. Chambre, 200 of H.M.'s 22nd regt., under Major George, and 100 men of the 2nd Grenadier N.I. Brigadier Hicks accompanied the detachment. On ascending the hills, the enemy, who were in considerable numbers, commenced firing on the party from behind rocks and other cover, but were immediately driven in by the skirmishers under Lieut. Dakers, H.M.'s 22nd regt. The main body of the party were then halted, under cover, on the edge of the *pettahs*; the advance parties, half Europeans and half natives, moving on under Ensign Budd, H.M.'s 22nd regt., and Ensign Black, 2nd Grenadiers, led by Lieut.-Colonel Outram. The enemy were speedily driven up into the fort of Punalla. The party then passed close under the gate of the fort, enabling Colonel Outram to make a full and satisfactory reconnoissance; then, moving on, took post, under cover, just below the neck of land connecting the two forts, whence Capt. Clarke (brigade-major) was despatched by Col. Outram to the main body, which was conducted by that officer, under Col. Hicks's orders, through the whole of the *pettahs* in succession, to the spot where Col. Outram was posted; the enemy during the whole time keeping up a heavy fire of artillery and matchlocks from the walls, fortunately without effect, owing to the rapid movement of the men and the cover afforded by the irregular nature of the ground. At this time, the party being in a nullah, the enemy, after many unsuccessful efforts, got the proper range, and the brigadier

fall—the only casualty on our side, with the exception of one private of H.M.'s 22nd regt. severely wounded. A private letter states that the brigadier was struck by a cannon-shot on both legs above the ankles, and survived but a few hours. Many of the enemy were seen to fall. The whole party were then reunited near the post which had been held in its absence by a party of fifty men of H.M.'s 22nd regt., and twenty of the Grenadiers, under Lieut. Smith, of H.M.'s 22nd regt., and were relieved, about 4 P.M., by a detachment from camp, under Brevet-Major Conway, of the same regiment. The major reports that the conduct of the detachment, Europeans and natives, "who were constantly intermixed," was characterized by the greatest coolness and intrepidity, under a very heavy and almost incessant fire of all arms; the fatigue and exertions required of them, during ten hours, being borne with the utmost cheerfulness, though much exhausted, not having partaken of food from the previous evening.

Upon the capture of the pettahs, preparations were made for storming the fort of Punalla, upon which heavy guns and mortars had continued to play for two days. The masonry (according to the report of the artillery officer, Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd) was very solid, and resisted our shot for some time; but at length the accuracy of our fire began to tell, and the wall to crumble. The breach was pronounced practicable on the afternoon of the 1st December, and a storming party was immediately directed to be in readiness under Lieut.-Colonel Brough (who, General Delamotte states, had urgently solicited the command, 200 of his own men composing the assaulting column), consisting of the following detachments:—Queen's Royal Regiment, 200 rank and file, under Captain Jephson; 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry, 100 rank and file, under Captain Gillanders; 3rd Regiment Madras Light Infantry, 100 rank and file, under Captain Yarde; 20th and 23rd Regiments, Madras Light Infantry, 100 rank and file, under Captains Archer and Tapp. As the exploit was performed under the eye of the commander of the forces, who followed the track of the storming party and entered the breach with the reserve, we borrow the details from his despatch.

The difficulty of reaching the walls was very great, from the rugged and steep ascent, which led to a ledge or path by which they were obliged to proceed, flanked by a very heavy fire from the walls, and large stones hurled down upon them as they advanced in a most gallant manner to the breach. Among the first and foremost were Lieut.-Colonel Brough, Lieutenant Graham, and Lieut.-

Colonel Outram (Major Peat, when at the head of the storming party, being temporarily disabled by a stone), Lieutenant Marshall and some riflemen, who had got close under the walls from the gateway side. About half the storming party had entered the breach, when the reserve advanced, under Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, who, seeing the difficulty of the ascent and time taken by the storming party, inclined to the right by a much easier route up a road which led to the gateway, whence the breach was reached. In about an hour the place was entirely in our possession, and every precautionary measure taken to prevent the escape of any of the insurgents during the night; but no correct information could be obtained regarding Babajee Ahirakar, the leader of the rebels. The following morning, the bodies of Babajee Ahirakar and Appa Manga, the former the chief, and the latter one of the principal leaders, of the rebel Sebundies, were found among the slain. Upwards of 2,000 prisoners were taken; two of the most important are Babajee Saloonker and Luximon Naik Jaddow, also the Killadars (Havildars) of Punalla and Powanghur. Our loss was 3 men killed, 9 officers and 60 privates wounded. Some additional acts of individual bravery are mentioned by Colonel Brough. The first man who reached the summit of the breach was Lieutenant Graham, of the Bombay Engineers, but an accident prevented him from being the first to descend beyond it; and Major Gilland, in command of the Queen's, from dangerous illness, rose from his sick bed to lead his regiment, and was carried up the steep ascent and the breach by his men.

The reserve, under Lieut.-Colonel Wallace (commanding the 1st brigade), had assembled behind the storming party, and on its advance, marched on the road to the right of the breach. This force consisted of the following detachments:—Queen's Royals, commanded by Major Gilland, 33 officers and men; 3rd Madras Light Infantry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Williams, 207 officers and men; 2nd Bombay Eur. Light Infantry, commanded by Ens. Hazard, 20 rank and file; 20th Madras N.I., commanded by Captain Stretell, 30 officers and men; and 23rd Madras Light Infantry, 28 men. The assistance which it rendered to the storming party has been already mentioned.

Meanwhile, Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, who had succeeded Brigadier Hicks in the command of the 3rd brigade, in pursuance of an arrangement with Lieut.-Colonel Poole, H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, directed this officer to march upon the post at the north-western end of the pettah, bringing with him the whole of the available reserve

force of the brigade, consisting of 200 men of his own regiment, and 100 of the 2nd Bombay N. I., which force was joined by the same number of both regiments in the pettah, under Major Conway; the joint force was disposed so as to prevent the escape of the enemy from the fort. This force had scarcely got over the first range of hills, and were eagerly ascending the second, when a cheer and a thrilling shout from the parapets of Punalla, announced to them that the breach had been stormed. They immediately rushed forward in the direction of the gateway; a few fugitives escaped down the hill by the ravine on their front and left, but no mass of the enemy came down from the gateway. The Lieut.-Colonel allowed the men no time for firing, but pushed them on as rapidly as possible round the ravine in the direction of Powanghur; and succeeded in capturing that fortress. In advancing along the pettah, and round the head of the ravine by points much exposed to fire, he was surprised they were not opposed by any guns from Powanghur, which had fired on the force for five days with heavy guns; and he concluded the enemy were evacuating the place. He, therefore, hurried on the men, who, with their officers, climbed up the steep side of Powanghur, in the hope of effecting an entrance over the lower part of the scarp by the neck of land connecting the two forts, or of surprising the gateway on the north-west side, situated at a considerable elevation. This latter object was effected, for the enemy, in their hurry to get away, had not sufficiently barricaded it, and it was forced in by our soldiers. But few shots were interchanged, and consequently our casualties are few. The results of the capture were some guns and a body of prisoners. Notwithstanding the provocations they had received for some days past, our men, it is stated by Col. Harvey, behaved with the greatest humanity and forbearance.

The precautionary measures taken by the several commanders appear to have prevented the escape of any considerable number of the prisoners. For many miles of circuit these fortresses were hemmed in by a complete line of sentries and videttes, extending from the head-quarter camp on the southward and westward of the extreme right of Col. Harvey's force, along the north-west and north-east faces of Punalla; and north-west and north of Powanghur, to his extreme left, where his cavalry parties communicated with Captain Arthur of the 1st Brigade.

The circumstances attending the release of Colonel Ovens are not adverted to in the official reports; but it appears, according to private letters, that the enemy sent a message to the British com-

mander, to the effect that, if our troops were not withdrawn to Kolapore (about 8 or 9 miles' distance), they would assassinate Colonel Ovens and stand to the result. Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves, in the name of the princes of Kolapore, had issued a proclamation that, if they did not immediately release Colonel Ovens, the Kolapore country was to be made over to the British, and the Sirdars were to be severely punished. Whether in consequence of this threat, or from the hope of experiencing mercy, the Colonel was liberated the night before the storm. How this was effected, even the correspondents of the newspapers do not pretend to know; but it must have been with the knowledge of the insurgents, as he came out of the fort with muskets (lights) and a good retinue. One account says that the Gudkurries sent by the Colonel a message that "they would yield their lives, but not forego one tittle of what they conceived to be their just rights."

After the capture of these forts, operations were commenced against others. Lieut.-Colonel Wallace was despatched, on the 5th December, with the light field force, which arrived at the village of Chicklee, on the bank of the Punj Gungan, crossed the river, and arrived at Walwa, whence the force proceeded to Shengau, where it arrived on the 7th, and proceeded next day to Patgaum, and formed a junction with a detachment under Capt. Prior. This officer stating that a position, strongly stockaded, about 500 yards from the fort of Rangna, was held by a large body of the enemy, Colonel Wallace determined to dislodge them. The attacking detachment was divided into three columns; the right, 150 men, of the 20th Regiment of Madras N.I., under Captain Bayley, of that regiment; the centre, 100 men, of the 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry, under Captain Gillanders, of the same regiment; the left under Captain Prior, of the 21st Bombay N.I., consisting of 150 men of that regiment. The three columns were under the immediate command of Capt. Arthur, 20th Madras N.I. The troops of the 5th Madras Light Cavalry, under Captain Fraser, followed the three attacking columns; and the reserve, composed of the remainder of the troops, under the command of Major Clemons, of the 20th Regiment of Madras N.I., followed a short distance in the rear of the cavalry. Skirmishers from the three attacking columns, under the command of Lieutenants Snow, Elphinstone, and Campbell, and Ensign Leathes, were thrown out in front of the three columns, and in this order the troops advanced to the attack. When they arrived near the stockade, a fire from matchlocks was opened, previous to which the fort fired several

guns, the balls falling among the troops, but without doing any injury. A body of the enemy assembled on the right flank, but retreated. The stockade was attacked simultaneously in front and on both flanks; the gate, which had been partially barricaded, was broken open, and the stockade was carried; the pettah beyond it was also carried. In this operation, and in a subsequent affair with some sharp-shooters of the enemy, our loss was only three men, and one officer, Lieutenant Barker, in command of an advanced post, who was severely wounded, and has since died.

On the morning of the 10th, batteries were opened upon the fort of Rangna with such effect, that its guns were soon silenced, and in the night the enemy evacuated the fort, leaving a few killed. The approach to the fort was difficult, as it was situated in a thick jungle, and the only entrance was by a narrow neck of land, which passed through the stockade. The surrounding jungle was full of bushmen, whose aim was very effective.

The garrison of Rangna, it appears, had joined a large body in another fort, called Mundhar, which is described as more formidable than any yet encountered, and less accessible. The force proceeding against it had halted for some large guns from Ahmednuggur. Two other large forts, named Mannaur gud and Munsurthosh gud, bordering on the Concan, are also occupied by the insurgents, their distance from Kolapore is about 55 miles. "The whole country, both in the Concan and Warree," says the *Bombay Courier*, "is up; the Gudkurries of four more forts belonging to Kolapore are said also to have turned obstinate; in fact, the whole country of Kolapore has, hand and heart, joined with one consent."

We have narrated these transactions in some detail, because, although the operations were upon a comparatively small scale, the difficulties were great, and the gallantry of the troops was conspicuous. The fort of Punalla is said to be not large, and to have been insufficiently garrisoned; yet the place was so well fortified by nature, and the resistance of the enemy so vigorous, that the storm was an enterprise of great difficulty and danger. Some officers present at both operations are said to have declared that the taking of Ghuzni, by Lord Keane, was a less signal feat. Private accounts state that the official despatches incorrectly represent the number of prisoners taken in Punalla at 2,000, since the whole garrison did not amount to that number, and that only 200 were taken. The second leader, Yemia Ramoosee, reported by the official despatch to have been amongst the prisoners, in fact es-

caped, and had thrown himself into the fortress of Nishalgur, where he is determined to make a desperate resistance. The scenes within Punalla, after its capture, are described as pitiable; our shells and shots had committed great havoc; many women were burnt to death; others were found drowned in wells, to save themselves from pollution.

The latest Bombay papers state that there was no probability of the force employed in the southern Mahratta country being broken up. "The large body of the force," observes the *Courier*, "is numerically strong enough to take and destroy every fortress and stronghold for one hundred miles round, and yet indents are made for additional troops." The main body was on its march from Kolapore towards Mannaur and Munsurthosh guds, intending to join Colonel Wallace's Brigade at Rangna.

In addition to this very unfavourable intelligence, not only Sawunt Warree, but the Concan countries bordering on the Kolapore territories, are said to be in active and open rebellion. General Delamotte's force, with the 2nd Brigade, under Colonel Brough, were proceeding by rapid marches to that part. The Governor of Goa, Senhor Pestanha, has determined to preserve the Portuguese territory (only ten miles from Sawunt Warree) intact, and has sent troops to the frontiers to prevent the Sawunt rebels from violating the Goa territory.

Some mystery seems to hang over not only the causes of these insurrections, but the manner in which they were dealt with at the beginning. It is still asserted that the Kolapore "insurgents" were driven into rebellion by the tyranny of the native authorities. Rumours are afloat respecting the dissatisfaction felt by our Government at the proceedings of Colonel Outram, and some of the Calcutta papers even declare that he had been superseded. "The reasons which we have heard for this removal," says the *Friend of India*, "are such as fully to justify Government in the step which it has been constrained to take. The course which the Colonel pursued since he arrived in that country has been altogether unsatisfactory; it was calculated neither to uphold the character and dignity of our Government, nor to hasten the tranquillity of the country." On the other hand, the Bombay papers assert that he resigned, "for reasons which, though unexplained, are not inexplicable." It is certain that neither he nor Colonel Ovens is to be employed in diplomatic functions in that country. The latter "declined taking charge of the duties of Commissioner," and had arrived at Bombay. Mr. Reeves, whom Colonel Outram superseded,

it seems, is to be again the political agent or commissioner, and Captain Douglas Graham (formerly of the Abyssinian mission) has been named as his assistant. "We presume," remarks the *Bombay Times*, "that the policy hereafter to be pursued is the same as that originally contemplated by Mr. Reeve." The *Gentleman's Gazette* says: "The orders of the Government are now, we believe, of the most conciliatory kind; the rights of the Rajah as sovereign have been vindicated, and the rebellion in his districts has been subdued. It is, therefore, gratifying to us to have at last to announce, that the inhabitants of those ill-fated districts are henceforth to be treated with gentleness and with justice. There is, however, another point of justice to which attention ought to be drawn, and that is, as the people of the hill districts of Kolapore have been punished for their acts, so also ought their Government. There is a large sum now due by the Rajah of Kolapore, for the expenses of the late campaign. That sum must be paid, and he will have to pay it. Would it not be better to pension him at once and not expose Kolapore to such shocks in future?" It is some proof that Colonel Outram's conduct has not been disapproved of that he has been despatched by the Bombay Government to Sawunt Warree.

The insurgents taken prisoners are described as miserable-looking men, who die fast. Soobana Neckum, one of the leaders taken at Samanghur,—a man of much influence,—had effected his escape by the connivance of the persons appointed to guard him, and was doing much mischief: he has even had the audacity, at the head of a party, to collect the revenues, in the name of the British Government!

An extensive insurrection is said to have broken out in Cashmere; the Zemindars are represented to have taken up arms against the Nizam or governor, who had been defeated, and several of his forts had been stormed and taken by the rebels. On the other hand, the Bombay papers state, that the Shawl merchants have received letters from the valley to so late a date as the 27th November, which do not mention these disorders, and that trade suffers no interruption.

The accounts from Afghanistan are deplorable. The plague, the approach of which from Bokhara we noticed last month, seems to have spread over the whole country, and an appalling history of its devastation is given in the Indian journals. Dost Mahomed Khan and his family had fled from Cabul, but there was a report that the former had fallen a victim to the pestilence on his way to Zoormut. It had reached Peshawur, and carried off some persons of note there.

Gwalior is tranquil. The Bhae is said to be mourning for the absence of her father and brother, who are banished for their misdeeds. The outlaw, Pertaub Sing, who had escaped into the Dutteeah district, was still at large; but his capture or surrender was expected. The Nawab of Bhopal died on the 9th December, and the question of the succession was likely to have occasioned some disturbance, but it was prevented by the timely precaution of Mr. Hamilton, the resident at Indore, who happened to be upon the spot. The question arises out of the separation of the Nawab from his wife, the Secunder Begum, in consequence of disagreements. He has left an only child, a daughter, Shah Jehan Begum, six years of age. He was only twenty-seven when he died, a victim to early debauchery, his devotion to which had left his court a prey to the adverse cabals and intrigues of the Dowager Begum and his alienated wife.

Although there is no symptom of political disquiet in Scinde, sickness continues to be the scourge of our army there. The mortality, it appears, is not great; but the fever hangs about both officers and men, and does not yield to any mode of treatment. The *Delhi Gazette* mentions a rumour, in which it professes to have "some reason for placing confidence," that the Home Government have determined to relinquish the possession of Scinde, which is to be given up to the Ameers, who are to engage to keep up a strong contingent, officered by us; and the free navigation of the Indus is to be conceded. The order for the march of the 2d European regiment into the province is, however, a tacit contradiction of this report.

The result of the Court-martial assembled at Sukkur, for the trial of Lieut.-Colonel George W. Moseley, c.b., late of the 64th Bengal N. I., for his conduct in respect to the mutiny in that regiment, has excited general surprise and much sympathy. The Court found that officer guilty of concealing from the Commander-in-Chief the existence of the mutiny when it appeared in the regiment on the march from Kurnaul towards Scinde, on the 13th and 14th March, 1844; of publishing, a day or two subsequent to the mutiny, on a public parade, the contents of a letter addressed to him by the Adjutant-General,* on the supposition that the corps was in a high

* The following is a copy of the letter :—

Adjutant General's Office, Head-quarters, Camp, Chilkana, 13th March, 1844.

Sir,—The conduct of the 64th regiment, under your command, in proceeding unhesitatingly towards Sukkur, is so creditable to the corps, and so indicative of an earnest desire to retrieve its former high character, as to induce the Commander-in-Chief strongly to recommend to Government to pass to the several grades, in addition to the full or marching Batta, always allowed to a regiment serving in Scinde, still higher advantages in regard to pay, together with the benefits of the

state of discipline and proceeding unhesitatingly towards Sukkur, which he well knew was not the fact; of perverting the contents of that letter, by holding out false hopes to the men as to the extent of the allowances which would be granted to them in Scinde, such conduct having led to an ulterior mutiny in the corps; of suppressing all allusion to the mutiny in a letter to the Adjutant-General, dated the 17th of March, 1844; and of having addressed a letter to Major-General Faiz, dated the 9th of April, 1844, positively and solemnly denying the existence of any misconduct on the part of the regiment, while on the march from Kurnaul towards Scinde, "the same being a direct and wilful falsehood, as Lieut.-Colonel Moseley well knew that, so violent was the mutinous disposition shewn at Moockee, that, when he ordered the regiment to march, the colours were seized and the march of the regiment, at the appointed hour, was prevented by the mutineers." The Court sentenced Col. Moseley to be cashiered, and though, in consideration of his long and meritorious services (he having served for thirty-nine years), they recommended his case to the favourable consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, "the consequences of Lieut.-Col. Moseley's misconduct have been so prejudicial to discipline, so highly injurious to the public service, and productive of such unhappy results, that his Excellency felt himself constrained to give full weight to the just sentence passed by the Court." We have read this officer's defence, and are bound to say, that the situation in which he was placed with reference to the mutiny in his corps was a very difficult and embarrassing one. The explanations he has given of his conduct and intentions shew that he was misled by error in judgment; that he placed an undue confidence in his men, and thought, in his anxiety to preserve the reputation of the regiment, and save the Government itself from serious inconvenience, he might have recourse to a deception which he, doubtless, thought innocent. The error was a grave one, and grievous have been the consequences to him as well as the regiment.

the regulated family pensions to the heirs of those who may die from disease contracted in that province.

These, the Commander-in-Chief's instructions, are to be communicated to the 64th regiment, and you will likewise make known to the corps that it shall be brought back to a station in the provinces in one year in the event of the ensuing season proving unhealthy; and under no circumstances be kept in Scinde beyond two years, while the indulgence of furlough to visit their homes will, in the latter case, be extended to the men in the proportion enjoyed by corps located in stations within the British territories.

You will acknowledge the receipt of this communication, and take advantage of every opportunity that may offer to report the progress of the regiment towards Sukkur, and the state of feeling existing in the corps.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

J. R. LUMLEY, Adjt.-General of the Army.

To the Officer Commanding the 64th Regiment N. I. Camp.

Sir Henry Hardinge gains increasing popularity. His Resolution, relative to native education, has called forth the following grateful Address from the native gentlemen of Calcutta (signed by upwards of 500), which was presented to him on the 4th December, by a deputation headed by Rajah Kalikrishna :—

Right Hon. Sir,—We, the undersigned native inhabitants of Calcutta educated in Government and other educational institutions, beg most respectfully to tender your Excellency our most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for the Resolution of the Government of Bengal, dated the 10th of October, 1844, relative to the appointment of educated, in preference to uneducated, persons in public offices. We entertain no doubt that this liberal resolution is the result of a calm and deliberate conviction of the increasing efficiency and utility of native agency in the civil administration of the country; and we firmly believe, that while it will hold out strong inducements to the student to protract the period of his collegiate study, and avail himself of the advantages of education to as large an extent as possible, and thus eminently serve the cause of public instruction, it will at the same time prove highly advantageous to the state, by bringing into its service the active energies of a large body of native functionaries of a better class than those now generally in office. If we consider the discouragement hitherto experienced by those who aspired to reap the benefits of education, in consequence of its having been hitherto unconnected with temporal advantages, and when we reflect on the Resolution passed by your Excellency, recognizing, as it does, the value of education under the stamp of authority, we cannot but feel delighted at it, as the proof of the dawn of a brighter day. It is an especial source of congratulation to us to find, that the important subject of education, on the promotion of which the prosperity and happiness of this country mainly depend, has so early engaged your Excellency's attention. In the encouragement thus given to public instruction at the very commencement of your administration, we recognize, with gratitude and delight, a disposition favourable to the best interests of this extensive empire. We are aware that a great deal will depend on the manner in which the Resolution may be carried out, and it is beyond our expectation that the causes which operate against it can at once be removed. We feel, however, assured, from your Excellency's warm interest in the success of this measure, that the impediments to it will not escape your watchful vigilance, and that proper remedies and improvements will be devised, as circumstances may render necessary, for giving it full effect, and securing those real advantages which it is intended to confer. Permit us, Right Hon. Sir, to repeat our acknowledgments of esteem and gratitude, for the encouragement to education which you have already afforded, and to express our earnest wishes, that your Excellency's rule may be extended through a long period to bless the people with a liberal and benevolent administration.

The reply of the Governor-General we forbear to cite, as it is reported from memory only ; it expresses a strong desire to promote the moral and intellectual enlightenment of the community.

Calcutta was all gaiety ; balls and parties were given every night. The Governor-General's first ball for the season was on the 19th December. Prince Waldemar of Prussia had arrived from Ceylon on the 3rd January, and was a guest at Government House. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces was on a tour through their districts. The Commander-in-Chief had visited the stations, and inspected the troops on the Punjab frontier, which seems to have caused some temporary alarm to the Sikhs. A steam navigation company has been formed at Delhi. By the exertions of Mr. Unwin, two of the assassins of Captain Alcock have been seized. Captain R. Gill, 44th Regiment N.I., has been intrusted with the duty of taking drawings of the architectural and pictorial remains in the caves of Adjunta.

At Madras, an association has been formed, with a capital of Rs. 8,00,000, to carry out a plan of a pier, proposed by M. Piron, colonial engineer at Pondicherry. This presidency has been visited by a severe storm, which was attended by the loss of many lives and much property. Several vessels were driven on shore ; a Masulah boat was swamped, and her crew, nine in number, were drowned. On the 2nd December. the church of St. Thomé was the scene of an interesting ceremony, the baptism of a Chinese boy, by the Bishop of Madras. The boy, who seemed about twelve years of age, was picked up by Captain Ford, of the *Lady Flora*, near Bocca Tigris, floating on a plank. He could give no account of himself, and Captain Ford humanely took him to England. Upon his next outward voyage, he placed him at the Missionary School at St. Thomé, where he has since been receiving Christian instruction. The ceremony was impressively performed by the Bishop, the boy standing opposite, between his sponsors, and at the time for naming and baptizing him, his Lordship took the little fellow by the hand, and drew him towards himself, in a most kindly affectionate manner.

Orders have been issued by the Government of Bombay, reducing the export duty on salt to the scale at which it was prior to the Act XVI. of 1844 ; that is, four annas per maund on exportation to the Madras presidency, and one anna per maund on exportation to Cochin and Travancore.

An unfortunate difference has occurred at Hong-Kong, between the Government and the British community, arising out of an Or-

dinance or act passed by the Governor in Council, with the view of guarding the colony against the obvious evil of being the resort of vagabonds and persons without visible means of livelihood, and who would therefore subsist upon fraud and plunder. The ordinance required the registration of all persons in the colony, who were to receive a ticket (which the Registrar-General had the power of refusing to "vagabonds and men of bad character"), to be in force for one year only, and for which a fee of from 1 dollar to 5 dollars was payable; and all the male inhabitants of the colony, except persons in the military or civil service, members of the learned profession, shopkeepers, householders, and tenants of the crown, paying an annual rent of 250 dollars, and persons whose income amounts to 500 dollars per annum, were to appear once a year at a registration office. The necessity of some regulation of this kind is apparent from a fact mentioned in the *Friend of China*, of November 2nd, namely, the discovery and capture in the colony of a band of ruffians, belonging to the secret association, so much dreaded by the Government of China, and which, it is stated, "has exercised an evil influence over the minds of their countrymen in the colony." They made a desperate resistance, and on searching their premises, documents were discovered which clearly proved the character of the men, who had no ostensible calling or employment, yet lived well.

The first effect of promulgating this ordinance (on the 1st November) was, that the Chinese shopkeepers closed their shops, the compradors resolved to leave the island, the boatmen to quit the harbour, and all the labourers struck work. Riots then took place, which were promptly suppressed, and the co-operation of the British community would have enabled the Government, with a moderate degree of firmness and vigour, to carry its point. Unhappily, however, the British residents took an unfavourable view of the Registration Act, which they considered arbitrary and unconstitutional, and it was reported to the Governor by the assistant magistrate of police, that his information led him "to believe that other than Chinese influence had been exerted to mature the late movement." He says, "The leading part taken by the comprador of an English firm, the meeting of Chinese held at the house of that firm, the intimate knowledge displayed by the Chinese of the proceedings of certain English regarding the registration, and their adoption of precisely similar language, would seem to mark most clearly the assistance and co-operation of one or more Englishmen." The Governor, in an official notification, published this communication, observing, that, whilst "he would

fain hope, for the sake of the British character, that none could have been found capable of thus tampering with the Chinese population," he deems it necessary "to draw the attention of any who could descend to such unworthy practices to the consequences entailed on the ignorant and unfortunate Chinese, who have been necessarily subjected by the magistrates to severe punishment." This supposed imputation of a "disloyal and unworthy act, of tampering with the Chinese in their late movement," was "repudiated in the strongest terms" in a published disclaimer, signed by more than forty names, which deplores that the Governor "should have cast such a stigma upon the British population of the island." This incident infused a spirit of bitterness and hostility into the correspondence between the Governor in Council and the committee of the inhabitants on the subject of the Registration Act, the opposition to which was ostensibly grounded upon the tax which it imposed, upon its arbitrary and inquisitorial character, and upon its unchristian principle of making one man responsible for the acts of another. It was felt, moreover, that by it respectable Europeans were placed upon a par with the *canaille* of China. One of the communications made on the part of the British inhabitants gave so much offence to the Governor in Council, that he refused to receive it, as being "not properly and respectfully worded." Although the cause of offence was in some measure removed by a disavowal of intention on the part of the memorialists to offer any disrespect to the governor, feelings of cordiality were not restored; but in the end the Government withdrew the ordinance, which is regretted by the *Friend of China*, as "the measure itself was a good one."

Dr. Bowring, on the 25th February, called the attention of the House of Commons to this occurrence, and moved for copies of the correspondence, which were refused by the ministers, on the ground that the governor had not reported the reasons for withdrawing the ordinance.

The *Singapore Chronicle* published a report of the death of the Emperor of China; later accounts, however, contradict it, but suggest that the event, owing to the state of health and age of Taoukwang, is not improbable. Whether any and what effects are likely to follow such an event it is difficult to conjecture, knowing, as we do, so little of the "state of parties" at the Court of Peking. It is probable that, in so methodical a government, where "Amurath to Amurath succeeds," there will be merely a change of the national designation or royal epithet, and that affairs will go on precisely as

before. The heir is said to be a minor, which undoubtedly increases the chance of disorder.

The French papers have published the heads of the treaty concluded by M. de Lagrenée with the Chinese commissioners, at Macao, on the 24th of October last :—

1. France is to be placed on a footing of equality with the most favoured nations as respects customs' duties.
2. She is never to be subjected to the payment of any periodical tribute to the Sovereign of the Celestial empire.
3. She may establish a factory at Canton on the plan of those possessed by the English, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Spaniards.
4. She will be permitted to trade at Chang-Chow, reserving the right of the Crown of Spain, which enjoys a privilege in that city.
5. She may establish factories at Hiamen, Chao-hing, and Ningpo.
- 6 Finally, she will have the right of trading in every place that may hereafter be opened to the most favoured nations.

It would appear that the French do not exult at the terms of the new treaty ; it is regarded as a failure, though the same in substance as our own and that of America. The *Constitutionnel* says :—

Thus, the results of an embassy so pompously announced and so dearly defrayed have been—a promise, on the part of the Imperial Commissioners, to submit to the Emperor a proposition to reduce by one franc and a few centimes the duty on cloves of the second quality, and the reduction of 3*fr.* per 100 bottles of wine, which the Chinese do not drink—a reduction which, consequently, will not diminish the revenues of the Chinese Treasury, as the Imperial Commissioners judiciously remarked. All this is truly ludicrous ; but it is painful to think that, by the last article, we are placed on a footing of equality with the most favoured nations only as respects the advantages that may hereafter be granted to other foreign nations. As to present advantages, for instance, the reduction of duties on lead obtained by the Americans, we are not to enjoy it. This clause places us in a worse condition than if no treaty existed. The treaty is, consequently, in itself, a useless and injurious conception. It would have been preferable to have confined ourselves to the terms of the proclamation of the Imperial Commissioner Ki-Ying, issued in June, 1843, by which all foreign nations trading with China were called to participate in the same advantages and prerogatives. We do not speak of the convention proposed by an agent of our Government in China in 1843. That convention was on the point of being sanctioned by the Imperial Commissioner, when an incident which arose between the two agents of the French Government prevented its conclusion. If we are to credit our Macao correspondent, the first project contained stipulations far more advantageous to France. Thus we have armed a fleet

of six sail, and appointed a Rear-Admiral to command it ; we have chosen a Minister Plenipotentiary, with secretaries, attachés, and delegates of every description ; we have even sent out a historiographer and homœopathic physicians, and all this to obtain for us in China a less favourable position than the one we held previous to all that fracas. What has become of the conquest of an Island in the China Sea, announced so pompously by M. Guizot during the last session ? Has some new Pritchard started up to defeat the execution of that fine project ? Be this as it may, the embassy to China has ended, as we foretold it would, by much expense to be defrayed, and little profit to be derived. This is the natural but costly consequence of the policy of the conqueror of the Marquesas Islands.

Accounts from Adelaide to the 6th of October bring intelligence of the massacre of an overland party by the natives. The victims, to the number of 15, out of a company of 20, were murdered while asleep, and their flocks dispersed in different directions. Captain Sturt proposed to proceed to investigate the matter on the spot where the catastrophe is alleged to have taken place.

It is painful to learn that Tahiti remains in a state of disorder. Whilst the two governments of France and England were discussing a comparatively trivial question of a personal kind, the sufferings of the natives of the island seem to have been overlooked. Some missionaries have arrived, who left Tahiti in August, at which time it was in a state of entire disorganization ; almost the entire population were in the mountains, in a position of self-defence ; the Queen Pomare, with her family and attendants, was in the fastnesses of Raiatea, resolved either to be restored to full possession or to die. Mr. Jesson, one of the missionaries, is intrusted with a despatch from Queen Pomare to Queen Victoria.

TRANSLATION OF A HINDEE SONG.

THE WORDS SUPPOSED TO BE UTTERED BY A WIDOW, OR RUTTEE,
ON HER WAY TO THE PILLE.

Oh, mother ! here no longer may I stay ;
My time is near, and I must haste away.
Troubled on earth my stay—and passed as soon,
As seems the growth and wane of yonder moon.
Reason to man 's a gift sent down from Heaven ;
By instinct indiscrim'inate brutes are driven ;
The ox may, senseless, graze around the tomb ;
I loathe its foulness mid my dreadful doom.
Upon my lap my husband's head I'll lay,
Once more embrace his form now turned to clay.

Translation of a Hindoo Song.

Of all our kind the noblest and the best
 Have been laid low, and patient take their rest.
 Why vainly seek to avoid the doom of fate?
 Our end must overtake us soon or late.

I leave now, weeping, my much loved abode;
 Speechless from sobs companions round me crowd.
 Sad this to witness; sadder yet than all,
 My infants' laugh sounds through the orphaned hall.
 Too young to know their loss, while future years
 May bring the wretches' lot, neglect and tears.
 Slow sense of duty now may grudge the aid
 Which erst by kind affection quick was paid.—
 Mother, lead on, no longer may I stay;
 My hour is come, and I must haste away!

ORIGINAL.

Moree ma ub to ruho nu jae : Moree ma ub to ruho nu jae
 Moree suniyan (suneha?) ne guruwa : Keeno muh ka chand jae
 Goristhan pur goroo churte ; Sumujh sumujh hum rog
 Oonche oonche muhton wale ; neeche ghurmen sog
 Rowut chchoro gawn so asin (asa?) bilukut sukhee suhelin
 Lurkiyan kee neh ningoree ; eksung kee khelee.

The above was copied from a MS. collection of Hindoostanee songs, set to music, which it was the fortune of the present writer to meet with some time ago. The translation extends to a greater length than the original, but it is believed that the spirit of the author has not been departed from, and that his meaning has been correctly enough expressed, though an attempt has been made to develope his ideas with more fulness than he has given to them. It is possible that only a fragment of the original has here been produced; for, with other songs in the collection, it was found that only so much of the words had been copied as were needed to accompany the tune; but by repeating the first couplet at the end of the piece, it acquires at least the appearance of completeness. It may be remarked, that the measure is the same in the translation as in the original, where there are six couplets. The present contributor is not acquainted with the tune to which the song is set, nor is he now possessed of a copy of it. The piece is sent to the *Asiatic Journal* as a curious specimen of Hindoo poetry, and as being in a style, so far as the contributor knows, not common among the native writers of the country.

D. L.

London, 17th Feb. 1845.

JOÃO DE CASTRO'S LOST LOG-BOOK.

GREAT and glorious as were our own early successes in India, and extended as the British empire in that quarter of the globe has since been rendered by a series of conquests, which shed an imperishable lustre upon our flag, still we cannot forget the deeds of those who, in the spirit of fearless adventure, preceded us round the Cape of Good Hope, and thus opened the portals of Asia. Without feelings of admiration it would indeed be impossible for us to contemplate, even at this advanced period, that bold and enlightened system of maritime discovery, pursued as early as the 15th century, under the direction of Prince Henry of Portugal, the results of which produced a complete change in the course of European commerce, as emphatically described by our national bard.

" With such mad seas the daring Gama fought,
For many a day and many a dreadful night,
Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,
By bold ambition led, and bolder thirst
Of gold. For then from ancient gloom emerged
The rising world of trade—the genius, then,
Of navigation, that, in hopeless sloth,
Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep,
For idle ages, starting, heard at last
The Lusitanian Prince, who, heaven-inspired,
To love of useful glory roused mankind,
And in unbounded commerce mixed the world."

The reigns of Emanuel and John III. of Portugal will ever be memorable in the annals of Indian traffic. After doubling the S.W. extremity of Africa, Vasco da Gama proceeded to Mozambique, Melinda, and Calicut.* In 1503 Albuquerque imposed a tribute on the ruler of Zinzibar, and in 1506 Tristan d'Acunha explored the coast of Madagascar, while about the same period Almeida visited the Laccadive islands, discovered Ceylon and Sumatra, and defeated the combined Egyptian and Indian forces. The Portuguese formed establishments at Quiloa, Cananor, and other places, and also took possession of the Maldives and Ceylon. Albuquerque conquered Ormus, Dabul, Calicut, Goa, Choran, Divar, and Salsette; seized upon Malacca, and granted his protection to the kings of Siam and Sumatra. In 1513 he attacked the Moors at Aden, and finally Emanuel's officers formed alliances with the rulers living on the western side of Sumatra, and reached Borneo and Celebes. In 1516 the Portuguese sent their first embassy to the Emperor of China, and next year established themselves at Macao. By these, and other important acquisitions, the hardy sons

* More than three hundred and seventy years ago, Bartholomew Dias discovered the guano island of Ichaboe, now so much frequented by our vessels, near which he erected a stone cross, with the Portuguese arms upon it. This cross was standing in 1888, but has since been thrown down by some thoughtless or mischievous persons. The pedestal now only remains, and the spot upon which it stands is called "Pedestal Point" by our mariners.

of Lusitania became masters of that oriental commerce, which the Venetians had till then exclusively carried on ; Goa was made the seat of government—the arsenal of Portugal in Asia, and that place and Lisbon ranked as the Tyre and Sidon of the age.*

Several native chiefs, who had been dispossessed of part of their dominions, now entered into confederacies against the Portuguese. Among these the most formidable were the sovereigns of Cambaya and Diu, who sent emissaries, loaded with presents, to Constantinople, soliciting aid against the overwhelming strangers. An armament was accordingly determined upon, a large part of the expenses of which Soliman Pasha offered to pay, provided he received the command. This man was a successful Greek mariner, who, by his cruizers and court favour, had amassed an immense fortune. A bargain having been struck with the Sultan, Soliman proceeded to Suez, built and equipped the vessels deemed necessary, and, as part of his own contingent, purchased 1,000 Nubian slaves. At length a fleet of 72 war-vessels was collected, on board of which, besides sailors and slaves, there were embarked 1,500 Janisaries of the royal guard, 2,000 Turkish regulars, and 500 Mamelukes, well officered and provided. This formidable force left Suez in 1537, and, sailing down the Red Sea, committed great excesses, took Aden, and hanged its ruler. Arriving on the coast of Hindostan, they laid siege to Diu, but were repulsed by Governor Silveira, whose gallant defence justly became a topic of exultation with several Portuguese contemporaneous historians. The Pasha, however, saved the greater part of his vessels, and brought them back to Suez, but falling into disgrace poisoned himself, in order to escape from the executioner's hands.†

The Portuguese did not lose sight of this attack made upon their Indian possessions by the Sultan's orders, and resolved to avenge them-

* In 1523 the sovereigns of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, who thence taking their departure in 1525 discovered the eastern coast of New Holland. This circumstance is mentioned by Portuguese writers on the early affairs of India, who refer to sketches then taken of the coast and Portuguese names given to remarkable points. This will appear strange to those persons who have hitherto thought that the Dutch first visited New Holland. Early in the 17th century they certainly traced the N. and W. parts, as well as the S. extremity, in 1642, as Cook did the E. and N. E. sides in 1770; but the Portuguese had put in their claim to the merit of having discovered the E. division a century before the Dutch hoisted their flag in those seas. On the 7th of July, 1807, the learned Barbé du Bocage, at a sitting of the French Institute, read a memoir, afterwards printed in the *Monteur*, for the purpose of shewing that the Portuguese actually did discover and sketch the eastern side of New Holland, towards the year 1525. After referring to Portuguese authorities on the subject, he says that the court of Lisbon lost the papers relating to this discovery through the infidelity of Manuel da Silva, bishop of Visou, who absconded, carrying with him many valuable papers from John III.'s cabinet, confided to his care. This renegade, it is well known, sought an asylum in France, where he disposed of his spoil, in proof of which M. du Bocage proceeds to remark that the part of the coast of New Holland alluded to is laid down in certain French MS. atlases, still preserved, and bearing the dates of 1542, 1547, and 1555, wherein the names affixed are Portuguese.

† The first notice regarding the Red Sea, derived from materials which were not handed down to us by the ancients, made its appearance at Venice, in 1538, under the title of "*Itinerarium Sullerment Beasæ a Suez in Indian desertum*," but it consisted only of two 4to pages, stating the distances from and to places, evidently taken from the Pasha's diary kept as far as the Straits.

selves the first opportunity that presented itself. On the death of Viceroy Noronha, the supreme command devolved upon Estevan da Gama, second son of the great Vasco da Gama, a naval officer of distinction, and late captain-general of Malacca. On examining his predecessor's papers, among other important matters, he discovered the project of a maritime enterprise, once entertained by his own father, and the earliest possible execution of which was urgently recommended by the reigning king of Portugal. This project was accompanied by a standing order, addressed to the viceroy in office, directing him to fit out and send to the Red Sea an adequate naval force, with instructions to destroy any Turkish vessels which might be found navigating it, and more especially to burn the war-galleys anchored at Suez.

Sensible of the importance of the blow which might thus be struck against the Ottoman power, in a quarter where such an attempt was least expected, young da Gama exultingly submitted the project to his council, and having received their sanction, gave orders for the equipment of a fleet, which he proposed to command in person. Wishing to avail himself of the services of the best officers he could find on the spot, among others he selected Joaõ de Castro, a clever mathematician, and one of the ablest navigators of the age; an officer who, as he afterwards became the principal actor in the expedition about to be undertaken, and whose memory is revered as having been one of the most distinguished and upright viceroys the Portuguese ever had in India, deserves a short preliminary notice.

Joaõ de Castro was the son of the civil governor of Lisbon, but, in consequence of a romantic attachment and clandestine marriage with a lady inferior to him in rank, had been driven from the paternal roof, and obliged to support himself on his pay as a naval officer. Full of enthusiasm for his profession, and possessing some of the best attributes of a manly spirit, the ejected youth determined to trust only to his own resources, and thus render himself independent. Endowed with strong feelings and an ardent mind, he accordingly devoted his whole time to nautical studies, and was fortunate enough to be admitted, as a pupil, into the house of Dom Pedro Nunez, one of the first mathematicians and the ablest scholar at that time in Portugal, and who was also preceptor to the Infante Dom Luiz, brother of the reigning sovereign. Under the tuition of this accomplished master, Castro made rapid progress, and through habits of intercourse contracted an intimacy with the Infante, which ripened into friendship, and lasted through life. So strong was the Prince's early attachment that, when called upon to head the Portuguese contingent destined to aid Charles V. in his memorable expedition against Barbarossa, he requested that Castro might be appointed near his person, and it was amidst the difficulties attendant upon the siege of Goletta and the reduction of Tunis, that he displayed science, judgment, and a dauntless courage, far beyond what could be expected from his years.* Castro's conduct in the

* On this occasion he gave the first proof of that disinterestedness which distinguished him while holding command in India, by refusing to accept the 2,000 ducats ordered by Charles V to be distributed to each Portuguese officer engaged in this service.

Mediterranean having brought him into public notice, through the interest of his royal school-fellow and patron, he received an appointment to India, the highest honour that possibly could be conferred upon an aspiring officer, and during his voyage thither, in command of a war-ship, he kept a nautical journal, which on arriving at Goa he copied, and adding to it a series of geographical sketches, describing the places conquered and settled by the Portuguese in that remote region, dedicating this juvenile present to his royal benefactor. This MS. was at one time preserved in the Evera Library, but has since been lost.

Sensible of the difficulties which he would have to encounter, it was, therefore, no matter of surprise that the new viceroy should have sought the assistance of so valuable and efficient an officer as Joaõ de Castro, in the arduous undertaking upon which he was about to enter—an undertaking intended not only to chastise an hereditary foe and promote the interests of religion,* but also to explore an ocean which, till then, had not been visited by any European navigator for scientific purposes. The armament consisted of 72 sail, 12 of which were war-ships of a large size, and the rest galleys, and on board 2,000 picked soldiers were embarked. The naval command was confided to Joaõ de Castro, who started with the full intention of noting down every thing that might occur on the voyage, calculated to promote the science of navigation and the commercial interests of his country. This fleet left the Goa anchorage on the 1st of January, 1541, and proceeded up the coast for the double purpose of overawing the native chiefs, opposed to the Portuguese, and crossing the Indian Ocean at its narrowest part, in consequence of which detour they did not reach the island of Socotora till the 13th. Having taken in water, they left on the 20th, and on the 27th appeared before Aden, of which place Castro furnishes an historical sketch, with a view of the coast and harbour. The following day they anchored at the mouth of the Straits of Babelmandel, when the naval commander sounded the channels, establishing the positions of the rocks and shoals as a guidance for the several captains.

As soon as the fleet had passed Mocha, they steered for the opposite coast and anchored in the inlet of a small island, called by the natives Sarbô. On the 4th of February they left this anchorage, but, owing to baffling winds and the dread of shoals, the sailing vessels could only make way in the day-time. On the 7th they came to a chain of small islands, many of them level with the water, and next day anchored in front of the island of Dallaqua, of which Castro gives a short description. On the 11th the oared galleys reached the island and port of Massuuh, where next day they were joined by the heavy vessels and found a good harbour. Castro describes this spot as well as the coast

* In endeavouring to extend the science of navigation, and giving a broader and more permanent foundation to commerce, it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that the Portuguese were actuated by another motive besides that of national utility. They were always at war with the Crescent, and speaking of Prince Henry, who, it will be recollected, prosecuted his nautical labours during a period of more than forty years, Michie justly makes these remarks—"The feelings of the Prince were powerfully enforced by religion. To extirpate Mohamedanism was patriotism in Portugal, and to inflict just retribution on the Moors for their cruelties in Europe, a just cause of war against their African dominions."

and watering-place of Arquito, remarking that, according to a local tradition, it was in this port, 'Sheba, Queen of Ethiopia, embarked when she went to visit Solomon. The navigation having been found extremely tedious, in consequence of shoals and variable winds, it was here determined to leave behind the large vessels and proceed up with only the smaller ones, consisting of 64 row-galleys, 3 gallies, 6 long-boats, and 53 pinnaces.*

On the 18th the Portuguese left Massuah, and on the 22nd anchored in front of the low and desert island of Marata, the next day proceeding as far as Suakem, where the navigation is greatly obstructed. This being one of the strong-holds held by the Turks, the viceroy landed a force and ordered it to be pillaged and burnt. Owing to this attack, the vessels did not leave Suakem till the 10th of March, a delay which in the end proved fatal to the main object of their enterprise, as the garrison at Suez received timely notice of their approach, and besides adopting the precaution of dragging their galleys high up on the strand, in the interval obtained reinforcements of troops from Cairo and other places. On the 17th the fleet reached Dradate, next day anchoring in the Bay of Doró. On the 22nd they assembled in that of Fuxa, which Castro says is rendered noble by the contiguity of a high and pointed cliff, resembling the Penha at Cintra, described by Byron. On the 25th they arrived at the port of Arequea, which they left on the 30th, and after passing several shoals, anchored at Sullaqua. On the 2nd of April the vessels came to the river Ferate, and thence proceeded to Quilfit and Igidid, and afterwards to Somol. On the 13th they appeared before Alcocer, when the Moors ~~and~~ their women and valuables up into the mountains, arming themselves for defence. Incensed at some cannon-shots, fired at them, the Portuguese landed, and after pillaging the town, destroyed and burnt it.

On the 19th the vessels found shelter from a storm in the island of Suffange El-Bahar, and on the 21st entered the harbour of Toro, where, Castro contends, Solomon had the vessels built which he periodically sent to Tharsis and Ophir. Here the Portuguese landed and drove the Turkish garrison out of the town, after which, agreeably to his powers and the usage of the age, Viceroy da Gama conferred the honour of knighthood on several gentlemen at the foot of Mount Sinai.† The Portuguese did not leave Toro till the 22nd, but, owing to the frequency of rocks and shoals, made little way. On the 25th, being near the isthmus, they observed a large body of infantry and cavalry exercising on a plain, and while passing a point of land, defended by a bastion, the Turks fired at them; but, forcing the passage, they entered Suez harbour, and caught sight of the Ottoman fleet, 9 war-ships and

* The military and other details regarding this expedition, omitted by Castro, are supplied by Diogo do Couto, the continuator of Barros, in his *Decadas da Asia*, Lisbon, 1553 and 1614, and also in the Chronicle of John III. by Francisco de Andrade.

† Among them was the eldest son of Joaõ de Castro. Estevan da Gama died in Portugal, and was interred in the church of the Carmelite convent, at Vidigueira. On his tomb is inscribed an epitaph to this effect:—"He who made Knights at the foot of Mount Sinai, hither came to end his days."

41 galleys, hauled high up on the beach, on the other side of the houses, and defended by redoubts recently constructed.

No other alternative being now left, it was determined to choose a suitable spot for landing the troops, by which means it was hoped that the main object in view might be accomplished. Every preparation being made, the men were embarked in boats; but at the moment when they were about to jump on shore, 2,000 Turkish cavalry and infantry made their appearance from behind a hill, and other preparations for a formidable defence became equally visible. The Portuguese at once saw that their project was frustrated; when, calling back the troops, it was eventually determined to abandon the enterprise. Other reasons, however, contributed to this unexpected *dénouement*. At Suakem, serious disputes had arisen between the principal conductors of the expedition, which engendered rankling enmities, and great jealousies had also been excited among the parties left in charge of the heavy vessels, who complained that they were not allowed to share the laurels which it was hoped would be won in this crusade. Some soldiers and sailors had even mutinied, and the viceroy deemed it necessary to make examples of several of them. One intelligent man deserted and was supposed to have joined the Turks, whose movements on this occasion seemed to be conducted with more than ordinary skill. These untoward circumstances, added to the fatal consequences of those delays which had occurred, were constant sources of uneasiness to the viceroy and his friends, who, after hearing the opinions of the officers present, declined taking the responsibility of an attack upon themselves. On the 29th of April the Portuguese accordingly withdrew, and retracing their steps, arrived at Goa on the 21st of July, after an absence of seven months and twenty-one days.

During the whole of this interesting expedition, João de Castro kept a *ROTEIRO*, or Log-book, in which the dates of departures and arrivals, changes in the wind, courses steered, variations of the compass, together with all incidents connected with navigation, were daily entered, and in many instances the positions of places determined by the sun's altitude. Besides nautical occurrences, he therein also recorded various historical facts and local traditions, interspersed with the results of his own conversations with learned natives, and in many instances serving to correct errors regarding localities into which the ancients had fallen. He besides indulged in disquisitions on several detached subjects, such as the locality of Suez, the cosmography of Ethiopia bordering upon Egypt, customs and manners of the Abyssinians, the country of the Bedouins dwelling near the Red Sea, the passage of the Israelites,* projected cuts in the Nile, locality of Mount Sinai, &c. Some pages

* Castro inserts a view of the coast and town of Toro, with references, among which is a *libe*, pointing out the spot where the Israelites crossed. He also reports the traditions of the natives upon this subject, in confirmation of which he mentions certain wells which the Arabs pointed out to him, and still called Moses's Fountain, no doubt those which supplied the bitter waters of Marah, spoken of in Exodus, chap. xv., and by the lawgiver miraculously made sweet. Recent travellers agree that these waters are brackish, in consequence of which the neighbouring inhabitants are obliged to use such supplies as the rains afford them.

he also devotes to an inquiry into the causes which led to this being called the Red Sea, and investigates other phenomena with which he was particularly struck. His allusions to ancient historians exhibit profound research, at the same time that his references, together with the etymological explanations which he frequently gives of the names of places, prove that he was equally well versed in Oriental languages. To render his labours more complete, he also took views of the principal places as he passed up, marking the bearings and depths of water.

The first leisure moment, after his return, the indefatigable admiral caused a fair copy of his log-book to be made out, to which he added drawings of the most remarkable localities visited, and sent the volume, accompanied by a dedication, in grateful acknowledgment for past services, to his patron, the Infante Dom Luiz, retaining the original, which, at the author's death, passed into the hands of his grandson and heir. The Red Sea Log-book was received at Lisbon with pride and exultation, and during the Infante's lifetime several of the most eminent Portuguese writers on oriental affairs consulted it. This invaluable MS. was always considered as an heir-loom of the crown, and on the accession of Cardinal Heury, in 1678, deposited as a national trophy in the library belonging to the University of Evora, at that time under the superintendence of the Jesuits. As if to render his labours more generally useful, João de Castro subsequently wrote an *Itinerarium* of the same voyage, in Latin, the fashionable language of the age, and one in which he had attained great proficiency. This journal was an abstract from the Log-book, and equally forwarded to Portugal, where it was lodged among the public archives.

The original in the hands of the Castro family was forgotten, but the accessible copy, more perfect in form and easier read, for many years held a high place in the estimation of those who visited the University at Evora. It however disappeared, although nobody could tell at what period, or by whom, it had been abstracted. This theft was viewed in the light of a national calamity, so much was the author esteemed; but, through political convulsions at home, and changes in the sovereignty of India, the subject at length died away after the loss had been pronounced irreparable. During one of those vicissitudes which, of late years, have driven distinguished Portuguese, of opposite parties, into exile, Dr. Carvalho, formerly a professor of jurisprudence in the University of Coimbra, came to reside among us. Devoted to study, a portion of his time was spent in the library of the British Museum, where, towards the close of 1828, and while examining the catalogue of the Cottonian MSS., he discovered the identical copy of João de Castro's Log-book which had been taken away from Evora. Rejoiced at so extraordinary a piece of good-luck, and with all the exultation of that national pride which in a warm heart such an incident was calculated to excite, the Doctor at once resolved to transcribe the whole, with the view of publishing it at home should a change in the government afford him an opportunity.

In the meanwhile he instituted inquiries in order to ascertain whe-

ther the family, at present in possession of Joaõ de Castro's favourite villa at Cintra, knew any thing of the original, to which negative answers were returned. Unable to discover any more channels in Portugal for his researches, the male line of the illustrious house of Castro, like those of Albuquerque, Pacheco, and other heroes, who in India had covered themselves with glory, being now extinct, Dr. Carvalho next turned his attention to foreign countries, where he was somewhat more successful. Eagerly pursuing his labours, he ascertained that Joaõ de Castro's short account of the expedition to the Red Sea, as before noticed, written by him in Latin, was for the first time published at the Hague, in 1699, by the celebrated juriconsult, Antonius Matheus, in a collection of multifarious documents relating to the ancient Duchy of Burgundy, called *Veteris Ævi Analecta*, where D'Anville found it. The paper is headed *Itinerarium Maris Rubri*, but, instead of being the Log-book, it is rather an extract, occupying 45½ pages, whereas the other, when in print, was found to extend to 272. D'Anville makes frequent mention of this *Itinerarium*, specially alluding to two of the author's sketches of ports in the Red Sea, which he avows accidentally came into his possession in 1726.* The French geographer availed himself of Castro's authority to establish several positions on the Red Sea; but there is abundant evidence to shew that neither he, nor any other foreign writer, during the last century, had the opportunity of using the Log-book in Portuguese.

Unable to return home, Dr. Carvalho at length succeeded in collecting a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of printing his copy, subscribed by a few spirited and patriotic Portuguese ladies and gentlemen, and for their use the work made its appearance at Paris, in 1833, accompanied by likenesses of Joaõ de Castro and Estevan da Gama, copied from the series of Portuguese viceroys, kept in the Government House at Goa.† As the *Itinerarium* had never been printed in Portugal, and Matheus' work in the course of time had become extremely scarce, the Doctor thought it but just to add it to his publication, which he did, preceding it with a fac-simile of the drawing of Toro, with the references in Latin, as affixed by Joaõ de Castro, and which he caused to be copied from the original, formerly in D'Anville's possession.

The copy in the British Museum is a large quarto volume, consisting of 60 folios, originally numbered in red ink. It now only contains 15 drawings, or descriptive maps, the one of Aden having been torn out. The edges of the work are much burnt, no doubt during the calamitous fire which befel Sir R. Bruce Cotton's library in 1731, whereby the marginal notes were mostly destroyed, and the text in some places partially defaced. The maps were also severed in two at the foldings. The volume has, however, since been bound in calf, with gilt lettering, and bears the Cottonian arms upon it. Each sheet has also been pasted

* *Mémoires sur l'Egypte Ancienne et Moderne* (Preface), Paris, 1766.

† It is a curious fact, that Joaõ de Castro, when viceroy of India, was the person who ordered the portraits of his predecessors to be collected and placed in rotation on the walls of the vice-regal palace.

upon a separate piece of paper, by which means the blank margins have been restored. A new enumeration of the folios has also been added, now amounting to 90. The work is closely written, in a fair hand, but with numerous abbreviations, and in the old orthography, which renders it rather difficult to decipher, and at the end, on a scroll, are these words—*Gaspar Aloisius scribat, MDXLIII.* The narrative is preceded by the dedication, already mentioned, in large letters imitating the Roman character. The initials to descriptions and headings are in red ink, and the capitals occasionally flourished. The drawings are curious, and besides shewing the configuration of the coast and surrounding hills, describe the aspect of the country, and mark the spots where camels, lions, horned cattle, and deer were seen. They also represent the Portuguese vessels, as they appeared when at anchor and under sail.

How and at what period this unique MS. came into the possession of Sir R. Bruce Cotton it would now be difficult to find out. If, however, the person who purloined it was sensible of its value in Portugal, it is only reasonable to suppose that a considerable sum was paid for the transfer.* Dr. Carvalho seems to think that it was taken from the Evora library when the Jesuits were expelled, at which period, it is agreed, many valuable records disappeared from Portugal; but, as regards the document in question, this could not have been the case. The Jesuits were not banished from Portugal till the year 1759, when the Evora University was suppressed, and its books in all probability dispersed, but sufficient evidence has already been adduced to prove that the MS. formed part of the Cottonian collection as early as 1731. Neither could it have been carried away from Portugal during the interval of Spanish usurpation, as San Roman, the Spanish historian, writing in 1603, affirms that the original was at that period in the possession of Castro's grandson, and that the copy, dedicated to the Infante Dom Luiz, was still kept at Evora.† Portuguese authorities, of the highest respectability, might equally be quoted to shew that the treasured volume was safe in 1642, whereas the Braganza family had been called to the throne in 1640.

It is pretty evident that in England the value of the rarity in question remained unknown, until it was accidentally discovered and copied, in the manner already mentioned. As Englishmen, we certainly are under obligations to Dr. Carvalho for his spirit and perseverance, but it will not be thought that he acted either justly or decorously towards an institution, open to all foreigners in the pursuit of knowledge, when it is known that he did not even present a copy of his printed book to the Museum, where he found the original, an omission which hereafter may give rise to a question with the trustees—whether it is good policy to allow foreigners to copy entire MSS.

* After so long a lapse of time, it is only some one of Sir R. Bruce Cotton's descendants, in charge of his account books and correspondence, who can now clear up the mystery hanging over the original theft, and state the sum paid for the booty. It would, most assuredly, be worth their while to institute an inquiry.

† *Historia General de la India Oriental*, Lib. iv., cap. vi.

in our national library, without some previous avowal of their intentions, and, in case they propose to print their transcripts, some guarantee that they will cause at least one copy to be deposited in that establishment where they were courteously allowed to cull gems, exclusively its own.

The loss to nautical science which followed the interment of Joaõ de Castro's Log-book in the Cottonian library, and the little or no use made of it since its discovery, materially contribute to the curiosity of the MS. at this particular moment, when our officers and merchants are hurrying on to India by that very route which the Portuguese navigator pointed out, and described, more than three centuries ago. The original, for such it may now be fairly called, has been preserved as it were by a double miracle, and although from the present frequency of intercourse, and the recent labours of several of our own officers, we are now pretty well acquainted with the navigation of the Red Sea, still we cannot fail to feel a lively interest in the spirited and generous efforts of so distinguished a man as Joaõ de Castro, a name, even at the present day, mentioned with respect throughout India.*

Without entering into comparisons between the positions of places, as determined by the great Portuguese navigator, in 1541, and those laid down in our modern charts and sailing instructions, the account already given of the MS. in question may suffice. The Castro Log-book is full of information, character, and truth. Throughout, the reader is impressed with the magnitude and importance of the object which the author had in view, viz., the advancement of science, rather than the destruction of an enemy's fleet; and no one can help admiring the zeal, system, and regularity with which he performed the task imposed upon himself, abstaining from the introduction of all extraneous matters, and doing his work in a true sailor-like fashion. Even his modesty is exemplary. He never speaks of his own doings, but contemporaneous historians assure us that his barge was foremost in the attempted attack upon the Turkish galleys at Suez, as well as in other moments of peril.

If any thing could enhance the value of the composition, it is the moral character and public virtues of the individual who penned it. Coming from the expedition to the Red Sea, he brought with him the first orange tree planted in Portugal, a service the glory of which he prized more than that acquired by his memorable administration as viceroy of India. In his writings Joaõ de Castro proved himself to be a profound scholar, but it is remarkable that not one of his works was

* Our own earliest work, on this remote quarter, was published by a naval officer in 1750, and called "*Navigation and Voyages to the Red Sea.*" The next embraced a series of "*Instructions for sailing from Cape Guardafui to Babeimandel, and through the Straits,*" by Capt. North Hutchinson, of the *Doddington*, 1753; and in 1758 appeared a "*Journal of the Latham to Jeddah.*" Before the expedition of Sir Home Popham, undertaken in 1801-2, we had, however, little detailed and decisive information regarding that inland ocean. To these officers, as well as to the public, how invaluable at the time would not Castro's Log-book, lying neglected, and even unknown, in the library of the British Museum, have been, if they had been able to procure a copy!

ever printed in the land which gave him birth. The fate of his three best has already been noticed, but, besides these, he collected a volume of grants made by himself in India, three volumes of his letters to, and answers from, John III., on the affairs of that country, eight books on the government of India, and an account of the siege of Diu, in which he took so prominent a part.

By his own countrymen, João de Castro has frequently been compared to Paulus Æmilius, and in disinterestedness he certainly exceeded that venerable character among the Romans. While holding the supreme command in India, he never carried on any traffic, and if obliged to accept presents, he invariably handed them over to the public treasury. In 1543, having gained a splendid victory, by means of which he raised the siege of Diu, assailed for more than six months by a powerful army commanded by the king of Cambaya, and at a moment when the walls of the town were in a ruined state, and no money in the treasury to repair them, he sent a lock of his own beard to Goa, upon which the ladies emulously lent him their jewels. He died in the 48th year of his age, when on opening his will this very pledge, honourably redeemed, was found in the inside, and the only ready money in his desk consisted of a few copper coins. Writing to his sovereign, immediately after the relief of Diu, he reminded his Majesty that it was usual, on such occasions, to bestow corresponding rewards upon faithful servants, adding that, for his own part, the only favour he asked was the grant of the fountain, contiguous to his villa at Cintra, together with the adjoining land upon which twelve chestnut trees were growing, in intrinsic value not worth more than £200 sterling. The ashes of this great and good man were deposited in the church of the Dominican Convent, at Bemnca, near Lisbon, where there is a beautiful mausoleum, in the eastern style, erected to his memory. His favourite villa at Cintra still continues to be the principal point of attraction to all foreigners, who visit that romantic spot in the vicinity of the Portuguese capital.

W. WALTON.

BOKHARA AND SAMARCAND.*

ALTHOUGH the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara must have lamentably fallen from their high estate since the time when Hâshim considered them the highest bribe he could offer to a Toorki fair, and the great Timur resented even such an imaginary alienation, their present state and that of the territories subject to the Amîr of Bokhara are on many accounts objects of curiosity. Samarcand, the Marcanda of Alexander the Great's time (a fact which attests its high antiquity), called by the emperor Baber "one of the most delightful cities in the world," and which was described by Persian poets as a terrestrial paradise, has now become a dependency of Bokhara, and sunk into a provincial town, gardens and fields occupying the place of its streets and mosques. Bokhara, being the seat of government of a khanat, retains a portion of its ancient splendour. It is still large (eight miles in circumference), and contains many public buildings, particularly colleges. "If we look at the quantity of schools for education, and the number of educated persons, at Bokhara," says M. Khanikoff, who visited the place in 1842, "we cannot but admit that it ranks as the first place among the kingdoms of Central Asia for learning." Political and commercial considerations are gradually drawing this country into closer proximity to the states of Transoxiana, and incidents of a painful character have attached a peculiar interest to the city of Bokhara.

Notwithstanding that Sir A. Burnes has given a pretty full account of this Central Asian state, and we may expect that the picture will be finished in some of its minuter parts by Dr. Wolff, the work of M. Khanikoff is by no means without its value. His visit was ten years later in date than that of Burnes, and Russian travellers in those regions enjoy better means than our own countrymen of collecting information, from their more perfect acquaintance with the language and manners of the people, and their greater aptitude (arising, perhaps, from a remote affinity) to blend with them. This advantage is, perhaps, in some degree balanced by one of its necessary consequences. The attention of Russian travellers is more immediately directed to statistics, topography, natural history, and subjects which require minute investigation, whence their reports are frequently too much of a purely scientific character. This objection (if it be one) applies, in some measure, to M. Khanikoff's "Description of the Khanat of Bokhara."

* Bokhara, its Amîr and its People. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff, by the BARON CLEMENT A. DE BODE. London, 1845. Madden.

The territories of the Khanat, like those of the neighbouring states, have no fixed boundaries, sanctioned by time or treaties; they expand or contract according to the strength or weakness of the ruler. When Amír Seyid (or Hyder, as he is called by Burnes) ascended the throne of Bokhara, in 1802, nearly the whole of Mawuruhnahr (Transoxiana), including Balkh and Hissar on the south, and Ura-tube and Khojend on the north, was subject to his rule. In his reign, however, Balkh, Ura-tube, and Khojend revolted; Bokhara soon lost its political importance, and the disorders that followed the death of Amír Seyid, in 1825, still further circumscribed the limits of the Khanat. The present ruler, Nasr-Ullah, in the course of seventeen years, gradually recovered the former possessions of the state, and, by the recent conquest of Khokand, became the undisputed master of the whole of Mawuruhnahr. Burnes has given a very brief sketch of this ruler, whom he saw at Bokhara; we shall enlarge it from the very copious details furnished by M. Khanikoff.

Nasr-Ullah Bahadur Khan, Malik-el-Mumenin (his appropriate title), is the second son of Amír-Seyid, or the Pure, so called apparently from his devotion to the faith. Before the death of his father, he meditated the project of wresting the throne from his elder brother, Husein, and engaged in his views the Kush-beghí, or vizir, an Uzbek, and the Top^{dar}í-bashí, named Ayaz, an emancipated slave of the Amír. On the death of Seyid, the partisans of Husein succeeded in proclaiming him king; whereupon Nasr-Ullah at once declared open war. But the reign of Husein speedily closed; he died in two or three months, not without suspicion that he had been poisoned by the Kush-beghí. Nasr-Ullah now set all his engines in operation to secure the throne, which had been seized by his younger brother, Omar-Khan. He propitiated the clergy, sent embassies to the neighbouring states, and, marching suddenly upon Samarcand, gained, by force or treachery, possession of that important city, where he was seated upon the "blue stone," and proclaimed Amír. A civil war now commenced; but the activity and previous arrangements of Nasr-Ullah gave him great advantages over his brother, who, surrounded by traitors, at length was constrained to shut himself up in Bokhara. Nasr-Ullah laid siege to the city in February, 1826, and in forty-four days, the besiegers having cut off all supplies of food and water, it was surrendered by treachery. Omar-Khan, according to Burnes, was placed in confinement, but escaped, and died of cholera at Kokand.

The first acts of Nasr-Ullah evinced great art. In order to de-

veive the Kush-beghī, whose influence he dreaded, he surrendered the entire administration to him, and pretended to turn his own thoughts wholly to pleasure. Secretly, however, he made himself popular in the eyes of his subjects by acts emanating from himself. His next policy was to crush the power of the sipahis, which had become predominant in the weak reign of his father. This measure was difficult, because of the strong connection between the leaders of the sipahis and the Kush-beghī. At length, the Amīr struck his grand blow at the minister, who was deposed and cast into prison. The Topsī-bāshī was then exalted; he was made governor of Samarcand; riches were heaped upon him; he was invited to Bokhara, and treated with extraordinary distinction. When the plans of the Amīr were complete, he cast off the mask, and this officer was likewise thrown into prison. Both he and the Kush-beghī were executed in 1840. Nasr-Ullah now let loose his fiery indignation upon the sipahis, as well as the relations of the late minister, numbers of whom were executed or banished. His agent in the process of exterminating the feodality of Bokhara was a Toorkoman, named Rahim-Birdi-Mazum, the Reis, who was allowed at his pleasure to butcher the sipahis, and beat the common people, on pretence of inducing them to say their prayers! The power of the Amīr, however, was not established till he had introduced a regular army into Bokhara, which was brought about by the agency of another remarkable individual.

Abdul Samet, called Naib-Samet, a native of Tabriz, having been compelled to fly from his own country for a murder, entered into the service of a Persian refugee in British India, whom he robbed and killed. He was taken, and sentenced by one of our courts to be hanged; but he found means to escape, and, proceeding to Cabul, insinuated himself into the favour of Dost Mahomed Khan. His turbulent character soon appeared; he quarrelled with the well-known Mahomed Ukhbar Khan, whose career he nearly shortened by shooting him with a pistol. The wound, however, was not mortal, and the would-be assassin was imprisoned, preparatory to his execution, when he again escaped, and fled to Bokhara, where he soon gained such an ascendancy over Nusr-Ullah, that, according to M. Khanikoff, "he is one of the most influential men in the Khanat." This man advised the Amīr to introduce regular troops (sarbases) into the country, by which means he established his authority at home on a firm basis.

The Amīr now prepared for foreign conquests. In 1839, he had commenced hostilities with the Khan of Khokand, whom, after two

smart campaign, he reduced to the condition of a vassal. In 1841, however, the Khan threw off his dependence, upon which Nasr-Ullah marched from Bokhara, in April, 1842, captured Khokand, put Muhamed Ali, its ruler, to death, with most of his family, and in the end, as we have said, became sovereign of Mawaralnahr.

This sketch will serve, not merely to show the present condition and power of Bokhara, but to illustrate the character of its ruler, with reference to his treatment of the unfortunate Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Sir A. Burnes represented Nasr-Ullah as "ruling his subjects with a just and impartial hand;" but it is evident that Burnes formed a wrong estimate of his character, for he states that the Kush-beghi, or vizir, possessed great influence over him, "and, though chiefly indebted to him for his throne, the king entertains no dread of his power; he never leaves the citadel till his vizir is present to take charge of it, and will not receive his food at any other hands but those of his minister." It now appears that the Amir's behaviour towards the Kush-beghi was the result of deep dissimulation, and that this minister, though a man of talents and acquirements, liberal-minded, and unremitting in his attention to business, though a "worthy man," whom Burnes quitted "with a full heart," was sacrificed without compunction to the arbitrary policy of his hypocritical master.

In other respects, the report of Burnes does not tally very closely with that of Khanikoff; but the stay of the former in Bokhara was too short to admit of his collecting very accurate information.

Of the tribes which inhabit the Khanat, the Tajiks are considered the most ancient. They are said to have been the first immigrants from the west, who settled on the banks of the Zer-Affshan, when the site of Bokhara was a reedy marsh, the haunt of wild animals. The Tajiks were subjugated by the Arabs, in the first century of the Hejra; the weak rule of the Samanides was superseded in the tenth century by that of the Uzbeks, who, in their turn, were conquered by the Moghul hordes in the twelfth century, though the Uzbeks subsequently recovered their superiority, and are still the predominant race in Bokhara. The oldest branch of the Uzbeks is that of Mangit, to which the Kush-beghi belonged, and the family of the reigning dynasty. Of the Tajiks, there is but a remnant left; they form the chief population of the city of Bokhara. The Uzbeks are of three classes,—settled, agricultural, and nomadic. Our author can say but little in favour of the morality of either Tajiks or Uzbeks, except that the former are more "straight-forward," and hence commit with less compunction rapine, plunder,

and murder. "Out of thirty-five culprits, who were executed by order of the Amír, during our eight months' stay at Bokhara," says M. Khanikoff, "the majority were Uzbeks guilty of one of those crimes." Very few are taught to read or write, though they are zealous fanatics. The Arabs are somewhat more numerous than the Tajiks; besides these, there are Persians (principally slaves), Jews, who have been long established in the Khanat, though subjected to great oppression and indignity; a race supposed by our author to be of Gypsy origin; Kirghiz and Karakalpaks. The population is thus formed of heterogeneous elements, which can never amalgamate, some being directly hostile to the existing government and ruling race.

The city of Bokhara has 360 streets and lanes, few of which are paved. The palace of the Amír is built on a mound, and within its area are the houses of the principal ministers, mosques, and prisons. Amongst the latter is the dreadful Kana-khaneh, so called from the swarms of ticks purposely nourished there to torture the wretched prisoners. This is the place, called improperly the "Pit of Scorpions," into which our unhappy countrymen were plunged. The mosques are 360 in number. The medressahs, or colleges, of which there are 103, are not remarkable for their architecture; they contain from 9,000 to 10,000 students. There are 38 caravanse-rais, 16 principal baths, and 45 bazars, or rather collections of shops. The private dwellings are all built on the same plan, consisting of one or more courts, surrounded by mud buildings, generally one story high, and flat-roofed. The inner walls are sometimes plastered with stucco; the windows, which are unglazed, open generally into the inner court. The rooms of the most opulent are not decorated, except that the walls are covered with fretwork in alabaster. The ceiling generally consists of beams laid across, with an interval between, and joined by small longitudinal planks fixed to each other, and painted in gaudy colours, the beams being covered with gold paper, or clay painted with indigo. The floors are either paved, or coated with clay. The rooms of the less opulent are filthy, damp, and unwholesome. The population of the city M. Khanikoff estimates at between 60,000 and 70,000.

The particulars he gives of the city of Samarcand, though very slight, are, perhaps, more interesting, since Burnes was unable to visit the place, which he describes only from report. It is a walled town, with six gates, forming a regular quadrangle, with citadel, towers, and embrasures, in good repair. The dimensions of the modern city are larger than those of Bokhara (though much of the

inclosed space consists of gardens) ; but the ground covered by the city in former times was still more considerable, as the ruins of the old wall are at some distance on the west, and on the north, the whole space between the town and the banks of the Zer-Affshan is strewn with ruins. The citadel is very considerable ; in it is the "blue stone" on which every new khan sits upon his inauguration. The tomb of Timur still remains. It is a high octagonal edifice, surmounted by an elevated dome ; the interior consists of two apartments, in the first of which the sepulchral monument is placed. The floor is paved with white marble slabs ; the walls are ornamented with inscriptions from the *Koran*, and some of the gilding is still in good preservation. In the centre of the second apartment stands, on a marble pedestal, surrounded by a grating, the monumental stone of Timur, of dark green, well-polished, having the form of a four-cornered truncated pyramid, three feet high, and five or six feet long, set upon its narrow end. There are three medressehs, or colleges, in Samarcand, erected by Timur ; one of them formed the observatory of Ulug-beghi. They were fine buildings, and had formerly high minars at the four corners ; but are now nearly ruined. The porcelain walls are wrought in mosaic, and attract the eye by their variegated colours. The interior of the mosques which belong to the medressehs still retain vestiges of their former magnificence ; the lapis lazuli and gilding are in some places bright, though the latter is chiefly gilt paper. A medressch, with mosques, built by the wife of Timur, a daughter of an emperor of China, and a tomb of the Khanum, still remain. The population of Samarcand, stated by Burnes to be 9,000, is estimated by M. Khanikoff at 25,000 or 30,000 ; but he gives no account of the dwellings, the general aspect of the city, or the habits and manners of the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the great number of institutions for education in Bokhara, and of the works which are studied there (amounting to 137), real knowledge seems to be backward. Every medressch has a fixed number of students, under the tuition of one or two professors, who give lectures. Each student purchases the right to reside at the medressch from the person whose place he takes, and where he may live all his life, unless he marries, as women are excluded. The scholars prepare themselves for the lectures in their own apartments, and sometimes discuss the subject together in the porch, before they proceed to the lecture. The professor makes one of them read a few sentences, and after expressing his own opinion, listens to the observations of his pupils, who dispute upon the subject, and

finally the professor sums up the whole argument. The sciences taught at Bokhara are of three classes ; legal or theological ; philological, relating to the Arabic language ; and the science of "worldly wisdom," which includes logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. But, though the cycle of sciences seems large, the want of a good primary education is a radical defect, which is never cured. "The mind, bound in chains, at the earliest period, by being forced to learn by heart without understanding any thing, is subsequently exercised on points of theology alone." Such education gives a man a limited ingenuity, without common sense or real knowledge, strengthening fanaticism and hardening error. "There is not one well-educated man in Bokhara," our author says, "if education or civilization consist in a certain development of mind and feeling."

M. Khanikoff has furnished full details respecting the government of the Khanat, its commerce and industry, as well as its topography and natural history ; but there is an omission in his work for which we cannot satisfactorily account. Although he was at Bokhara during the captivity of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and apparently at the time of their execution, and although (p. 98) he states that he corrected the latitude of the city, as reported by Sir A. Burnes, "with the assistance of Colonel Stoddart," he has not once alluded to the fate of these officers. The omission must be intentional ; but the motive it is not easy to assign.

FROM HAKĪM SANĀ'Ī.

چه مُسلمان چه گُبر بر در او

چه کُنِشت و چه صومعه بر او

گُبر و ترسا و نیکو و معیوب

همگان طالبند و او مطلوب

SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN.

THE last number (the third) of the *Calcutta Review* contains a valuable article upon the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, whom it relieves from the censure which was supposed to have attached to him for his conduct in the Affghan expedition, and especially in the transactions at Cabul, which had so melancholy an issue. We think it but just to his memory to insert this article :—

It was long a subject of complaint with the British residents in India, that an empire which embraced the interests of a hundred millions of people, and yielded a revenue of twenty millions sterling a year, excited so little interest in the country to which it belonged. It was marked with regret, that the most petty parish squabble in the neighbourhood of London obtained greater attention than the most momentous political occurrence in India. But this feeling of indifference began to wear away when it was announced that the security of this distant empire was menaced by the intrigues which a great European power had gradually pushed on to its very threshold. This new-born interest, which was coincident in point of time with the establishment of a regular monthly communication by steam with England, was deepened by the intelligence which successively reached our native land of the bold measures which the local government had adopted to meet this new danger; of the despatch of a grand army beyond the Indus to regions of which the very name was unknown; of the installation of Shah Soojah, and of the flight and eventual surrender of Dost Mahomed. But the interest was increased to a degree of the most painful intensity, when the mail conveyed the melancholy tidings that our Envoy had been murdered and a British army of five thousand men annihilated by the insupportable rigours of winter, and the weapons of hostile Affghans. Every account of this great national calamity was of course welcomed with eagerness; and as disaster is commonly supposed to originate in misconduct, those narratives which reflected most severely on the delinquencies of the chief actors in these scenes, obtained a pre-eminent share of public attention. Works, which a quarter of a century hence, when truth has triumphed over exaggeration, will be referred to only as evidence of the credulity of the community when its passions have been excited, were welcomed with more than usual avidity.

The officers who had been selected by government for political employment in that country, on account of their ability and experience, were held up by public writers—and by none more virulently than by Mr. Masson—to public detestation as the basest of mankind. By far the greater number of the public servants he calumniated had descended to a premature and bloody grave before these imputations on their character appeared. The work was therefore published with apparent impunity. In one instance, however, a successful attempt has been made to rescue one of Mr. Masson's victims from the infamy to which his memory had been consigned. Dr. Buist has triumphantly refuted the charges brought against Sir Alexander Burnes by this writer, and exposed the worthlessness of his testimony. In defending the character of one, Dr. Buist has, in effect, thrown a shield over the character of all the political officers employed across the Indus, so far as they could be affected by the slanders of a man whom he has shewn to be so utterly unworthy of credit. In this category will of course be included the reputation of Sir William Macnaghten, which

Mr. Masson has assailed with peculiar virulence. Indeed, the vindictive feelings which are so manifest in his notices of this eminent public servant, more especially when in alluding "to the subsequent career, and miserable end of this functionary," he exclaims, "*Grand Dieu, tes jugemens sont pleins d'équité,*" are of themselves almost a sufficient antidote to his slanders; for truth is utterly incompatible with such feelings. But Sir William's whole career in the public service, and more especially his conduct in Afghanistan, is the most appropriate and decisive refutation of the calumnies which have been heaped on him. We are disposed, therefore, to think that a more acceptable service could scarcely be rendered to the public, and to those who feel an interest in his reputation, than to place in their proper light the proceedings of one, who, partly from the force of circumstances, and partly from the strength of his own character, has obtained so prominent a place in the public eye. In the following brief narrative of his public career, we have availed ourselves freely of the fragments of his own correspondence which escaped the wreck at Cabool, and which have been kindly placed at our disposal.

William Hay Macnaghten, the second son of Sir Francis Macnaghten, for many years one of the judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, was born in the month of August, 1793. He was sent at an early age to the Charter House, where he was contemporary with some who have since risen to great eminence in England. He came to India, at the age of sixteen, in September, 1809, as a cavalry cadet on the Madras establishment. Shortly after his arrival, he was appointed to do duty with the body-guard of the governor of Madras, in whose family he continued to reside for some months. From the earliest period of his Indian career, his mind was eagerly bent on the pursuit of Oriental literature; and he devoted the leisure of his easy appointment to the study of Hindoostanee and Persian. In May, 1811, he obtained the prize of 500 pagodas, which was held out to the junior officers of the army, as an encouragement to the study of Hindoostanee. There was no reward appointed at that time for the successful study of Persian; but with the view of establishing his qualifications for employment in the political department, to which his aspirations were directed, he passed a satisfactory examination in that language. Soon after he was appointed to a cornetcy in the 4th cavalry, then stationed at Hyderabad, and in June, 1811, he proceeded to join his corps. He remained with it for nearly a year, during which time he was invited to join the resident, Mr. Henry Russell, in his visits to the Nizam and his ministers, and thus obtained an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the policy and feelings of native courts. Being desirous of acquiring some knowledge of mathematics, he was permitted, about the middle of 1812, to join the institution founded by Lord William Bentinck for imparting instruction in that department of science, and made considerable progress in it, under the tuition of Captain Troyer. Six months after he had entered on this study, he proceeded on survey duty, and returned to Madras on its completion, and continued his studies in the Institution for six months longer. During this period government offered a prize of 500 pagodas for eminent proficiency in Persian, and he passed a second examination in it, and secured the reward. About the middle of 1813, he joined the escort of the Honourable Mr. Cole, the resident of Mysore. He had already made some progress in a knowledge of the Tamul and Teloo-goo languages, and he now embraced the opportunity of his residence in Mysore to add to them an acquaintance with the Canarese and Mahratta tongues. Shortly after his arrival at the Residency, he was

employed by Mr. Cole in the capacity of a political assistant, though not formally recognized as such by government—but he was now to quit the Madras presidency, and enter upon another sphere of employment.

About the middle of 1814, he received an appointment to the Bengal civil service. He arrived in Calcutta with the most flattering testimonials from the governor of Madras and from Mr. Cole. The chief secretary at that Presidency was instructed to "notify the appointment to the governor of Bengal, and at the same time to enclose the honourable testimonies of the proficiency of Mr. Macnaghten in the Hindoostanee and Persian languages, and also to forward letters of a similar tendency from the resident at Mysore, under whom Mr. Macnaghten had been employed." Mr. Cole's letter, coming as it did from one who was so well qualified to judge of merit, and who had enjoyed the best opportunities of estimating Mr. Macnaghten's attainments, must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. It ran thus:—"Mr. Macnaghten, having received information of his appointment to the Bengal civil service, and being consequently about to leave the situation in my family, to which he lately stood appointed, I consider it to be an act of justice to this gentleman to submit to government a testimony of his merit and diligent conduct since I have had the assistance of his service at this Residency. Mr. Macnaghten has continued to employ himself in the acquirement of Oriental literature, and has made a considerable and practical progress in the Mahratta and Canarese languages, and I am sure will always prove himself deserving of the utmost confidence and support. Were it not, therefore, for the benefit which he will experience by this change, I should most sensibly regret to be deprived of his valuable services."

He arrived in Calcutta, in October 1814, and entered upon the study of Oriental literature, with a degree of assiduity which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed. It is scarcely necessary to say that, with the knowledge he brought with him, and his habits of intense application, he soon became one of the most distinguished students in the college of Fort William. The government of the country was then in the hands of Lord Hastings, who took a particular interest in the credit and usefulness of that institution, and made it his business to foster the rising talent which it developed. It would be tedious to detail the various public encomiums which Mr. Macnaghten received for the successful study of the Oriental languages; and it may be sufficient to observe that he received, at different times, six degrees of honour, and ten medals of merit, in addition to rewards and prizes of books, for his proficiency. At the sixteenth anniversary of the college, Lord Hastings, in noticing Mr. Macnaghten's exertions, stated, that "there was not a language taught in the college in which he had not earned the highest distinctions which the government or the college could bestow." From a careful examination of the annals of the college, it may be safely asserted, that no student ever earned greater distinction by the depth and variety of his attainments, and that if it were required to point to any one name as the brightest ornament of that Institution, there are few who would hesitate to fix upon that of Macnaghten.

On quitting the college, in May, 1816, he was placed as an assistant to the register in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the highest Court of Appeal in the Presidency—an appointment eminently calculated to improve and mature his knowledge of the languages and laws of the country, and in which some of the most distinguished servants of government, Butterworth Bayley,

Thoby Prinsep, Robert Bird, Holt Mackenzie, James Sutherland, and James Thomason also began their public career. The subsequent abolition of this office cannot be reckoned among the improvements of our administration. In November, 1818, he was deputed to officiate as joint magistrate of Malda, and continued there a twelvemonth. In February, 1820, he was appointed to act in the higher capacity of judge and magistrate of Shahabad, and during the two years of his incumbency afforded the greatest satisfaction both to the inhabitants and his superiors, as the following testimonial will shew :—" The reported excellent state of Shahabad is consistent with what his lordship in Council always anticipated from the services of Mr. Macnaghten, and has afforded government much satisfaction." He now returned to Calcutta, as deputy-register of the Sudder Court, to which he was appointed in January, 1822, and in the course of the year requested that a committee might be appointed to examine him in Hindoo and Mahomedan law. The reports of its members, Captain Lockett and Mr. Lumsden in the latter, and Dr. Carey, Dr. H. H. Wilson, and Captain Price in the former, speak in the warmest terms of the extraordinary proficiency he had evinced during a very searching examination. We need not load this article with a transcript of these testimonials ; it will be sufficient to quote the flattering mention made of Mr. Macnaghten by the Marquess of Hastings, in the last address which that statesman delivered to the College of Fort William :—" For these distinctions a successful candidate has recently presented himself, and enrolled a name already honourably familiar in the annals, and associated with the best eras and efforts of the Institution. Mr. William Macnaghten has shewn, in his bright example, that even amidst the engrossing duties of public station, industry can command the leisure, and genius confer the power, to explore the highest regions of Oriental literature, and to unravel the intricacies of Oriental law. The committee of examination appointed to report on that gentleman's proficiency in the study of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law, have expressed a very high opinion of his attainments, and have pronounced him eminently qualified to consult, in the original, any work on the subject. It is true, indeed, that his labours have been prosecuted beyond the walls of this Institution ; but within them was the foundation laid on which Mr. Macnaghten has reared so noble a superstructure. The parent source, therefore, of his knowledge and of his success may justly assert its pride in his matured eminence." Within a fortnight after this commendation, on the 5th of September, 1822, he was gazetted as register of the Sudder Dewanny, within six years after he had quitted the college.

This important appointment he continued to hold for eight years and a half. The same extraordinary diligence which had raised him to public distinction, was now exhibited in discharging the duties of the office with which he was rewarded. In addition to the daily labours of the court, he was enabled to carry through the press three volumes of the reports of decided cases. The reports, which had been allowed to run into arrears, he was enabled to bring up almost to the date of publication. Of the cases published, more than two-thirds were reported by himself. They are remarkable for their fulness and accuracy, and are considered a standard authority on all legal questions to which they refer. They enjoy the same reputation in our local courts which the most esteemed and authentic reports do in the courts at home. While occupying this station, he employed his knowledge of Sungskrit and Arabic for the benefit of the public, and compiled two works, the one *Considerations on Hindoo Law*, the other on *Mahomedan Law*, which have proved eminently

useful in abridging and guiding the labours of the judges. These monuments of his erudition and industry will long continue to render his memory grateful to all who are employed at the bar or on the bench in this country.

At the close of 1830, Lord William Bentinck determined to make a tour through the Upper and Western Provinces, for the facility of examining many questions of great interest and importance relative to the revenue, the police, and the judicial system, and more particularly to expedite the survey and settlement of the north-west provinces. He was anxious to take the council and the secretariat with him, with the view of establishing a government on the spot, and discussing and deciding the important questions which pressed on the attention of the public authorities. But it was discovered that the letter as well as the spirit of the law was opposed to such a proceeding, and that the powers of the Governor-General in Council could only be exercised in Calcutta. The new charter, which was soon afterwards passed, provided for such a contingency, and enabled the Governor-General to proceed on deputation to any part of the presidency with the full powers of the council-board, except in matters of legislation. Lord William Bentinck was constrained, therefore, to proceed on his tour without any other assistance than that of an intelligent secretary, and it reflects no small credit on Mr. Macnaghten that he should have been selected by so excellent a judge of character for his confidential adviser, in the circle of difficult and important duties on which he was about to enter. Mr. Macnaghten's political career, through which he reached the highest distinction open to the ambition of the civil service in about eleven years, may be said to have commenced in January, 1831. He accompanied the Governor-General in his progress through the provinces, and assisted at the investigations and deliberations which then took place. He afterwards went with his lordship, as the official secretary, to the meeting with Runjeet Sing at Roopur, where he obtained his first insight into the mysteries of Lahore policy. This training in the school of one of the greatest statesmen ever employed in the Indian administration, was eminently beneficial to Mr. Macnaghten in his subsequent career, and it placed him at once in the foremost rank of political functionaries. On the return of Lord William Bentinck to the presidency, at the beginning of 1833, Mr. Macnaghten was entrusted with the secret and political departments, and continued to occupy this post in the secretariat both of the government of India and of Bengal, for more than four years.

Lord Auckland succeeded to the Government of India in March, 1836, and in October, 1837, proceeded on a tour to the north-west provinces. He resolved to take with him the individual in whom his predecessor had reposed confidence on a similar occasion; and it would have been difficult to point out any individual, with the exception of Mr. Prinsep, better qualified from his knowledge of the internal machinery of the Government, and its political relations with subordinate or independent states, to give his lordship sound and salutary advice. In October, 1837, he left Calcutta, which he was never destined to revisit, but in which he was to find a melancholy but honourable grave. He proceeded to Simlah in the suite of the Governor-General. In the following year, Lord Auckland deemed it necessary to despatch the expedition across the Indus, to avert the dangers which appeared to menace the empire from the machinations of Russia, and the hostile movements of Persia; and he entrusted the political management of it to Mr. Macnaghten, in the capacity of envoy and minister to his Majesty Shah Soujah. It was in connection with this enterprise, which opened with the most brilliant success, but was subse-

quently marked by the most signal disasters, that he has obtained so conspicuous a place in the history of India; and it is upon his conduct in this difficult and responsible post that his character as a public man hinges. In this personal memoir, we do not profess to enter upon the broad and much debated ground of the political expediency or justice of the expedition, which involves so great a variety of considerations. Our object is limited to the individual conduct of the Envoy, in this new and untrodden path, during the last three years of his life. But as he is well known to have approved of the policy which led Government to provide for the security of India by sending an army into Afghanistan, and was probably among those who suggested it, his official character is, to a considerable degree, implicated in the origin as well as the progress of that measure; and the present sketch of his public life would be incomplete if we were to avoid all reference to the political events on both sides of the Indus which preceded that resolution.

The year 1839 was marked by a deplorable change in the feelings of our own subjects, and of the princes of India, towards our authority. The confidence they had been accustomed to repose in the permanence of our supremacy was displaced by a feverish anxiety, which was accompanied by an evident impatience of it. The relations between the governed and their rulers, and between the princes of India and our Government, were violently disturbed. A general opinion began to pervade the minds of our own subjects that the empire was about to be assailed by an overwhelming force from the regions beyond the Indus, under the guidance of an invincible power. For eight hundred years India had been overrun by successive expeditions from Central Asia. All the revolutions in its Government, from the days of Mahmood of Ghuzni to those of Nadir Shah, had originated across the Indus. Another expedition from the same cradle of commotions was immediately expected; and it was supposed that our government, although it had triumphed over all opposition within the Indus, would be unable to stand the shock of this new irruption. At the beginning of the present century, the invasion of India was attempted by Zeman Shah, the King of Cabool; and Lord Wellesley, in his despatches to the Court of Directors on that occasion, described it as having "created the strongest sensation throughout India;" and affirmed, that "every Mahomedan, even in the remotest region of the Deccan, waited with anxious expectation for the advance of the champion of Islam." In the year 1838 the same hope was revived throughout the land, and the Mahomedan press began to assume a tone of treasonable defiance. The Persian journals, published in Calcutta and in Behar, were filled with the most open and scandalous abuse of the *Kafirs*; the British Government was threatened with an irruption of two or three hundred thousand true believers from the other side of the Indus, under the direction of the irresistible Russians, and all good Musulmans were called on to prepare themselves for the crisis which was to transfer the sceptre of India to the followers of the Prophet. A general feeling of mistrust was rapidly spread through the country, and with it was combined, in many instances, that longing for a change which all conquered nations are apt to indulge in, partly from an undefined hope of benefit, and partly from a feeling of envy. In the "remotest Deccan," according to the testimony of the late Edward Bannerman, the natives began to bury their jewels and money in the ground. Burmah and Nepal openly threatened invasion; and at this latter court, the astrologers were sent to ascertain the period indicated by the planetary movements for the termination of our rule.

The public securities, which in India as in England form the gauge of public confidence in existing institutions, were palpably affected by these rumours.

This universal panic was occasioned by the siege of Herat by the Persians, under the guidance of Russia, and the avowed declaration so industriously propagated, that it was the precursor of a larger expedition for the conquest of India. The attitude assumed by the princes of Central Asia towards the British Government served to increase the ferment. The designs of Russia in the East had for more than thirty years been an object of solicitude to our political authorities both at home and in India. It was universally believed, by men of all parties, that the movements of Russian policy in Asia were directed against the tranquillity, if not the existence, of our eastern empire. No one was perhaps so silly as to expect that a Russian army would be able to march from the Caspian to Calcutta with the encumbrances of modern warfare, and plant the Muscovite standard on the ramparts of Fort William; but it was evident that Russia was feeling her way to the Indus, and gradually consolidating her influence through Central Asia, with the ultimate view of being able to form a combination of its various chiefs against our power in India, whenever Russia and England might be brought into collision in Europe. Within the present century she had advanced her frontier a thousand miles nearer India, and had already succeeded in establishing a paramount influence over the Persian Court; and a Persian army was laying siege to Herat, under Russian influence, in the very teeth of our remonstrances. The British envoy in Persia had pressed on our rulers the danger of permitting the city to fall a prey to the Persians, because this would have advanced Russian influence still further toward India, and endangered the tranquillity of our eastern empire.

While these apprehensions were yet comparatively remote, Lord Auckland was forming plans for the extension of British commerce in the regions of Central Asia, and had deputed Capt. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes to Cabool, to examine and report on the commercial capabilities of that and surrounding states. He was encountered by a Russian envoy at Cabool, who had come to enlist Dost Mahomed in the confederation of states west of the Indus. In his letter dated July the 5th, on the Indus, Capt. Burnes says, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs, to judge of what was to be done hereafter,—but the hereafter has already arrived, and I have all but deserted my ledger for treaties and politics." While he was moving up the Indus, the Affghans took advantage of the opportunity which presented itself, by the withdrawal of a great part of Runjeet's army on the frontier for the sake of display on the marriage of Nou Nihal and the visit of Sir Henry Fane at Lahore, and defeated the Seikhs at Peshawur. Runjeet Sing, with his vast resources of men and money, was little likely to brook this reverse, and he was preparing to chastise the aggressors. At this critical period, Capt. Burnes presented himself at Cabool as our accredited agent, and was cordially received by the Dost, who is said to have fallen into our views. His commission was limited to commercial negotiations, and a promise of protecting the Affghans from the further aggressions of the Seikhs, on condition that the tribes west of the Khyber would engage not to appear as aggressors. It had been framed without any view of immediate danger from Russia. But on his arrival at that city he learned the full extent to which Russian diplomacy had been carried, and the views with which Russia was urging on the siege of Herat.

"In pushing on Persia to Herat," says he, "the Emperor but insinuates his own power in the very direction he desires. But for our deputation at the time it happened, the house we occupy would have been tenanted by a Russian agent and Persian Elchee." Notwithstanding the deputation, however, his apprehensions were confirmed by the sudden apparition of a Russian envoy. On the 20th of December he communicated to the Governor-General "the very extraordinary piece of intelligence that an agent direct from the Emperor of Russia had arrived in Cabool on the preceding day." On the 9th of January he wrote to a friend "We are in a mess here. Herat is besieged, and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Cabool to offer Dost Mahomed money to fight Runjeet Singh. I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Capt. Vicovitch, for that is the agent's name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to me. The Ameer came over to me, and offered to do as I liked, kick him out, or any thing, but I stood too much in fear of Vattel, &c... The chiefs of Candahar are gone over to Persia. I have detached them, and offered them British protection and *cash*, if they would recede and Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar, when the Government tell me an attack on Herat would be most unpalatable?"

This startling intelligence of the extension of Russian outrage from Herat to Candahar, and from Candahar to Cabool, to the very threshold of our empire, was immediately communicated to Lord Auckland; and his Lordship was soon after informed, that the despatches of our ambassador in Persia, communicated to Captain Burnes through the Bombay Government, "proved all previous conjectures to be well-founded, and that M. Vicovitch was what he had given himself out, an agent from the Emperor of Russia." "The necessity," he adds, "for a good understanding with this chief (the Dost) has thus become more apparent as the dangers from such an alliance are no longer imaginary, but fairly developed." Lord Auckland, however, was neither prepared to enlist the chiefs of Afghanistan in our interest by money, nor to march an army across the Indus and put an end to these intrigues. Captain Burnes was sharply rebuked for having wholly, without authority, taken on himself the grave responsibility of promising the Candahar chiefs his own presence with their troops, and promising aid from the British Government. He had stated that our offer of mediation with Runjeet Singh was treated slightly by Dost Mahomed, who declared that he had no apprehensions in that direction. To this his Lordship replied, that the Dost's own applications to every quarter open to him for succour against the danger, manifested the alarm which he himself entertained: that the immense resources of Runjeet would enable him at any time to consummate at least the ruin of Dost Mahomed; and that the offer of our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory, was the utmost demand we could make on Runjeet Singh. The most important part of this despatch, however, is contained in the following sentence: "Positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the westward by arms or subsidies, have not been contemplated by his Lordship. . . . Not to speak of the exceeding inconvenience of political engagements at a distance so great from our own resources, these measures might raise questions of serious national difficulty, which ought, if possible, to be reserved for the unfettered consideration of the Government of England." There can be no doubt that when the first report of the danger from Russian intrigue, which had been thus unexpectedly brought to our own doors, came under discussion,

the project of a military demonstration, in connection with Shah Soojah, was mentioned among the remedies which might be resorted to; but it was at once rejected by Lord Auckland as too hazardous; and the temporary or rather temporizing expedient was adopted of simply offering to guarantee Dost Mahomed from all further aggression on the part of the Seikhs in the east, in return for which he was expected to refrain from all intercourse with the powers to the west. An Afghan war was debated and negatived. Captain Burnes was directed to suggest to the Ameer, that if the Russian envoy had not already gone from Cabool, he should be dismissed with courtesy; and to state distinctly that if the Dost should seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any kind of political intercourse with him, his (Captain Burnes's) mission would retire; that our good offices with the Seikhs would wholly cease, and that such an act would be considered as a direct breach of friendship with the British Government.

This communication, as might naturally have been expected, was any thing but satisfactory to the Ameer, who, though he had offered to "kick out" the Russian Envoy on the 11th of December, had allowed him to remain in Cabool to the 5th of March, the date of Capt. Burnes's reply, "to make use of him against us." Dost Mahomed, though well affected to the British Government, and much more anxious for the honour and advantage of its alliance than for any connection with remoter allies, was ill disposed to meet the Governor-General upon the basis of the terms offered. As the price of his adherence to us, he claimed British support as a means of protection from the west, and he demanded the restoration of Peshawur, which had in strict truth never belonged to him, having been left, on the ultimate partition of the Dooranee empire, to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, by whom it was ceded to the Seikhs, he becoming by treaty their feudatory. It became evident to Captain Burnes that without these concessions we could not "carry his heart with us." The Ameer was also mortified to find, that when the importance of his position in "Afghanistan, the door of India (*durwajuh-i Hind*)," was rendered so manifest by the solicitations of the Russian Cabinet through its Envoy, the Governor-General should look with indifference (*be purwae*) to any connection with the Afghan nation. One of the first individuals whose counsel he sought, advised that he should take the British Government at its word, and dismiss its agent, as there was nothing to be expected from his presence in Cabool. But the Ameer had not yet made up his mind between a Russian and an English alliance. Nightly meetings were held in the Bala-Hissar; and "the Ameer on more than one occasion gave vent to very strong expressions both as to his future proceedings and his disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by government regarding him." Captain Burnes also informed Lord Auckland, that there was little "hope of establishing a friendly connection with him on the terms proposed by government, and that if it could be brought about, before a change of opinion took place, the friendship would be delusive, and that no dependence could be placed on the chief." Every man at all acquainted with the oriental character must perceive, that after the arrival of a Russian Envoy, with the most direct offers of assistance for combating Runjeet Sing, and after Dost Mahomed's mind had thus been inflated by the brilliant prospect of conquests beyond the Indus, the repetition of the meagre proposal which we made before the arrival of the envoy was known, and which assured the Dost of nothing beyond protection against further aggression, must have appeared in his eyes contemptible. We question

whether an European monarch would have hesitated so long as the Dost did between the parties. At length, however, he made up his mind to accept the higher offers of Russia. "The game is up," says Captain Burnes, writing from Peshawur, the 8th May; "the Russians gave me the *coup de grace*, and I could hold no longer at Cabool, so I have fallen back on Peshawur, where I arrived on the 4th. Our government would do nothing, but the secretary of the Russian Legation, M. Goutt, came down with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wiggled for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged of course to give in." And thus ended Capt. Burnes's ill fated mission, which was sent in search of commerce, and brought back war.

The retirement, under such circumstances, of Capt. Burnes threw the government of India into a state of embarrassment. Far better would it have been that he had not made his appearance at Cabool, than that he should be obliged to retire by the preponderance of Russian influence and intrigue. We believe it was much about the time when news of the disastrous termination of the mission reached Lord Auckland, that he received the despatches of the ministry at home, urging the most vigorous measures to counteract the machinations of Russia, and advising that the danger which menaced our Indian empire should be warded off by our Indian resources of men and money. His Lordship had now, therefore, the resolutions which had been formed by the "unfettered consideration" of the government in England, and began to contemplate "those positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the eastward by our arms or subsidies," from which he had turned with alarm five months before. The door of reconciliation with Dost Mahomed had been closed by the retirement of Captain Burnes, and to have revived our negotiations with him would only have served to heighten his vanity, to induce him to rise in his demands, and give him additional reasons for "making use of the Russian Envoy against us." It would have been tantamount to putting up the peace and security of our empire to auction, to be knocked down to the highest bidder. The coincidence, in point of time, of Capt. Burnes's return, with the arrival of advices from home, characterized doubtless by Lord Palmerston's usual vigour, led to the renewed consideration of the plan for establishing a British influence at Cabool by the restoration of Shah Soojah; and the expedition of Affghanistan was resolved on.

It is no part of the duty we have undertaken to enter on a defence of this unfortunate expedition, which proved the grave of our treasure, our army, and our national honour. But those who took a share in suggesting it,—and more especially the subject of this article,—are entitled to an equitable consideration of the circumstances in which they were called to act, and of the motives which regulated their conduct. It is always deemed a matter of historical justice, when the merits of those who have taken the lead in public affairs in past ages are examined, to give due weight to the circumstances, the feelings, and the impulses of the times. Equity demands that the benefit of the same principle should be extended to those who have been entrusted with the direction of public measures in our own day, and that the fullest regard should be paid to the circumstances upon which they are thrown, and the inevitable influence of those events on their judgment. There can be no hesitation in saying that the expedition was injudicious and hazardous. Had those who were at the head of affairs at the time been as fully apprized of the natural difficulties of the

country, of the impossibility of marching a Russian army and its commissariat to the Indus, and of the state of public feeling in Afghanistan, as we are, they would never have adopted the alternative of this expedition. But, in 1839, the danger to our Indian empire from the combination which Russia had succeeded in effecting among the powers of Central Asia, appeared most imminent and pressing; and the means adopted to avert it were such as seemed, on the maturest contemplation, to be most suitable to the emergency, and best calculated to roll back the advancing tide of invasion, and to revive the confidence of our subjects and the princes of India. It was supposed that the present attempt to establish Russian influence in the neighbourhood of the Indus could in no way be so effectually and so conclusively counteracted, as by establishing a Government at Cabool which should be firm to our own interests. We might have bought off Dost Mahomed from the Russian alliance by subsidies; but this would have afforded us no certainty that he would always be proof against higher allurements from St. Petersburg. And probably it appeared in the light of a degradation, that the empire, which we had won by our statesmanship and valour, should owe its tranquillity to the forbearance of a mercenary chief, whom we were required to keep in good humour by the punctuality of our payments. The peace of the country must always, it was supposed, be insecure while it continued to be the subject of hucksterage with the prince who held the gates of India. When once we had begun to purchase his favour by subsidies, we gave him an advantage over us, which he must have been a fool not to use for the extortion of larger subsidies under the threat of admitting another Russian envoy. It was felt that the security of our empire would be irrecoverably compromised whenever we were obliged, like the Emperors of Rome in its decline, to buy off the barbarians on our frontier. Neither was it exactly in accordance with our national spirit, to wait calmly till we were invaded, and to sit down on the banks of the Indus with an army of fifty thousand men in expectation of our enemies. It was natural that we should determine to do as we had always hitherto done in India,—carry the war at once beyond our own territories, and anticipate the design of our opponents. The effect on the minds of our own subjects, and of the princes in our alliance within the Indus, of a bold course of policy was not perhaps without its weight on those who were responsible for the peace of the empire. Had we averted aggression by subsidies, or even waited for the enemy on our frontier, the disaffected would probably have been emboldened rather than discouraged, and plots would have been multiplied. But the despatch of an army to the scene of intrigue and danger, was calculated to strike awe into the minds of all those who were speculating on our imbecility. The motives which dictated the expedition were therefore above suspicion. It was from no impulse of passion, from no lust of territorial aggrandizement, but simply to ward off a great national calamity, and secure the tranquillity of this empire, that we took up arms and marched into Afghanistan; and even the warmest and ablest of Tory advocates, the *Quarterly Review*, applauded, for once, the wisdom and spirit of its political opponents in thus endeavouring to meet the danger half-way, instead of waiting for its approach. And here we may be permitted to remark that the effect of this resolution was magical. It repressed at once the hostile expectations which the discontented had begun to cherish; it confounded the rulers who were waiting to take advantage of our weakness; it raised the public funds, and gave fresh assurance to those whose safety depended on our energy.

The measure which appeared to the public authorities at this crisis the most advisable for carrying this plan into effect was, the establishment of a government in Afghanistan bound to us by the ties of gratitude and a common interest, by the substitution of Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabool in the room of Dost Mahomed. The title of this latter chief to the government was inferior to that of the Shah. There were abundant proofs before our Government of the tyranny of Dost Mahomed; and it was asserted by officers who professed to know the country—and the assertion was supported by invitations to return from every chief of note, Newab Jubber Khan, the Dost's brother, at their head—that the legitimate monarch would be received with open arms by the Affghans. He had on one occasion attempted the recovery of his paternal throne without our aid; he had been joined by many chiefs of note, and was within a tittle of success. It was felt that Afghanistan in his hands would cease to be the theatre of intrigues against our power. On the political morality or turpitude of this measure there has been a wide diversity of opinion. It has been denounced with an energy almost amounting to ferocity on the one hand; on the other, it has been defended by a reference to the crisis of the times, to the magnitude of the danger, and to the general practice of states on all such emergencies. Having thus stated the circumstances under which the Affghan policy was adopted, without, however, attempting to pronounce an opinion on the propriety or impropriety of that policy, we take leave of the subject, with this simple remark, that the attack on Tippoo Sultan by Lord Wellesley, under circumstances nearly similar, was condemned at the time as severely as the expedition to Affghanistan, and by no one more inexorably than by the historian Mill; yet, in the evidence he gave before Parliament, we find the following singular assertion:—"I consider that we have nothing now between us and the most desirable frontier everywhere, but the territory of Runjeet Sing. If we were threatened on the north-west,—for example, by an invasion of the Russians,—we should, in self-defence, be obliged to take possession of the country to the foot of the hills, as we could not leave an intermediate space in which the enemy might establish themselves;"—that is, we should be obliged to take possession of the Punjab in self defence, whatever might be the sentiments of the ruler towards us! And thus have we been apparently acting in self-defence from the time when our factory was plundered and our public officers put to death by Suraja-Dowlah, till our factory has swelled into an empire, and our frontier fort now overlooks the Sutlege.

When the expedition had been determined on, Mr. Macnaghten was deputed to Lahore to conclude the tripartite treaty between Runjeet Sing, Shah Soojah, and the British Government. This was the first negotiation in which he had been employed, and the skill with which it was managed earned for him the warm commendation of the Governor-General. On his return, arrangements were made for the assemblage of an army, intended to raise the siege of Herat, and to accompany Shah Soojah to Cabool; the command of it was to be intrusted to Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief. While these military movements were in progress, it occurred to Lord Auckland that it would be necessary to place a minister at the court of the Shah to represent our interests, and to watch over the progress of events in Central Asia. Mr. Macnaghten was selected for this arduous duty. Some of the least scrupulous of the writers who have discussed Affghan politics have asserted that the expedition itself was undertaken to gratify Mr. Macnaghten's ambition, and to "get rid of him."

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the infamy which this charge reflects on the Envoy and the Governor-General is altogether gratuitous. The appointment of Mr. Macnaghten had not been fixed, as we learn from Capt. Buxton, on the 23d August,—that is, two months after the treaty had been completed. He says, "I believe the chief (Sir H. Fane) and Macnaghten will be made a commission; as for Macnaghten, he is secretary for all India, *pro tem*." Several eminent names suggested themselves to Lord Auckland for this post; but Mr. George Clerk was required to watch over the complicated web of Punjabee politics, and could not be spared. Col. Pottinger was not personally known to his Lordship; and it appeared necessary to employ on this difficult errand one who was in possession of the Governor-General's views of Central Asian policy, and to whom, from personal knowledge, he could intrust the completion of them with confidence. No man appeared fitter for this duty than Mr. Macnaghten. He was intimately acquainted with the native languages, and with the habits, and feelings, and policy of the natives. He was an officer of large experience in public affairs, and of sound judgment; and the caution of his natural disposition had been improved and matured by his connection with the prudent Lord William Bentinck. He had assisted at the discussions, which terminated in the resolution to make Afghanistan British, and he was fully master, to all appearance, of the various bearings of the question. A fitter agent could not have been selected. On the 1st of October he was gazetted as Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Soojah, and accompanied Lord Auckland to the great gathering of the troops at Ferozepore.

While the army was encamped there, it was announced that the Persians had raised the siege of Herat, and retired. It has been urged that the *casus belli* terminated with the relief of this place, and that if this event rendered it advisable to reduce the army by one half, it also pointed out the necessity of relinquishing the expedition altogether. Had the object of it been simply the relief of Herat, and the retrogression of the Persian bands, our army might have been disbanded with great propriety. But Government sought not simply temporary relief, but permanent security. The danger had blown over for a time, but it was not extinct. The disposition of the chiefs of Central Asia to entertain the proposals of our European rivals, and open or shut the gates of India to them as their offers might appear more or less tempting, was likely to be encouraged rather than checked by the important efforts we had deemed it necessary to make on the first appearance of a rival envoy. It still seemed advisable to extinguish these intrigues at once and for ever, by placing a monarch in our interest on the throne, and establishing a paramount influence throughout Afghanistan. Besides, there was a treaty already signed, sealed, and delivered, by which our Government was bound to assist in the restoration of the Shah, without any reference to the relief or capture of Herat. This treaty it would have been infamous to have violated. The army was, therefore, reduced in number, and sent out on its long and dreary march, through untrodden deserts and mountain defiles, to seat the Shah on the throne of his ancestors; and Mr. Macnaghten accompanied him as envoy and minister. The military arrangements were modified. Sir W. Cotton was directed to march with the Bengal column to Sukker, and there to cross to the left bank of the Indus, over a bridge of boats, while Sir John Keane, who was appointed general-in-chief, moved up with the Bombay column from Kurrachee.

A more difficult and delicate office than that to which Mr. Macnaghten was now appointed has seldom been confided to a subordinate functionary in the

East. He was the chief political agent in an expedition sent on a hazardous errand, through unknown regions, where the military or political experience acquired in India could be of little avail. He was to accompany a prince, whom our presence was likely to render unpopular, through a country of the most impracticable character, which had been the grave of many previous expeditions, and to seat him on the throne of his ancestors. He was in a difficult position as to the people of the country, and in a still more difficult position as to the military authorities with whom he was associated. The diplomatic arrangements were placed in one hand, and the military direction of affairs in another. In these circumstances, it was scarcely possible that the two classes of offices should not come into collision, on the numerous occasions in which either negotiations were to regulate military movements, or those movements to assist negotiations. It required no small tact and temper to prevent the interruption of the object of the expedition by misunderstandings. Few expeditions have ever been despatched under the direction of co-ordinate authorities, military, or naval, or diplomatic, which have not been exposed to the risk of failure by dissensions; our recent enterprises in China and Afghanistan furnish no exception to this rule. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that, in an expedition of so peculiar a character as that in Afghanistan, discord should have early made its appearance. Unfortunately, on all occasions in which the military and political officers clash, it is the fashion to throw all the blame on the diplomatic functionary, and on his interference.

Mr. Macnaghten has been censured severely for meddling with Sir Willoughby Cotton's movement upon Hyderabad; but it must not be forgotten that, in this instance, it was not with arrangements strictly military that he interfered. He protested against the diversion of the force from the great object of the expedition. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of an immediate and uninterrupted advance on Candahar; and the departure of Sir Willoughby towards Hyderabad, to assist Sir John Keane in an enterprise which it was believed he could accomplish single-handed, appeared an unnecessary sacrifice of a whole season. In his letter of the 6th February, 1839, he says:—"If Sir Willoughby's entire division is to move all the way down to Hyderabad, it is quite clear that it can take no part for the present season in the operations in Afghanistan." At the same time, he expressed himself with no little distrust:—"It is with diffidence I state my notions on this subject, but I feel that I am placed in a very responsible situation. I do not find that Sir John Keane has called for any support from this quarter."... "I can, therefore, have no hesitation in expressing the opinion I entertain. Sir W. Cotton will, I am sure (and I expect the same indulgence from Sir H. Fane, should his Excellency be with the army), pardon the freedom with which I have ventured to discuss topics not within my peculiar province, and will attribute my doing so to the earnest desire we all feel of contributing to advance the cause of our Government.... I have stated my political views, and in doing so have unavoidably touched upon matters not strictly within my province. I shall, of course, be freed from the responsibility if the major-general, on military grounds, should not think fit to adopt my suggestions."

These quotations will serve to shew the good feeling with which Mr. Macnaghten was actuated in these delicate circumstances. They also demonstrate that one great cause to which our expulsion from Afghanistan is to be attributed,—the defect, rather the non-existence, of any intelligence department,—was already in fatal operation. Sir W. Cotton actually made a diversion of

his troops towards Hyderabad without having received any orders from Sir John Keane. On the 25th January, he wrote from Roree to the Governor-General to say "that, in the absence of any intelligence from Sir John Keane, it had become absolutely necessary to consider how the *forces* under him could be disposed of most usefully to assist the pending negotiations of Sir John Keane at Cul. Pottinger. He had determined, therefore, upon making an immediate demonstration with the cavalry brigades, the horse artillery, Brigadier Sale's brigade, and the camel battery;" adding: "should Sir John not want us, we can countermarch." Sir Henry Fane, who was then with Sir W. Cotton's division, was greatly in favour of this movement. "My opinion," says he, "is, that a stronger demonstration be made towards Hyderabad." This was also the course which Sir John Keane himself directed, though his letters appear never to have reached either Sir Willoughby Cotton or Mr. Macnaghten; for, on the 6th February, Mr. Macnaghten writes:—"The state of our intelligence department is lamentable in the extreme. We are utterly ignorant of Sir John Keane's movements and motives,"—thirteen days after he had written for reinforcements,—“whether he is at Jurruk or Tutta, whether he has retreated, and if he has, whether from deficiency of means or to lead the enemy on; and we know nothing as to what the Ameers are doing, where they are, or what terms have been offered them.” It was in this state of uncertainty that he wrote to Mr. Colvin, on the 5th February, to say, "Sir Willoughby is clearly gone on a wild-goose chase. He cannot possibly, I think, be at Hyderabad under twenty-five days from this date, and he seems to be travelling by a route which has no road. He will soon, I fear, find himself in the jungle."

On the 6th February, Mr. Macnaghten received despatches from Lord Auckland, in which he stated his anxious desire that a portion of the Bengal army should be sent into Afghanistan, in support of the advance of Shah Soojah. Fortified by this opinion, the Envoy wrote in the most decisive language to Sir Willoughby:—"I therefore, in virtue of the powers vested in me by his Lordship, require you to furnish me with such a force as shall be sufficient to enable me to give effect to his Lordship's plans in Afghanistan. I have already urged in the strongest terms your crossing over to this side of the river with your whole force. Of Sir John Keane's army there can be no apprehension." These expressions gave great offence, and the matter was referred to the Governor-General, and his Lordship expressed himself not satisfied with the language of Mr. Macnaghten's communication. His reply to Lord Auckland throws much light on his character:—"It is needless now to occupy your Lordship's time with any attempt at a defence of my proceedings. My first wish is to gain your approbation; and I can safely say that I am no less solicitous than your Lordship to preserve the most perfect understanding with the military authorities. Of this I trust you will have been convinced by my subsequent correspondence. Nothing could have induced me to hazard a collision with the authorities but the overwhelming importance of the crisis which I (it now appears erroneously) thought was of such a nature as imperatively to require my interposition, believing, as I firmly did, and still do, that your Lordship's grand objects in Afghanistan were on the point of being defeated, without the existence of any emergency to justify the risk." At the same time he wrote to a friend:—"I fully expected the unqualified approbation of the Governor-General. In this I have been disappointed; but if I am to be blamed, do not charge me with that of which, on reference to my letter which you quote, you will find I am perfectly innocent. I repeat, that I never did

presume to use the language of *direction* in *military* matters, and that of my *counsel* in such matters I have been particularly chary, except upon one occasion. Excuse all this. You have ripped up an old sore, and it will run. * * *

We have dwelt more largely on this transaction, because it is the solitary instance we can find of Mr. Macnaghten's actual collision with the military authorities. The experience which he obtained on this occasion of the inflexibility of their disposition, enabled him, by his admirable tact and management, to prevent any further clashing of orders.

Several days, however, before this correspondence between Mr. Macnaghten and Sir Willoughby Cotton, our disputes with the Ameers of Scinde had been brought to a close, without any intimation of the approach of the Bengal column. On the 1st of February, they agreed to the terms dictated by the British Government, and the Bombay and Bengal contingents were at length at liberty to pursue the original objects of the expedition. The Bengal column reached Shikarpore on the 20th February, and led the way towards the Bolan Pass on the 23rd. The Shah's troops and camp did not move before the 7th of March. Although the army did not encounter the opposition of an enemy for four months and a half, till it reached Ghuzni, yet the hardships to which it was exposed, from the natural difficulties of this region of wild deserts and stupendous mountains, from the want of provisions and the loss of camels, were such as an Indian army had seldom, if ever, experienced before. The Envoy had no sooner broken ground at Shikarpore, than he learned that his hopes of provision and forage on the line of march were to be miserably disappointed. "Capt. Johnson," says he, writing from Wagun, "has just received the melancholy intelligence that not a grain of any sort had been laid in for us at Dadur." On reaching Baugh, he found that the necessity of using the green crops for the army had ruined the inhabitants. "Their crops have been destroyed, and the water intended for the irrigation of their fields diverted for the use of our armies. . . . I went out this morning to see what damage had been done. The devastation is grievous. . . . My most strenuous endeavours have been directed, day and night, towards reconciling all persons of influence to our operations. . . . Our officers and our measures are alike unpopular in this country." Three days after this letter was written, on the 22nd March, he says:—"The Bombay force is nearly on the point of starvation. . . . This is a wretched country in every respect. It may be said to produce nothing but plunderers; but, with the knowledge we now have of it, we may bid defiance to the Russian hordes, as far as this route is concerned."

Of the difficulties of the terrific Bolan Pass it seems that neither the political nor military authorities had any adequate idea, before they were called to encounter them. "It is really quite miraculous," says Mr. Macnaghten, "that the army has not been opposed, when every inch of our way might have been disputed. That it would have been so next year, any one who has heard of the activity of Captain Vicovitch alone can hardly doubt." After these formidable passes had been surmounted, Mr. Macnaghten's first care was to determine how our communications with the Indus could be kept open, and he immediately proposed to Lord Auckland the formation of a local corps, to consist of the various tribes of mountaineers—a project which was speedily effected by the organization of a corps of Bolan rangers. The mountaineers were thus reconciled to us by high and regular pay, and from that time forward, the Pass was effectually kept open, free from all danger. The army at length reached the valley of Shawl, and there the Envoy learnt that the mission of Sir Alex-

under Burnes to Khelat had entirely failed. There is no reason to believe that the Khan had taken any steps to oppose our progress through the Pass, for even his rabble army might have effectually blocked it up. The robberies, which had kept our troops so constantly on the alert, might be referred to the larcenous disposition of the mountain tribes, who required no stimulus beyond that which was afforded by the magnitude of the prize presented to their view. But the Khan had withheld all supplies of provisions, and reduced our army to extremity by the scarcity he created. Sir Alexander obtained nothing from him, but an "impertinent lecture" about the errors of our policy, in all which, strange to say, he acknowledged that he had himself fully concurred. Yet it is worthy of remark, that when our difficulties in Afghanistan were at their height, Beloochistan, owing to the successful exertions and the influence of Colonel Stacey, remained tranquil. Mehrab Khan is said to have asked Sir Alexander, "how we were to get out of Afghanistan, now we had got in?" He forgot how much easier it was to manage the people of Khelat, than those of Afghanistan. The retiring portion of our troops under General England, in fact, got out of the country by the same route by which we entered it, and with infinitely greater ease.

At Quetta, the same distress for provisions was felt. "The resources of the country," says the Envoy, "are hermetically sealed to us, and our troops are starving on quarter rations, while the British Mission is compelled to purchase their means of subsistence by stealth.....The fact is, the troops and followers are nearly in a state of mutiny for food." Three days after, on reaching Hykulzie—since rendered so memorable by the unaccountable defeat of General England, and the influence of this reverse in inducing Lord Ellenborough to sound a retreat from Afghanistan—Mr. Macnaghten writes in the following strain—and we make the quotation to shew the amazing difficulties of his position, and the firmness of mind which he displayed in these arduous circumstances. "The whole of the force, from Sir W. Cotton downwards, are infected with exaggerated fears relating to the character of the king, and the prospects of the campaign. They fancy they see an enemy in every bush. The Khan of Kelat is our implacable enemy, and Sir J. Keane is burning with revenge. There never was such treatment inflicted on civilized beings as we have been subjected to in our progress through the Khan's country. I will say nothing of Burnes's negotiation. His instructions were to conciliate, but I think he adhered too strictly to the letter of them. The commander-in-chief is very angry—I would give something to be in Candahar, and there, Inshallah! we shall be in about a week; but, in the meantime, this union of strictly disciplined troops with lawless soldiers is very trying to my patience. With a less tractable king than Shah Soojah the consequences might be fatal. I have references every minute in the day, and we are compelled to tell his Majesty's people that they must not touch the green crops of the country—this they think very hard, and so I believe does the king, but he has nevertheless forbidden them."

The army reached Candahar on the 25th of April, and Mr. Macnaghten announced to the Governor-General that the Shah had been received with enthusiasm. This statement has been represented by those opposed to the war as an instance of duplicity. It is possible that the Envoy may have been mistaken in his observations, and have allowed his wishes in some measure to influence his judgment; but that he was perfectly conscientious in his belief that the reception of the Shah was cordial, is abundantly manifest from his

private correspondence. "The Shah made a grand public entry into the city this morning, and was received with feelings nearly amounting to adoration. I shall report the particulars officially. I have already had more than one ebullition of petulance to contend with. The latest I send herewith, and I trust that a soft answer will have the effect of turning away wrath. There are many things which I wish to mention, but I really have no leisure. Of this your lordship may judge when I state that for the last three days I have been out in the sun, and have not been able to get breakfast before three in the afternoon." The army was detained at Candahar waiting for provisions more than two months. This period was employed by Mr. Macnaghten in taking those measures which appeared necessary to carry out the great objects of the expedition—the establishment of British influence, and the erection of a bulwark against invasion, in Central Asia. Evidence of the perfidy of the Khelat chief had crowded on him, as he advanced to Candahar, and he now proposed, as the slightest penalty which could be inflicted on him, to annex Moostung, Shawl, and Cutch Gundava to the Shah's dominions. The project of despatching a large portion of the force to Herat, which had been uppermost in the Envoy's thoughts, was now laid aside; and Major D'Arcy Todd, who had acquired singular perfection in the Persian language, and had acquitted himself with much credit in the difficult political negotiations which had been intrusted to him in Persia, was sent to Herat to negotiate a treaty with Shah Kamran, and promote British interests. Major Sanders of the Engineers, whose subsequent death on the field of battle at Maharajpore was so deeply deplored by the whole army at this presidency, was sent to repair and improve the fortifications of Herat, on which no less than thirty lacs of rupees were expended. This sum proved a dead loss; but we should have probably sustained a far greater and more deplorable loss, if, at the period of our disasters, a British army had been unfortunately locked up in that city.

Nothing particularly worthy of notice occurs, for some time after this, in the career of the Envoy. The military memoirs of the war have told how Ghuzni was taken through the skill of Major Thompson and the valour of the army, after the siege train had been so unaccountably left behind; how the Dost fled, and how the Shah was installed in the Bala Hissar, and how a considerable portion of the army was then sent back to India. We are anxious to touch chiefly upon those events which served to exhibit the character of the Envoy, and more particularly on those which are exemplified by his own letters. At the beginning of 1840, he was honoured with the most substantial token of the approbation with which his conduct in Affghanistan was viewed, by being raised to the dignity of a baronet. The Envoy was about this time relieved from the anxiety naturally occasioned by the Dost's hovering on the northern frontier of Affghanistan by his departure to the Court of the Khan of Bokhara. This circumstance led eventually to the surrender of the Dost's family into our hands, which was the most important event in the early half of the year 1840. The "Commander of the Faithful," as the Khan styles himself, received Dost Mahomed with cordiality, and pressed him to send for his family, to whom he promised every kindness. But the Dost knew the character of the Khan too well to place the objects of his affection within the reach of that prince. He accordingly wrote a letter to his brother, which was shewn to the Khan, requesting that they might be sent on to the friendly court of Bokhara; at the same time he wrote privately to authorize him rather to put them to death than to allow them to set foot within the territories of Bokhara. Long and anxiously

did the Commander of the Faithful lookout for the Doct's ~~possessions~~ jewels and ornaments, which he intended to transfer to his own treasury; but when he found that he was mocked by his guest, he cast both the Doct and his sons into prison, saying, "There shalt thou remain till thy family is brought to Bokhara." Jubber Khan was now at a loss to know how to act, as his own residence and that of his brother's family ceased to be safe in Kooloom, after the sentiments of the Bokhara chief were known. Negotiations were, therefore, opened with the Envoy, who was above all things anxious to obtain possession of the Doct's family, as, "in that case, the Khan of Bokhara could make no use of him." The proposal made to Dr. Lord, our political agent in the north, on the subject, was therefore peculiarly acceptable, and he was instructed to offer a safe and honourable asylum to the whole of the family, on the condition of their residing where our Government might think proper. This resolution was ill-relished by Shah Soojah. "He does not understand," says the Envoy, "upon what principle he can be expected to grant them an asylum or maintenance:—nothing short of absolute force will induce him to contribute a rupee to their support." But in spite of the Shah's reluctance, the negotiation proceeded, and Jubber Khan arrived at Urgundee, on the 15th July, with a long cavalcade of the wives, daughters, and servants of the fugitive Doct, to the number of two hundred and thirty-nine. This step was taken with his full knowledge and sanction; and the confidence which he thus reposed in the honour and good faith of those who had dethroned him, while he refused it to one of his own creed, reflects no small credit on our national character.

At the commencement of 1840, it had been announced that the Russian Government had despatched a large army to Khiva. This expedition naturally served to confirm those suspicions of the designs of Russia in Central Asia, which had originally suggested the ~~idea~~ of marching into Afghanistan. The magnitude of the armament and the terms of the Russian manifesto, combined to shew that our apprehensions were by no means chimerical. The army consisted of 24,000 men, and 72 pieces of cannon, and could not have been intended simply to subdue the insignificant state of Khiva. The manifesto adopted the very same language which had been employed in Lord Auckland's Simla Notification, and declared that the object of the expedition was to chastise the Khan, to liberate the Russian slaves, and "to establish the lawful influence to which Russia has a right in that part of Asia;" and that "the troops would be withdrawn as soon as an order of things conformable to the interests of Russia, and the neighbouring Asiatic states, should be established on a permanent footing." This army was driven back by the extreme cold of those regions, to which nearly all the cattle fell victims; but until its discomfiture was known, the anxieties of Sir William Macnaghten were in no small degree excited. Sir Alexander Burnes, in whom the *Russophobia*, inspired by the unexpected meeting with Vicovitch at Cabool, had not subsided, was a prey to deep alarm. The Envoy repeatedly alludes to this invasion as increasing the difficulties of his position, though he doubted the possibility of Russia bringing an army to the banks of the Oxus. "I confess," says he, "I am rather sceptical as to the power of the Autocrat to push any thing in the shape of an army so far, in one or even in two campaigns. Burnes, however, is alarmed. He says we are altogether deceived as to the strength of the Russian army; that it is now actually in possession of Khiva, and will shortly be at Bokhara. You may imagine the anxiety with which I am looking for authentic intelligence from the

forth." This letter is dated the 1st of April. On the 14th he alludes to the possibility of the Russians being in force on the Oxus as a reason for reinforcement, and as shewing that the case contemplated by the home authorities had arisen. On the 10th of May, he proposed that Sir Alexander Burnes himself should proceed on a mission to the Russian camp; but the idea was abandoned. "He said he would willingly go, if ordered; but that," says the Envoy, "is not the spirit which should animate our efforts." All these apprehensions were dissipated by the failure of the Russians. We cannot dismiss this subject without noting the singular and significant fact, that when the actual progress of the expedition was announced in India, it produced no sensation; whereas, the mere rumour of the approach of a Persian army, with the assistance of Russia, two years before, had thrown the whole country into a state of the most feverish anxiety. This enigma may be satisfactorily solved by the consideration, that our expedition across the Indus, whatever might be its policy or justice, was a bold and energetic measure, calculated to shew the people and princes of India, that we were prepared for every emergency, and that the spirit which had achieved the conquest of India was yet in its vigour. Our empire was, therefore, considered safe, whatever force might assail it from the West.

The project of marching an army beyond the Hindoo Koosh, into Koolloom, and probably to Bokhara, which had been entertained and abandoned soon after the capture of Cabool, was resumed in the following year; but chiefly for the benevolent object of releasing Col. Stoddart from the confinement to which he had been so basely subjected by that model of Mahomedan virtue, the Khan of Bokhara. "Let us examine," says the Envoy, "what we are to gain by such a movement, and upon what principles it should be conducted. The first thing to be gained is the punishment of the Shah of Bokhara, for his frequent and outrageous violation of the law of nations, and the release of our agent, Colonel Stoddart, who, without some exertion on our part will, it is likely, be doomed to incarceration for life. I suppose the expedition to be conveniently feasible, if entered upon at the proper season of the year. What Timoor Shah effected, we can do; and, with proper arrangement, we may either enlist on our side, or keep neutral, the chiefs between us and Bokhara. If we compelled the Shah of Bokhara to release Stoddart, to evacuate all the countries on this side of the Oxus, and to pay the expenses of the expedition, we should have achieved all that is desirable." The plan seems to have been communicated to Mr. Robertson, the governor of Agra, who questioned the propriety of undertaking so distant an expedition, while we were not masters of the Khyber behind us. The following is Sir William Macnaghten's reply to this objection: "Doubtless it must have appeared to you an inconsistency that I should think of sending troops across the Hindoo Koosh, while we have not the power of subjugating the Khyberies; but I regard the former undertaking as infinitely easier than the latter. We know tolerably well what we should have to contend with in Toorkistan, whereas we are utterly ignorant of the fastnesses of the Khyberies, and of the means of resistance possessed by their chiefs. All we know is, that the country is fearfully strong, and that each individual is a soldier, and a good marksman behind his native rock. Besides, in sending a force into Toorkistan, we should be able to turn to account the strength of the Affghan nation, which consists in its cavalry, and which would be utterly useless in the Khyber." He does not appear, however, to have formed any thing like a determination seriously to propose such a movement; for, within eleven days after this letter to Mr. Robertson, he writes to Lord

Auckland, "I am glad to find that the resolution I have formed of keeping on this side the Hindoo Koosh meets your Lordship's approbation;" and from that time onwards we hear nothing more on the subject. Although he was anxious to despatch Captain Conolly and Rowlinson to Kabul, to procure intelligence, he says, "as to military movements, I am decidedly opposed to them, especially while we have subtle and insatiable enemies in our rear. I would rather expend the money which such expeditions would cost, in fortifying the strongholds of Afghanistan. Cabool, for instance, two 'akhs of troops, might be made very formidable." He then alludes to strengthening the fortifications of Ghuznie and Candahar. But the Envoy did not remit his exertions to extricate Col. Stoddart, when he gave up the idea of sending an army against Bokhara. In June, 1840, he prevailed on the Shah to make a last effort for the release of that officer, and to secure a better understanding with the Amoor, by sending to the latter a holy man, "whom he would not dare to treat with indignity, and to whom he must listen."—"The disgraceful treatment," says he, "which poor Col. Stoddart still suffers, is an opprobrium to our nation." The number of holy men was soon after doubled; the Shah was prevailed on to send two, and Mr. Macnaghten promised Rs. 10,000 to each in the event of their succeeding in the liberation of Col. Stoddart. The result of this mission is not stated in the correspondence; but we know too well, that, although it may probably have led to some relaxation of the rigours of confinement, it did not procure the liberation of Col. Stoddart, who was barbarously executed soon after intelligence of the murder of the Envoy and the annihilation of the army reached the "Commander of the Faithful."

The anxieties of Sir W. Macnaghten's position in Afghanistan were such as British officers in the East have seldom been called upon to encounter. He was required to maintain the authority of a prince seated on the throne by our interference, and maintained by our bayonets; at the same time, it was necessary to allay the national jealousy, and to shape every measure so as to refute the idea that the Shah was not an independent, but a foreign king. Writing, in March, 1840, the Envoy says, "We must, even where there seems to be oppression, avoid as much as possible interference in these petty concerns, and endeavour by all the means in our power to shew that his Majesty is really the king of the country, and that the rule does not rest with the Feringees: that it does so, is the eternal burden of the song of our enemies." It has been affirmed, that he was totally unfit for the high duties of such a charge in such a country; that the tendencies of his own mind, and his previous pursuits, fitted him only for the bench of the Sudder Court; and that his attention was absorbed in judicial and fiscal details at Cabool when he ought to have devoted his time to the political management of the kingdom. There can be no doubt that he would have proved a bright ornament to the Sudder Court, and revived the remembrance of the days when Colebrooke and Harington and Courtney Smith presided in it; but it is altogether an error to suppose that, while in Afghanistan, his mind was engaged in those pursuits which he had prosecuted in his earlier days with so much ardour and success. In writing to a friend, about this time, he said, "We are solemnly bound to refrain from interfering with the internal administration; and in my advice I have been cautious to urge no innovations which could at this early stage of our connection with them shock the prejudices of the people." His energies were exclusively devoted to the complicated political relations of the country, to the conciliation of the chiefs, to the repression of domestic hostility, and to the anticipation of eternal danger.

The political responsibilities of his post were of so novel and anomalous a character, that he could derive no benefit from our political experience in India. In India we have the advantage of dealing with a population professing different and hostile creeds, and might always calculate on support against Mahomedan bigotry in the feelings of the Hindoos. In Afghanistan, for the first time in our Indian career, we were thrown in the midst of an unmixed Mahomedan population, bound together by the strongest bonds of religious union, and animated by feelings of inveterate hostility to us—and without the smallest support from the votaries of a rival creed. On which ever side the Envoy looked, he beheld none but open foes, or fawning and treacherous sycophants. There was no body of men, and no chief, in whom he could place confidence. He was disposed to think that Shah Soojah might have been stronger even without our aid: "Though our presence here doubtless strengthens the Shah, it must be remembered that in some sense it weakens him. There is no denying that he has been supported by infidels, and were we not here, he would adopt Afghan means of suppressing disturbances, such as we could not be a party to." It was, however, Dost Mahomed's opinion, that the Shah's presence weakened us; and perhaps both opinions may be right. Had we withdrawn from Cabool after he was seated on the throne, leaving with him only a British resident and a subsidy, it is quite possible that he might have been able long to maintain his authority, although this was doubted at the time. On the other hand, had we taken the country for ourselves, and made the administration British in principle, and at once announced to the chiefs and people that we had come to re-annex Cabool to the empire of India, and should endeavour to make our rule as advantageous as possible to them, it is equally possible that we might have encountered less hatred and opposition. It was the double government established in Afghanistan which proved so great a source of embarrassment. We carefully abstained from all interference in the internal administration, except in that mode which made us the object of particular hatred. Of the extent to which the misconduct of the king's officers brought odium on us, a fair estimate may be formed from the fact, that the inhabitants of Kohistan, who detested Dost Mahomed for his oppressions, and among whom we were most likely to have met with cordial support, were turned into our most bitter foes by their misconduct.

The military and political reforms, which the envoy found it necessary to introduce, served also to alienate the minds of the chiefs and to increase the irritation of our presence in the country. It was part of his policy to render the government of the Shah independent of the support of the chiefs, whose armed retainers and followers had heretofore formed the bulk of the army of the Cabool ruler. The chiefs had thus been enabled to exercise a powerful and pernicious influence on the administration, which indeed may be said to have existed chiefly through their concurrence. To consolidate the government of the Shah, and give it a sound constitution, it was indispensable to break up this influence; and the Envoy endeavoured to accomplish the object by organizing a national force. We had been enabled to conquer and retain India by employing the troops of the country and bringing them under the exclusive influence of our government, and moulding them according to our own wishes and interest. The same policy was expected to produce corresponding results in Afghanistan; and the Envoy was not without hopes that the throne of the Shah might be so strengthened by this national army as to render the presence and the expense of so large a body of our own troops unnecessary. To this

task, therefore, Sir W. Macnaghten directed his earliest attention. "Khyberis," says he, "the Jamilchees and the Puthceers corps are all national troops, which have been raised in lieu of Colonel Wade's useless levies. In addition to these we must have a small corps of Kohistanies, and another of Hamarcha." The Junbar came also within this denomination. "If we can get his majesty to set apart a portion of the revenue for the payment of the Afghan Horse, and fix the number within moderate limits, we shall soon have a good national force." The chiefs felt that the success of this plan would be death to their own consequence, that it would weaken their influence over the tribes, and attach them to the throne by the strongest ties. Thus the very means used to establish a compact and independent government turned the most influential nobles into our inveterate, though concealed, opponents, and prepared them to join in any movement which held out the prospect of our expulsion from the country. Such an opportunity was apparently presented to them a little more than a twelve-month after we had occupied Cabool.

Dost Mahomed, after his flight from the capital, took refuge with the Wullee of Koolloom. From hence he was induced to proceed to Bokhara, where he was incarcerated. With the romantic incidents of his escape, which are fully detailed by Dr. Atkinson, we need not detain the reader. On the 27th of July, the Envoy received accounts of his escape from Bokhara, but as his family was now in our hands, and the Wullee of Koolloom, with whom his intrigues might be expected to commence, professed the most devoted attachment to the Shah, and had sent his prime minister and son to Cabool, little or no apprehension was at first entertained. But our embarrassments soon began to thicken, and even the Envoy admitted that the difficulties of his position were overwhelming. On the 7th of August, information was received that Khelat had been captured by the Beloochees, and the resources of that principality turned against us. The rebels in Bajore, a district in the immediate vicinity of the capital, had obtained some advantage over the Shah's troops, and captured a gun. The Seikh government was covertly but actively encouraging its feudatories at Peshawur to annoy us. So strongly was our danger from this quarter impressed on the mind of Sir W. Macnaghten, as to lead him to propose the most stringent measures in reference to the Punjab: "Dost Mahomed is at our threshold;—we are surrounded by traitors on every side, and the Seikh government is doing all in its power to effect our ruin. Nothing short of extracting the venom from the tooth of the Punjab snake can do us any good. There can be no doubt that the Seikhs intend to supply money to be used against us. If they can only pour a sufficiency of cash into the Kohistan, and raise the country between Peshawur and Cabool just at the time that Dost Mahomed makes his appearance, our situation will be sufficiently perilous." On the 21st of August he writes, "that the Dost's appearance had caused considerable excitement, ... and that the state of affairs required all their vigilance." Indeed, the Dost was proved to be in active correspondence with the Seikh feudatories at Peshawur, who were our inveterate enemies.

(The remainder next month.)

AN EXCURSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It was on a bright morning in June that I mounted my little shooting horse and quitted my comfortable quarters at Wynberg, with the view of taking a peep at the interior of the colony, and of slaying a few of the many partridges that were said to abound at several of the points I was to take *en route*, for flaming accounts had long reached me, through 'sporting friends, of the abundance of game some eighty or a hundred miles inland, and the extreme facility of getting at it. I wished, moreover, to satisfy myself, from ocular demonstration, as to the nature and habits of that strange animal, the Cape Boer, of whom I had heard so much. In short, I was heartily tired of being cooped up at Wynberg, tethered to my cottage, as it were, for so many months, and was now determined

"To see the wonders of the world abroad."

All journeys in the colony are performed either in a wagon or on horseback. The first mode of conveyance, though slow, renders one independent of farm-houses, as in it can be stored all that is requisite for an *outspan* or *huitspan*—that is, an encampment. These wagons are drawn either by horses or oxen, the latter at the Cape being a very fine animal; and it is a common sight to see twenty of them yoked to a waggon at one time. This may appear to some a waste of labour, but the application of great force is quite necessary to drag one of these Cape machines, containing, probably, the chattels and family of a Boer, through the heavy sandy tracks that in most parts answer the purposes of a road. For women of all classes, from the governor's lady to the quondam Hottentot slave, these wagons are the only conveyance; but men, who have the free use of their limbs, and more especially sportsmen, almost invariably travel on horseback, traversing in this way, at the rate of thirty or forty miles daily, the tract of 700 miles that separates Cape Town from Graham's Town, and halting for the night at farm-houses. To travel thus comfortably one should be followed by another horse, carrying a groom, and a pair of saddle-bags; but, to do the thing well, there should be a third horse, in case of accidents, led by the groom. A sportsman usually carries his own gun, either in his hand or along over his shoulder, whilst his dogs, which should be pointers, follow with ease, and try the ground, right and left, as they go along. For an excursion of this kind, the saddle-bags should be packed with judgment, excluding all superfluities, but a corner should always be reserved for a small supply of tea and sugar, luxuries, or rather necessities, not always to be found at Dutch farm-houses, and deprived of which an Englishman is scarcely happy. Thus equipped, and the hat garnished with a green veil to keep off the sand-flies, which are very troublesome, a traveller may canter over the colony most comfortably and independently, with the assurance of a good lodging and wholesome fare at the farm-houses whenever he is disposed to halt. This accommodation is in general readily granted, and the charge for it moderate, being merely compensative;

indeed, some of the wealthier class will take no remuneration for their hospitality, excepting, perhaps, for the article of forage, which at all times is expensive at the Cape, and when three or more horses are to be fed, it becomes of course a serious matter.

On the morning in question, I started on my trip, mounted, as before stated, on my shooting horse, with gun in hand, and cloak strapped behind me, whilst in my wake followed a mounted groom, with the saddle-bags, and a favourite pointer that never tired. We were soon cantering over the Flats, leaving the well-wooded heights of Wynberg far behind us, and I never remember to have enjoyed a ride more thoroughly; for though the sun was bright, the air was delightfully cool and elastic, the month of June being mid-winter at the Cape—if by far the most delicious period of the year in that fine climate is to be called by such a harsh name: it should rather be called the rainy season, for snow, and even frost, if my memory does not deceive me, are never seen, except on the mountains; indeed, the cold is so bearable, that hardly any of the old Dutch-built habitations possess the luxury of a fire-place, excepting of course the kitchen. Our horses' heads were put in the direction of Stellenbosch, to which place from Wynberg there is no regular road, the traveller's only guide being certain ill-defined tracks, which, in the deep sand-drifts which abound on the Flats, are frequently lost altogether.

Though the weather was so inviting, and the prospect before me was extensive, it must be confessed that nothing could be much less attractive than the character of the country I was traversing, which, for at least two-thirds of the distance, was composed of successive ridges of sand, scantily clothed with heath. These sand-drifts extend across the Cape isthmus, and are formed by the fury of the south-easter, such being the prevailing wind, which carry up with them clouds of sand from the shores of False Bay. For many years the construction of a durable road has been contemplated to connect Stellenbosch with Cape Town, and late accounts tell us that it is really in progress. The utility of such a work would be doubtless very great, though the expense must be enormous; and how it is, through its whole length, to be kept clear of the constantly drifting sand is to me a riddle.

The small town of Stellenbosch, the capital, it must be called, of the district bearing the same name, is due east of Cape Town, from which it is distant twenty-eight miles, and twenty-six from Wynberg; and its locality, at the foot of the lofty mountains bearing the names of the Simonsberg and the Helderbergh, is pleasant and picturesque, the country round it being undulating, and enjoying the blessings of trees and pasturage, the latter being very scarce in the vicinity of Cape Town. About midway I fell in with a covey of partridges amongst the sand-hills, and was fortunate enough to kill a brace of them, which I thought a propitious commencement. On descending the hill into Stellenbosch, the first view of which, almost shrouded in foliage, is peculiarly striking and refreshing after the sandy waste, I diverged from the road in pursuit of several korhans, but could not succeed in killing one. This is a

glorious game bird, of the bustard genus, peculiar, I believe, to this colony; it is highly prized by the sportsman, though its flesh is indifferent; but the bird is uncommonly shy, and consequently seldom shot, though subsequently I succeeded in killing two or three. It is about the size of a pheasant, the plumage being a mixture of black and white, the black predominating, and its flight resembles that of the Indian florikan, whilst its note, which is uttered at short intervals in its course, is a most disagreeable croak. Upon entering the quiet little town, I took up my quarters at the house of a lady to whom I had an introduction, and this lady kept a boarding-school; a strange place, it may be supposed, for a traveller to be lodged in; but where hotels do not abound, one is glad to be accommodated anywhere, and in the present case I was hospitably entertained for nearly two days by Mrs. R—— and her young ladies, who displayed no extraordinary *mauvaise honte* at finding a male intruder among them; indeed, I probably felt the most awkward of the party. It must not be inferred, however, from what I have said, that the town was without its hotel, for there certainly was a place of resort for travellers at a Mr. Kinniberg's, where the accommodation was tolerably comfortable, though the charge was dear, for upon two other occasions I had put up at this clean little inn. Kinniberg had been a troop-serjeant-major in the horse artillery, and, I think, had fought at Waterloo; but, from his knowledge of horse-flesh, having been a prime favourite with Lord Charles Somerset during his governorship, he had become a thriving character, and had ultimately settled down amongst a Dutch population at Stellenbosch.

This was not my first visit to the place; for some months previously I made a flying excursion to it under rather novel circumstances, an enterprising friend having proposed driving me from Cape Town in a *tandem*,—a formidable undertaking when the nature of the ground is considered, but which he, nevertheless, achieved, much to the astonishment of the natives, especially of Stellenbosch, who never could have conceived such a feat practicable; but my friend delighted in overcoming difficulties. It must be confessed, however, that the journey cost our horses a severe effort, one falling lame from a sprain, and the other not recovering the effects of the fatigue for months.

The population of Stellenbosch, with very few exceptions, is Dutch, and the houses are, of course, in keeping: they are all low, and thatched, and have gable fronts, and the apparent absence of shops, and the deep shade thrown over the main street by rows of lofty trees on either side, give the little quiet town something of a *triste* character to a fresh arrival, which it does not, perhaps, deserve. The shade, at all events, is most grateful, during the greatest part of the year; for, being placed in a sort of basin, Stellenbosch has the character of being one of the hottest places in the colony, and so I certainly found it. The day following my arrival was Sunday, and a tranquil one it was, and, in the absence of a more orthodox place of worship, I attended the service of the little Wesleyan Chapel, for the indefatigable missionaries of this persuasion were alive to the spiritual wants of Stellenbosch, and one of

their number visited this spot every Sunday from Cape Town to perform the service.

On the following day, Monday, I was to continue my journey; but heavy rain prevented my making a fresh start till the evening was much advanced, and even then the sky was most uninviting; however, after a severe struggle between rain and sunshine, in the end Phoebus came off victorious, and I had a delightful and most picturesque ride of about ten miles through a portion of the productive valley of Drakenstein. The country *en route* was rugged and undulating, and thickly interspersed with farms and vineyards, whilst in warm and sheltered nooks well-laden orange trees (Drakenstein being the favoured locality for this fruit) formed a brilliant feature in that afternoon's ride. The evening was rapidly closing in when we reached the scattered village of Drakenstein, for the sun had some time disappeared behind the Simonsberg mountain in my rear.

There is something not altogether agreeable in the uncertainty as to where one is likely to find shelter for the night in a country where there are no inns, as, for instance, the Cape colony. Night was upon us, and it was very cold, with a prospect of rain, yet we were not sure of shelter, being quite dependant upon the hospitable character of the Dutch farmers. Our friends at Stellenbosch (friends of a day, for friendship is of rapid growth under such circumstances) recommended us to a very popular man at Drakenstein, who was partial to the English, and ever happy to entertain them. The houses were so scattered that we had some difficulty in finding him out, and we did not succeed in this till it was quite dark. The heavy rains had swelled the many brooks I had to cross most inconveniently; rivulets had suddenly become torrents, and it was not without some risk of being carried away bodily by the current, horse and all, that I crossed a stream at nightfall within a quarter of a mile of my destination; but time pressed, and in we dashed. Upon my arrival, the owner of the place, Mr. Ardenhooff, received me very courteously, but to my dismay told me his house was full, having that day, as ill-luck would have it, received an influx of relatives from Cape Town! He immediately mentioned one or two places in the neighbourhood where I *might* be accommodated; but to wander about in the dark searching for them was any thing but agreeable to my taste. After a time, the good-natured man made me dismount, promising to do what he could for me, and I was quite disposed to be grateful for any thing that I could get, being by this time both cold and hungry. Our host, his son-in-law, an Englishman, and myself, sat smoking and warming ourselves over a logwood fire till we were summoned to the supper-table, and never did I relish a meal more. The whole affair was served up in that sort of Anglo-Dutch style that obtains at the Cape, and a most substantial and savoury supper it was; most heartily do I remember to have eaten of stewed mutton and fried potatoes, to which no doubt was added a superstratum of fruit (little less than an attempt at suicide in the case of a dyspeptic traveller, as I

unhappily was), and I was certainly rewarded with a most ghastly nightmare! A long and restless night it was to me, and the Hottentot domestics were up and stirring before I got much sleep. By the way, when bed-time came, I was shewn into a comfortable room after all, some of the family, to my regret, having been displaced to accommodate me: but regrets and remonstrances were in vain. Mr. Ardenhooft, though only a Dutch farmer, was evidently in good circumstances, and having enjoyed the advantages of a short residence in England, he returned to the colony in love with every thing English, and with a certain degree of polish and information, which made him contrast most favourably with the generality of his neighbours. Let me not, however, be mistaken in speaking thus of the sturdy colonial farmers; unpolished, ignorant, and even prejudiced, they may often be, for these are the defects of circumstances, the schoolmaster not having as yet travelled very extensively in those parts; but I will maintain, from my most experience, that no people can anywhere be found who treat the traveller with more true kindness and hospitality. These I experienced in the highest degree from Mr. Ardenhooft, and, on the following morning, when, after a good breakfast, I took my leave, he refused any remuneration, though I had saddled him with myself, a servant, two horses, and a dog.

On the following morning, the sun shone forth most gloriously, and breakfast was no sooner despatched than I started in the direction of Franch-hoek, a picturesque village on the western side of the pass of the same name, and which, as the name signifies, was originally a settlement of French emigrants, who retired to this quiet spot from the persecutions consequent upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. On my way thither, I had to ford the Berg river, a rapid stream, which often subjects the traveller, in the rainy season, to much inconvenience and sometimes danger, being often much swollen by the mountain torrents in its vicinity. I found the current very strong, but had no difficulty in fording it, which I certainly should not have succeeded in effecting on the night previous, when there would have been the disagreeable alternative of returning to Drackenstein till the body of water had partially subsided. Here, as also in India, I have long patiently waited for the river to run past so as to be able to ford it with safety.

The country I traversed was broken and undulating, almost void of trees and deficient of pasture, but rich in flowers and shrubs, especially that showy shrub, the *Protea*, which abounds in all parts of the Cape district. After passing through Franch-hoek, I ascended the pass of that name which crosses the barren and rugged chain of mountains that, running nearly north and south, separates the Stellenbosch from the Worcester district; they were tipped with snow, and when I reached the toll-house, on the other side of the pass, I was suffering much from cold; for July, the period I had selected for my excursion, was mid-winter at the Cape, be it remembered. The road over the pass was an admirable one, and the toll-house was erected, of course, for its benefit. It was a solitary but not an unpicturesque object at the foot

of the rugged, snow-capped mountains, and it served as a comfortable place of refreshment for travellers. The landlord (for, after all, it was much more of an inn than a turnpike-gate) was a Dane by birth, and a sailor by profession, having served with Nelson, and I think he told me as his coxswain at Trafalgar. Nelson, by the way, must have had a most immoderate number of coxswains, for it is an honour often claimed. This man was extremely civil, good-natured, and intelligent, and I certainly fared very well at his house, where I passed the night, and, as I well remember, had another glorious nightmare; for who would not eat a hearty dinner after a cold ride of twenty miles over hill and dale? Civility is usually said to be a very cheap commodity, but when I paid my bill on the following morning, I found that Mr. Holme charged me very high for his. Doubtless travellers were few and far between, and he made them pay accordingly. At this spot I was led to expect some good shooting, but though my pointer Sall and myself worked very hard, we found nothing. In the morning I got amongst some partridges, on route to the Berg river, but I had no time to follow them up.

Leaving the toll-house and the mountain range that now separated me from my domestic hearth at Wynberg, in the rear, I traversed a bare, bold, undulating country, clothed with grass or short shrubs for a distance of ten miles, when I pulled up at a solitary farm-house, the abode of Mr. Peter Villiers, to whom I had an introduction, for his land was said to afford good shooting, and wandering sportsmen like myself occasionally paid him a visit, with the understanding that a moderate charge was to be made for board and lodging. On the evening of my arrival, I think, I killed two brace of partridges, and, on the following day, I bagged two more brace of birds, a brace of pheasants, and a couple of snipes. The next day I was to have been conducted by my host's son, also a keen sportsman, to a snug corner amongst the mountains, for we were shut in by them on three sides, where, to use his own phrase, I might shoot partridges till I was tired. I believe I dreamed of nothing else all that night, but a soaking morning brought disappointment with it; there was no shooting in the snug mountain corner on that day, and on the following I was bound to pursue my journey to Worcester, my destination, to avoid spending Sunday at a farm-house. I fared well at Villiers', pronounced at the Cape *Vilgées*; there was plenty of bread and butter, ham and eggs, mutton and game, which was alternately washed down with tea or Cape wine, according to the hour.

Peter de Villier's Place (thus in Dutch) was a fair specimen of a Dutch farm in a civilized part of the colony. It produced corn in all its varieties, but little wine. I saw a brandy-still in active operation. There were orange trees in full bearing; large trees, with dark, dense foliage, and studded thickly with golden fruit. Then there were peach orchards, but the fruit was not then in season. They are usually small but well-flavoured, and in such abundance that the pigs often feed upon them. They are also much used in a dried state throughout the

colony, especially by the Dutch, who stew them with meat. 'Salt mutton,' by the way, is commonly used at the farm-houses, and very good I thought it, in the absence of fresh; the climate renders salting necessary. The rain having cheated me out of my grand day's shooting, I was early in my saddle, and on the road to Worcester, the capital *village*, not *town*, of the district of the same name. The distance was somewhere about thirty miles, and my host accompanied me, as he had business at the county *town*. After a six hours' ride, under a cloudless sky, and over a fine undulating but still treeless tract, we found ourselves, weary and hungry, on the sedgy banks of the Breede (broad) river, within sight of Worcester, which lay about a couple of miles from us on the opposite bank. Here we were bothered; for no ferry-boat was forthcoming, and upon making the usual signal to the men attached to the ferry, who lived on the opposite bank, we were told that the boat was under water, or under repair, I forget which, and would not be available till the following morning. The signal made by travellers at this point is of a primitive character. They light a fire of brushwood, and the column of smoke gives notice of their arrival and wants. We regretted the delay, as the next day was Sunday; moreover, we had been six hours in the saddle, and had to return to the farm of Mr. De Wetts to sleep, a distance of five miles from the river, making in all thirty-five miles, under a hot sun. We supped and slept at De Wetts', and paid dear for the accommodation. The cooking was greasy and bad—the meat redolent of garlic and swimming in tail-fat, the lard produced from the monstrous tails of the Cape sheep. The De Wetts did not quite come up to my host, De Villiers, in civilization and polish; but they were a good-natured, lively family, with a handsome face or two amongst the women. A very pretty modest-looking little damsel said grace for us at the supper-table, according to the Dutch custom, she being the youngest of the party; and a very interesting chaplain she was.

De Wetts' Place, for the locality has no other designation, is celebrated for a hot, very hot spring; indeed the water seemed to be almost at boiling point, for I attempted to dip my finger in the pool formed at its source, and as quickly withdrew it; of course it throws up a complete cloud of vapour. Fowls, eggs, &c., I have heard, are sometimes cooked in the water by curious travellers, when they are found almost immediately to decompose; a peculiarity I am not chemist enough to account for. The only other remarkable feature in this vicinity was an extensive shallow lake, much overgrown with rushes, dotted with tiny islands, and covered with water-fowl of every kind. There never was a more tempting spot to a sportsman's eye. Its banks, moreover, promised excellent snipe-shooting, and what can be more fascinating? But the intervention of Sunday secured game of all kinds from persecution, at my hands at least; and, indeed, without the aid of a punt, a sportsman would scarcely do much damage amongst the water-fowl.

Early on the morrow, we again skirted the lake, and reached the Breede river at the time appointed, where the boat was in attendance.

The horses were swam across in the customary manner, and after a ride of a couple of miles on the opposite bank over a bare stony flat, we reached Worcester, and I had the satisfaction of finding myself, after a ride of a hundred miles from Wynberg, comfortably established at the Drostdy, with my friend Mr. T——, from whom I had a hospitable reception; and here I lived in clover for some days, accompanying my host's son on some agreeable, but not very successful, shooting excursions in the neighbourhood. Such sport, however, as we had, was amongst pheasants, partridges, and snipes; and I had the pleasure of bagging a brace of that noble bird the korhan.

I have said that I was lodged in the Drostdy. This is the official residence of the commissioner or head of the district, who is also the chief magistrate. This situation, which, with such a thin population, cannot be an onerous one, is worth about £600 per annum. The Drostdy at Worcester is a noble but an unfinished residence, planned and erected by a former ambitious commissioner, under an extravagant administration. Nothing could be more completely out of keeping with the humble and unpretending character of the rising little village it presides over. The occupier of such a mansion should have a salary of thousands instead of hundreds. Worcester may consist of fifty or sixty houses, with a population, perhaps, of 1,200, mostly farmers of a respectable class, who possess and occupy land in the vicinity. Its public edifices are soon told: a church (Dutch reformed), and a gaol, to both of which I was introduced. In the latter place was a Malay, about to be tried for murder, and a ferocious-looking fellow he was. Worcester should, and I believe does, enjoy a salubrious climate; for its elevation above the sea must be considerable; it stands upon an extensive plain, with a gravelly soil, watered by the Breede, Hex, and Hartbeest rivers, and bounded, in the distance, on three sides, by lofty mountains. This part of the colony cannot pretend much to the picturesque, trees, so essential a constituent in a landscape, being uncommonly rare, though shrubs, affording excellent firewood, are in abundance; but it offers, from many causes, every advantage to the sheep-farmers. Here, as elsewhere, it was my endeavour to see what I could of the colonial farmers, and their mode of life: they ever seemed to enjoy abundance in a rude way, and I generally found them hospitable, good-natured, unlettered fellows, certainly not over-partial to their English rulers; mainly, I should say, on the ground of our having abolished slavery, the objections to which they never seemed to comprehend.

On a Friday I began my retrograde march, riding thirty miles to my old quarters at Peter De Villiers', which I reached, hungry and saturated with rain, about dark. On the morrow I reached the toll to breakfast, fifteen miles, raining all the time. Holme, the ex-coxswain, was still very civil, and dear. This morning I fell in with Judge M—— and his staff, travelling on circuit. He was bound for Worcester, and I thought of the ferocious-looking Malay I had been introduced to. There was not much of pomp and circumstance about the judge,

whom I encountered in a soaking rain ; he, like myself, travelling on horseback, in which humble manner he doubtless made his *entrée* into Worcester ; sheriffs' coaches having not yet found their way to South Africa.

Leaving the Toll once more in the rear, I crossed the Franch-hoeke pass in the rain ; and in the afternoon was hospitably received by a Mr. Victor Hugo, a substantial farmer at Franch-hoeke, and field-cornet of the district. This man, as well as his family, interested me exceedingly ; they were Protestants, and evidently pious ones, being descendants of one of those respectable families who fled from the Continent of Europe at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. The Hugos read their Bible, and at the close of the evening they sang a hymn, with a simplicity and harmony extremely pleasing to my ear.

By daybreak on the morrow, the household was on the stir, for it was the Sabbath, and the wagon was soon at the door to take them to church at the Paarl, the principal town in the district ; but to get there was a matter of some hours ; indeed, at the Cape, all journeys are calculated by hours. My active little nag was at the door soon after five A.M. I breakfasted in Stellenbosch ; and as the evening was fast closing in, I cantered through the tranquil little village of Wynberg, and pulled up with considerable satisfaction at my humble threshold, after a fortnight's absence, having on that day rode about fifty miles without any extraordinary sense of fatigue.

FROM NI'MAT ULLAH.

در دو عالم جز یکی دانیم نه غیر آن یکر یکی خوانیم نه
 گر خیال غیر آید در نظر نقش او بر دیده بشانیم نه
 عشق جانان روز و شب در جان بود یکس بی عشق جانانیم نه
 عشق بازی آیتی در شان ماست عاقلی را نیک میدانیم نه
 اعتقاد ماست با رندان تمام منکر احوال مستانیم نه
 چشم ما روشن بنور روی اوست بر خیال غیر حیرانیم نه
 درد دردش همچو سید میخوریم در پی دارو و درمانیم نه

LEGEND OF VĀTHEN AND VIL-VĀTHEN.

On the occasion of the marriage of Siva and Parvati, they dismissed Agastya, sending him to the mountain Pothaiya, in the south. On the road, he came by the residence of the rácshasas Váthen and Vil-váthen, who were accustomed to feast foot-travellers in the following way: Vil-váthen first slew his younger brother Váthen, and then cooked him in pots, out of which he fed the traveller. The meal being finished, Vil-váthen called on his brother by name, who came forth alive, rending the bowels of the guest, who dying in consequence, both of the savages feasted on his body. Agastya (an incarnation of Vishnú) slew the rácshasas. S. section 10, p. 10, *Mackenzie MSS.*

With fainting step and slow comes a weary traveller
To the grey and lonely hillock of Callipilliyér;
All silent is the jungle-side, e'en the insect voice is still,
Near the grim and evil wizard-shapes that wone beside the hill!

And here, amid the rank long grass and thick entangled brake,
The hyæna and the jackal lurk, and upstarts the hooded snake;
And many a bone is strewn around—in this drear and desert spot;
Heaven speed thee, ancient traveller! that the demons hurt thee not!

Full pensively the ancient man surveys the waste around,
And well, I ween, he knows his foot treads on unhallowed ground.
But say, what grisly form is this that cowers beneath the hill?
What may it be that crouches there so shadowy and so still?

As nearer draws the pilgrim, he beholds the features grim
Of a Jógi, bent in prayer, by the evening twilight dim;
Swart and haggard is his visage, and his form is nude and bare,
Save the girdle round his waist, and his shaggy matted hair!

"O Rishi, can'st thou give to me some shelter for the night,
Till morning sheds abroad again her golden shower of light?"
No answer gave that Jógi, but all suddenly he rose—
He leads the way, and gloomy shades cling round him as he goes.

They reach at length a darksome hut, half sunk beneath the ground,
With broken crags and limbs of trees piled o'er it and around;
As he steps into that narrow den, the pilgrim holds his breath:
Is this a resting-place for men, or a sepulchre of death?

But lo! where embers faintly glow amid the cavern dark,
There silently the Jógi bends and fans the dying spark;
As the rising flame upsprings, you may scan his aspect well,
'Tis the visage of a corpse made animate by Hell!

Still no greeting gives the Jógi, nor looks he to his guest,
Nor speaks he to the aged man of shelter or of rest,
But from a nook within the wall a cauldron vast he brings,
And feeds the flame and still amain fresh fuel on it flings.

Can'st tell what liquid dark is this that boils within the pot?
 It may be wholesome food for men, but its colour likes me not.
 And ever as that Jógi stirs the liquid round about,
 Loud laughter through the forest rings, a yelling, and a shout.

And it seems unto that pilgrim old, that through the cavern dim,
 A thousand grisly phantoms flit, and mock and mow at him;
 And the scum upon the cauldron's brim seems red, like human gore:
 I would not taste of food like this, though my fast were long and sore.

'Tis ready! through the forest dark a tempest wildly sweeps,
 On such a night, sure, Ravan's self his demon advent keeps.
 Those vlands strange the Jógi sets before the aged sire,
 He speaks not, but his eyeballs gleam with sparks of lurid fire.

Regardless of those tiger eyes, all tranquil eats the sage,
 He dreads not, or his sense, perhaps, is dull from toil and age.
 'Tis finished; and that evil host at length his silence breaks;
 He speaks, and at his accents dread the rocky cavern quakes.

"Brother, come forth! it is the time, the moment of our power,
 And e'en as he has fed on thee, so will we him devour!"
 Then, as with direful anguish bent, and an agony of woe,
 That pilgrim's form is backward bent, and he writhes him to and fro.

And, tearing through his entrails, comes a shape more foul and dread
 Than the fiend that to a murderer seems in his midnight-path to tread.
 Together turn these brethren foul to the carcase of their guest;
 "His blood," quoth they, "shall be our drink, and his limbs a merry feast."

But lo! 'tis gone, and where it lay a radiant form appears;
 With fourfold arm the quoit it wields, the ponderous mace uprears,
 Strains the tough bow, and bears aloft the emblem of the god,
 Before whom Indra's heaven shakes, and thy mountains, Kailas, nod.

'Tis Vishnu's self! before him beams intolerable light;
 Fast vanish, then, those dreary shades and phantoms of the night;
 The lotus perfume breathes around, and the kohil's joyous song
 Floats on the night-air's rustling wing, the jungle depths among.

But on those evil brethren foul the god his fury turns;
 The arrow from his bow, impelled with winged lightning, burns.
 Consumed, they fall, and through wide heaven exulting voices ring,
 And Swarga hails her conquering god, the lotus-bearing king.

“ JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL.”

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER XII.—TRAITS OF THE DESERT.

FOR the first five or six marches, after leaving Ferozepoor, our route lay through a country differing little from the in its immediate neighbourhood—the soil, poor clay, hard, unyielding, and inhospitable, saving in the vicinity of the Sutlej, which bounds its western margin. At a town named Bahak Bodla, the frontier of the protected states is gained, after which we journeyed along the verge of the great desert tracts, in which the towns of Bickaneer and Jezulinere form such remarkable oases. Jungle of tamarisk, babul, and acacias here, hills of sand—wild and uninteresting—there; riverward alone was any sign of inhabitants, villages scarce met with, and at long distances, and not unfrequently unroofed and tenantless. Though not yet in an enemy's country, for the khan of Bahawulpore is considered our friend, the line of march was observed, as if we had been, no advance tents being allowed to be sent on overnight. The sun of April and May in the desert blazed, morning after morning, over our heads, for several hours ere any shelter could be expected; and when the rear-guard brought up the lagging tents, each threw himself upon the carpet, sick and exhausted. The days were passed recumbent, but not in sleep; for who could sleep with the thermometer at 120° under the double fly of a tent? The mess hour for dinner in the field was 3 P.M., and those who could eat no breakfast gained somewhat in strength and spirits through the influence of Hodgson's beer and Cockburn's sherry; and thus three hours of each day passed pleasantly, leaving us to live weeks in the remaining twenty-one. At sunset the mess-party broke up into groups, and these, with a teapoy, round which they sat, drank their cup of tea and smoked their manillas, and talked of home, under the intense blue sky of the desert. Before eight o'clock, and the roll had been beaten, most had sought their pillows, but scarcely to sleep, or if sleep did overtake one more drowsy than others, it was partial and unrefreshing, and was nightly broken in upon by the sandy gale from the desert, that fitfully rose at midnight; the impalpable particles, borne along upon this blast, searched quickly into nostrils, mouth, and ears; the function of respiration became impeded, and ere the first bugle, at 2 A.M., sent its shrill warning through the camp, most were sleeplessly anticipating it. Immediately on leaving the Sikh states, the influence which the proximity of the Bickaneer desert exerts on the Bahawulpore country was apparent: without inquiry, the aspect of the soil alone tells the observer that rain is there unknown; the hoofs of the horse of Hindostan grow brittle, and subject to sand-crack, and without frequent application of oil, quickly become unfit for travelling. At Matta Jaidoo, eleven marches onward, the desert extends to the road, presenting the appearance of hillocks of sand, heaped up by the south wind, and resting on the cold, hard clay soil beneath, possessing but the power of nourishing the

cactus and stunted jow-tree; for no water is to be found save that which is impregnated with saline matters. We reached Kyrpoor in fifteen marches; it is a considerable town, built of burnt brick, surrounded on three sides by the sand-hills of the desert, and forming an oasis; the date-palm, that emblem of an arid country, waved in luxuriant clusters around and within it. No gradual capability of the soil to produce this useful gift of nature is observable, but a forest of this tree breaks all at once upon the sight, rank in leaf, stem, and development. From Kyrpoor to Subzulcote, the frontier town of Scinde, in which route Bahawulpore, Kanpoor, and Amedpoor are passed, the desert retreats more from the road-track. The elevation of the country gradually lessens, until at Subzulcote the alluvial nature always observable on the banks of an Indian river is manifest.

Up to this point we had felt considerably our migration through the Bahawulpore desert; the functions of the skin were much impeded, and a lassitude producing a constant craving for fluids was the result. Mosquitoes disappeared, but their duty was taken up by the scarcely less merciful sand-fly, which no net could keep out, and the night-storm from the south-east, an unfailing visitor, rendered the night suffocating, and our march fatiguing beyond measure, until dawn, when it died away. Each officer rode by the side of his company until day-break, when the desert-gale subsided, or came but in puffs, like the sulphureous and impeded breathing of a dying leviathan. The thermometer at this time often fell to 90°, and then the enlivening *reveille* warned the welcome dawn; the order to halt followed, arms were piled, and each throwing his rein to the syce, and rolling up his cloak for a pillow, lay down upon the soft, heated sand, and courted half an hour's refreshing sleep, which could be got at no other period of the day. The luxury of that half-hour's slumber was beyond price, for on waking at the bugle-call to fall in, the sense of refreshment was wonderful, and each felt as if he had passed the night in "balmy sleep," when the reality was far otherwise. After this the officers could with propriety leave their companions, and join in a couple of hours' conversation ere arriving at the intended camp. Every succeeding day passed over as like its fellow of the preceding as possible, the hope of meeting with the Ameer Sher Mahomed, who was reported to be at Subzulcote looking out for us, alone giving life to the party. But Subzulcote was gained, and the ameer and his 4,000 Beloochees were nowhere to be seen. Some 1,500 men, under a Belooch, had been there a few days before; but not wishing to risk the issue with us, had passed the Indus into Cutch Gundava. The desert had left us, trending more than formerly to the south-east; alluvial richness of vegetation displaced the cactus and the tamarisk shrubs; large tracts of jow jungle skirted the road on either side, and under each green-twigg'd plant a cloud of mosquitoes lurked; strong rank crops of bajara and Indian corn grew about the villages, and these no longer were the mud-walled and flat-roofed huts of Bahawulpore, but the pile-raised matwork of a country subject to periodical inundation. Descending still further into the great

Scinde valley, the conjoint rise of the five rivers of the Punjab may be marked, by noting the increasing elevation of the piles upon which these villages are raised. From Subzulcote to Roree, a distance of eight marches, the margin of the desert is considerably to the south-east, forming an amphitheatre, which, when the Indus is flooded by the melting of the Himalaya snows, is totally impassable; the circuitous course of the desert can alone during *that* season keep up the communication with Sukkur; and between it and the blue Soolimance hills on the Beloochistan side, the Indus forms an inland sea. The genial character of the country becomes, in a few marches, completely changed, impressing the young and inexperienced, as well as him of years of service, with the conviction of its being the abode of disease, and the grave of the white man; and too truly were these, the innermost thoughts of all, verified; we were now a thousand bayonets, and six months of Scinde annihilated them.

The barren ridge upon which Sukkur, Bukkur, and Roree are built, was seen at sunrise; the regiment having been on the road since midnight; the road before us, as seen from the rising ground whence we gained the first sight of it, winding through a basin of some eight miles' length, covered with jungle of alluvial growth. Palm-trees fringed the distant line of the desert to the left. Two more harassing hours, under a blistering sun, brought us to Roree; and on a sandy cove, shut in behind by the many-storied houses of that town, and on either side by promontories of river-worn lime rock, our camp was pitched; in front of us was the fort of Bukkur, frowning mid-channel, and beyond it the shores of Cutch Gundava, and the flat-roofed edifices of Sukkur. In this cove we waited two days, until boats for the passage of the Indus could be procured. Not a breath of air reached us, for the scorching wind that blew without would have been refreshing. If an attempt were made to cross from one tent to another, the feet were blistered despite of shoe-soles, and we panted all day within our tents, with the thermometer at 134°. At sunset, we all stole forth to make our observations on this strange place. Standing on an elevated spot, and taking a bird's-eye view of the surrounding country, the blasted and barren ridge of limestone is seen winding, like a snake, through a flat alluvial deposit, of immense extent; the Indus forces its passage on either side of Bukkur, quivering like a flame; for, pent up in its twin channels by the rocks on either side, the water seems as if driven through by a gigantic hydraulic machine. Doubtless this mighty river has gradually worked out the enormous clefts through which it finds a passage: when the rivers of the Punjab, bearing the melted snows of Himalaya and Hindoo Koosh, have filled the bed of the Indus, these clefts are no longer sufficient to transmit their united waters, which, collecting above the ridge, inundate a great extent of country. The stream, after gaining increased speed during its passage through the rock, is no sooner released from its confinement, than, rejoicing in liberty, as it were, it spreads far and wide over the country below, presenting, both above and below the ridge, an extensive surface of deposit

for the sun of Scinde to act upon ; the rapid growth of the jow-tree and elephant-grass is, on such a soil, fatally luxuriant.

On the third day, at sunrise, we embarked on the river that erst had borne the fleet of Nearchus. That morning's sick report told us the effect of the grilling we had got for two days in the sandy cove of Roree ; and two boat-loads of sick had to be carried over. The boats were fashioned like large flat snuffer-trays, carrying each sixty or seventy men. Keeping in each other's wake, they shot past Bukkur like chips, and ere they could gain the further side, were carried far below the ghaut, or landing-place, which is a cove similar to that on the Roree side, flanked by masses of limestone, furrowed into degrees by the arrowy-current that ever rushes past. In this cove, the river-craft find a secure harbour. Our friends of the regiment that had preceded us waited our landing, many with shaven crowns and pallid countenances, and most had lost the look of health they bore in Hindostan ; but it was hoped that inattention to proper precaution against climate and careless exposure to the sun of Scinde, which had a fatal character, had caused sickness, where otherwise it would not have been. But they were fortunate in one respect, for they had purchased the only houses that were worthy of the name ; and a few tombs, some converted into miserable dwellings, and others as they had been for years, crumbling and wasted, were all the shelter we could hope to get. These tombs, placed generally upon spurs of the ridge, were the mausolea of the ancient Syuds, a Moslem sect of much reputation, and originally constructed in a most durable manner, were found in many states of preservation ; the burnt tile, enamelled in blue, green, and yellow, ornamented the gateway, and the doors and the massive dome, the Moslems' favourite roof, crowned every little height more conspicuous than the rest.

CHAPTER XIII.—A GOLGOTHA—RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

Sukkur may well be called a Golgotha, for it has merited the name. The limestone ridge upon which it is built is of a pale yellow colour, with huge masses of flint embedded therein. The top of the ridge is flat, and divided into little table-lands, from which spurs jut here and there. Upon the tops of these spurs the Syuds of old were wont to inter their dead, and many of the buildings raised over them have been converted into habitations within the modern cantonment of Sukkur. The ridge comes down from the Hala range of Beloochistan, gives passage to a portion of the Indus, appearing on the solitary point on which Bukkur is built, again giving passage to the left branch of the Indus, and is again visible at Roree, which occupies some of its highest spurs. Upon this ridge not a blade of grass is to be found from Sukkur to where, at 150 miles' distance, it is lost in the sandy wastes of Jayzulmere. The station of Sukkur is consequently raised considerably above the surrounding country, which is seen for many miles, with the Indus stealing through extensive jungle mixed with cultivation, that is constantly exhaling the seeds of disease. On a ground to the north-west-

ward, undulating where the ridge merges into the alluvial soil, are the ruins of the old city of Šukkur, through which the roads to Shikarpoor and Dadur lead. A few years more, and these must be crumbled down; but the more durable tombs of the Syuds may remain for ages. From cantonments, these ruins look desolate, and scarce a single tree can be seen among them. Haunted by the wolf and the jackal, these ruin-clad slopes present a most dreary prospect. Among them, more especially the tombs, are occasionally found coins of undoubted Greek origin, and those of copper may at times be purchased for small sums; they are similar to those found in the gigantic structures that mark the route of the enterprising Greek through Affghānistān and the Punjab; traits of that wonderful dynasty are to be found in the classic forms of their potters' ware; for the wing-handled amphoræ and shallow pateræ of Macedon are manufactured as *sūraés*, *dīshes*, and *chirags*, or lamps, in every bazaar on the Indus.

The island of Bukkur, situated nearly mid-channel, is wholly occupied by a fort constructed by the former Ameers; its surrounding wall is built of limestone, having a gateway at the east and west sides. This wall is contemptible as a fortification against well-equipped artillery, and proved itself insufficient to withstand the jar of the evening gun. A bazaar, composed of houses whose upper balconies overhang each other, forming an imperfect arcade, occupies a hollow basin of ground towards the western gate. On the southern end of the rock, low ranges of wretchedly-constructed buildings afford a miserable shelter to the staff-non-commissioned officers; in the centre, and close to the remains of a Syud's tomb, is the hospital; three small mud bungalows occupy the three highest points in the island, and these are officers' quarters. To the northward of Bukkur is a rock, on which are a few trees and a small mosque or tomb. This is a spot worthy of the utmost veneration in the eyes of a Moslem, and this feeling is entertained in a lesser degree for two islands to the southward of the fort.

At the time I speak of, Bukkur was garrisoned by a wing of the regiment, many preferring it as a residence to the cantonment, as they had some shelter from the sun, whilst the wing on shore was still encamped upon a pebbly slope of the ridge, with the thermometer ranging from 100° at night to 134° in the day-time. Bukkur, therefore, was at a premium; but the monotony of it was rendered greater that no evening ride could be taken. The officers of the little garrison would assemble on the outworks at sunset, with the glittering Indus sweeping beneath them, and with their telescopes would pick out their friends on shore, or watch with admiration the Scindian fishermen floating down. Whilst a boat, of any dimensions, is here at all times but an uncertain conveyance, the Scindian, with two bamboos, on which to stretch his net, urges his boat of potters' clay into the quivering current, scathless and confident; his boat is a round earthen vessel, on the wide mouth of which he rests his chest, nicely balancing himself, so as to exclude the water; the stream carries him down, while he, heedless of danger, plies his trade. Having secured his fish, he raises himself on one side

from the vessel, slips his prey therein, and, unconscious of aught deserving wonder, endeavours to beguile more. These fishermen shewed much expertness in rescuing any overdaring sepoy who, too ignorant of the danger, ventured into a stream such as he had never experienced on the Ganges or Jumna.

The influence of the periodical rains is lost soon after entering the territory of Bahawul Khan; Bahawulpore, Bickaneer, Jeyzulmere, and Scinde have none; Scinde alone being productive; and this fruitfulness is the result of the annual overflowing of the rivers. It is Egypt on a large scale. When rain does fall, it is uncertain both in time and quantity, either falling in a scanty shower or the half-hour's torrent accompanying a storm. From April until October, the heat of Sukkur is intense in the day-time; no sooner does the sun peep above the horizon than his power on the European is felt. The hot winds being only partial, tatties are almost useless. This heat, ever present, is productive of great lassitude, loss of appetite, and proneness to disease; and daily it continues, with little abated force, until nine P.M. At midnight it blows a gale from the desert, and this visitor, much cooler than that of Bahawulpore, is inducive of sleep far more refreshing than that procurable during the night, when the hot winds blow in Hindostan; but to him indulging in repose with the wind of the desert blowing upon him, there are few chances of his escape from disease.

June came, and still nought but canvas afforded shelter to the right wing; for many days successively the thermometer reached 132°. The men were occupying one long low range of barracks. One by one, the officers got under roofs; though such roofs as could be got were scarcely better protection; but he who could burrow in any old tomb in better preservation than the majority around, and overrun by rats, was a lucky fellow, and forty or fifty rupees a month was readily asked and given for a receptacle of the dead in which to harbour the living.

Severe cases of fever occurred daily. The morning and evening reports chronicled fearful entries of sick into the European and native hospitals, and the volleys of the funeral party were heard at morning and evening; but by-and-by these became so frequent as to be dispensed with, and many a soldier was laid within his grave at Sukkur unknown to the mass around him. The monotony was awful; there was nothing for us to do but look on and see others dying, and wonder when our own turns would come. Even the morning's ride, so healthful and exhilarating, could not be enjoyed, for the ground was so hard and stony that no horse with safety could gallop upon it. This was a great privation; for a certain daily exercise of the physical man is always highly advantageous in circumstances where the mental powers are unusually depressed, nor can a substitute be found in any sedentary pursuit. How all longed to be sent forth to fight! and when an order appeared in the station order-book for a force to cross the river, to disperse a body of Belooches, some four or five marches from Roree, it raised for awhile the sinking spirits of all. With the river at its height, the passage of this force was no easy matter; guns, carriages, and

camels occupied the beach on both sides for several days ; but this demonstration was useless, for it never went further than Roree ; the enemy had fallen in with a Scindian ally of the British, who kept up a daily fight, and we had the sound of their honey-combed guns to listen to, and go on grilling. This force was kept at Roree for fifteen days ; for it was rumoured, and rightly, that a Belooch chief had, with four thousand men, seized upon the old mud fort of Gotekee, some four marches on the road to Bahawalpore. This force was also dispersed by our ally of Kyrpoor ; for, previous to an expedition which might involve the health and safety of the brigade, the brigadier made a requisition to Sir Charles Napier. The answer to this was characteristic of the man and the victor of Meanee, and contained the two words "Destroy them !" This order was easy to give ; but the sun of Upper Scinde, that blazed daily for fourteen hours, rendered it not so easy of execution—but ere the order came, the enemy had dispersed, after their engagement with the chief of Kyrpoor, and then no chance existed of the force moving otherwise than back to Sukkur. Whilst encamped on the beach at Roree, it was a favourite recreation to cross the river and partake of the mess dinner of those who were deemed fortunate in being with the force. In a starry night, and the usual hot wind from the desert breathing sulphurously above the rocks and towering buildings behind the camp, the Indus nearly at its height, and rushing with fearful velocity, a mess party had broken up, and three officers pushed into the river between Roree and Bukkur, in a small ship's jolly-boat. They shot past the fort, and each hung upon his oar with manly energy, and they had almost reached the further shore, when the tiny craft, caught in a boiling eddy, was upset. All being swimmers, and good ones too, each was for himself ; but the river was treacherous, two reached the shore—the third, and strongest swimmer, was carried down. This was the first deep cause of gloom to a brigade which afterwards suffered so much.

The hospitals were crowded ; medical aid became deficient, and ultimately absolutely wanting. The brigade was hurrying on towards annihilation, yet no chance of its relief. Officers had been running the gauntlet of the Belooch marauders, and seeking the climate of the Hymala, or the sea breeze of Kurrachee ; those who were left felt still more lonely, and all were aware that, had a handful of resolute Belooches pounced upon Sukkur, little or no resistance could be made. Many braved for a time the general despondency, but gave in one by one, struck down by a disease, that came at a moment's warning, and ran its course so speedily. The messes began to keep their tables private ; public nights were given up, and the table-chat became nightly more sombre, and ultimately gloomy. The universal feeling was one of grievance, and that forgotten and uncared-for by those whose duty it was, nought remained but to suffer on. The nightly mess-party was, indeed, a dull one to what it once had been, and the empty chairs of those who "had gone" (which were always kept in their places at table), vacant and gaunt, formed a dread chronicle of the few past months ;

and if one bolder than the rest ventured a song for the general good, it sounded along the pillared room unearthly and sepulchral, and no laugh of glee or meed of praise responded to the finished song.

It happened one evening, when these feelings were predominant, that by way of an attempt to instil some spark of mirth into his comrades, the president called upon one of the party for a song. The song chosen, though a trial to most to hear, was typical indeed of our condition, nor was it wonderful that ere the singer had concluded the last stanza of the "Flowers of the Forest," a tear glistened for a moment in the eye of more than one :—

I've seen the morning with gold the hills adorning ;
 And loud tempests storming before the mid-day ;
 I've seen Tweed's silver streams shining in the sunny beams,
 Grow drumly and dark as it rowed on its way.
 Oh, fickle fortune ! why this cruel sporting ?
 Oh why still perplex the poor son of a day ?
 Ne mair yer smiles can cheer me,
 Ne mair yer frowns can fear me,
 For the flowers of the forest are a wed away.

The few last words scarce came audible from the lips of him who sung, and the plaintive air died away like a requiem for the dead. The president's intention had been frustrated unwittingly, and he whose heart had been wrung by the decimation of his regiment turned away his head. One youth, who had several times in Hindostan been supposed to be hopelessly sick, but whose reckless spirit had always returned with returning health, had made many struggles to keep up "the glory," as he termed it, and now, seeing all around him vapid and dispirited, and with a gleam of eye so unsettled as to be remarked, filled a brimful glass, and, self-invited, sung the following awfully portrayed picture of Indian life :—

We meet 'neath the sounding rafter,
 And the walls around are bare,
 As they echo our peals of laughter,
 It seems that the dead are there.
 Then stand to your glasses steady,
 'Tis here the revival lies ;
 One cup to the dead already,
 And hurrah ! for the next that dies.

There's a mist on the glass congealing,
 'Tis the hurricane's fiery breath ;
 And thus doth the warmth of feeling
 Turn ice in the grasp of death.
 Then stand to your glasses steady,
 'Tis all we have left to prize ;
 A cup to the dead already,
 And hurrah ! for the next that dies.

Time was when we wept for others ;
 We thought we were wiser then :
 Do the wives, the sisters, and mothers
 Weep for those they may ne'er see again ?
 Come, stand to your glasses steady,
 The heartless is here the wise ;
 Once more to the dead already,
 And hurrah ! for the next that dies.*

As he finished, he put the glass to his lips, and drained it to the dregs. A ghastly look of horror prevailed all around at the impious invocation ; far from its being relished, not a smile of thanks was seen on a single countenance : and I marked the deep-drawn sigh of the senior officer. I felt I had enough, and sought my solitary pillow.

* *Bengal Annual*, 1834.

GHAZEL OF HAFIZ.

رگرچه باده فرحبخش و باد گل پیزاست &c.

THE sweets of the rose on the zephyrs are borne,
 The garden's perfumed with the breath of the morn ;
 Yet call not, my friend, for the harp or the bowl,
 Lest the censor should come with his withering scowl.
 Though the wine should allure by its craftiest wiles,
 Though thy love should be near with her sweetest of smiles,
 Oh, for once, friend, be sober, and learn to forbear ;
 Such charms may attract thee, but fly from the snare.
 Oh, seek not for joy ; hide the cup in thy sleeve,*
 And learn for the present from nature to grieve ;
 For destiny frowns, and the heavens, as they shine,
 Drop sorrow and ill, as the bottle drops wine.
 Yet cease not, O Hafiz, thy conquering lays ;
 Farsistan and Irak are loud in thy praise,
 And Bagdad is eager thy sweet songs to hear,
 Whilst Tabreez without thee seems vacant and drear.

Ipswich, Dec. 16, 1844.

E. B. COWELL.

در آستین مرقع پیاله پنهان کن

THE LAW OF STORMS. *

The progress of science in the present age is discerned, not merely in mechanical improvements,—in inventions which abridge labour, expedite intercommunication, and advance the useful and the elegant arts nearer towards perfection,—but it is, perhaps, more distinctly perceived in the encroachments which it has made upon the arcana of nature. As it was once supposed that portions of the earth within the tropics were never intended for the abode of man, and there

Life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse all monstrous, all forbidden things :

so it was assumed that there were certain impassable bounds set to the inquiries of science, which were characterized as presumptuous if they attempted to transgress those limits. Many persons are now living who can remember the horror with which well-meaning people were inspired by the first employment of lightning-conductors. The world has now ceased to think knowledge can ever be carried to a sinful extent. It is the prerogative, if it be not the duty, of a rational being, on the contrary, never to remit his investigations of facts, and his discoveries, far from encouraging presumption and arrogance, even when they administer to the service of mankind, are more likely to teach him humility and admiration. “No doubt, the sovereignty of man,” says Lord Bacon, “lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many things are reserved which kings with their treasure cannot buy, or with their force command.” †

Meteorology, though, perhaps, the least attractive department of physical science, has been for some years past the subject of careful and successful investigation, and from a large collection of important facts, has been evolved a theory of storms, teaching the laws by which those apparently anomalous and eccentric operations are in reality governed. Colonel Reid has the merit of having initiated and methodized this theory ; but we can bear witness to the industry and skill with which Mr. Piddington, of Calcutta, has investigated the subject, having read his copious memoirs and records of observations, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, during the last five or six years. We have now before us a small work by this gentleman, which he has entitled *The Horn-Book of Storms*, in the pockets of which are two lithographed horn-plates, for purposes we shall presently explain.

* *The Horn-Book of Storms for the Indian and China Seas.* By HENRY PIDDINGTON. Calcutta, 1844.

† *Essay* xxv.

Mr. Piddington states that the object of the work is, to furnish the mariner with a brief compendium of the beautiful theory to which it relates, and at the same time to urge upon the public attention, the great need still existing of further knowledge of the tracks of storms, especially in the Southern Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea.

The practical utility to be derived from this enunciation of the law of storms consists, amongst other things, in its affording nautical men the best chance of avoiding the most dangerous part of a hurricane; the safest way of managing a vessel involved in one, and the means of *profiting* by a storm, by sailing on a circular course round it, instead of passing through. It has been found that, in the West Indies, the Bay of Bengal, the China Sea, and the Southern Indian Ocean, the wind, in a hurricane (that is, a turning storm of wind, blowing with great violence, and often shifting suddenly), has two motions, the one a turning or veering round upon a centre, and the other a straight or curved motion forwards, so that it is both turning round, and as it were rolling forward, at the same time. It appears also, that it turns, when on the north of the equator, from the east, on the right hand, by the north, towards the west, or *contrary* to the hands of a watch; and that, in the southern hemisphere, its motion is the reverse, or *with* the hands of a watch.

The horn-plates, to which we have just adverted, are copies of Colonel Reid's ingenious storm-cards, one for each hemisphere, the circles upon which are lithographed. Being transparent, their use is

To lay down and move upon any part of a chart, they may be supposed to represent, a circle of fifty, or of five hundred miles in diameter, as we please; and one, which would fill up the north part of the Bay of Bengal, would shew the wind in the same storm, south on the coast of Arracan; east on the Sand Heads; north on the coast of Orissa; and west across the middle of the Bay; and if we move it over a chart, the changes of the wind for a ship or an island on its track will be seen.

In order to determine what is the track of the hurricane, in what direction it bears from the vessel, and how far the vessel is from its centre, or place of most danger, the following instructions are given. The hurricanes in the West Indies begin about the Leeward Islands, travel to the W.N.W., and then round the shores or across the Gulf of Mexico, and following the Gulf stream, are lost in the Atlantic between the Bermudas and Halifax. Those of the Mauritius come from the eastward, and curve round to the south and

south-eastward again. All the storms of the Bay of Bengal (excepting the monsoon-gales) turn as before explained for the northern hemisphere, and their tracks are lines more or less straight or curved, and varying in their direction as they approach the coast. In general terms, they may be said to come from the eastward and travel to the westward. In the China Sea, the tracks of the tyfoons are as follows:—

In June, from E. to W.; in July, from between N.E. and S.E. by E. to N.W.; in August, from between E. and S. 40° E. to W. and N.W.; in September, from between N. 60° E. and S. 10° E. to S.W. and N. by W.; in October, from between N. 12° E. and S. 45° E. to S. by W. and N.W.; in November, from between N.E. and S.E. to S.W. and N.W.

Mr. Piddington has found no record (from 1780 to 1841) of a typhoon occurring from 1st December to 31st May in the China Seas.

In the Arabian Sea, the storms seem to obey the law of rotation, and that, also, which directs the tracks from the eastward to the westward. In the Southern Indian Ocean, the little we know of the tracks of the hurricanes relates to those near the Mauritius; but there is another part of this great ocean (between 5° and 13° S. lat., and 75° and 90° E. long.) so subject to hurricanes, that it may be called a hurricane track, the laws of which have not been sufficiently investigated.

The rate at which storms move on these various tracks varies much, the variation being from three to thirty-nine miles per hour in the Bay of Bengal.

Mr. Piddington then shews how, by laying the transparent storm-card, for either hemisphere, on a chart, keeping the *fleur de lis* on the magnetic meridian, and placing it so that the wind's place is over the ship's place, the seaman may discover the track of a coming storm, may avoid running into its centre, and take incidental advantage of it, or, as Mr. Piddington says, "make a fair wind of it." He proceeds, then, to shew what is the proper tack on which the seaman should lie-to, when, from want of sea-room, from his position with respect to the centre, or other motives, it may be prudent for him to do so. "We owe to Colonel Reid," he observes, "this invaluable deduction from the facts on which the law of storms is based, and every year and every new investigation prove the utility and beauty of the rule."

Mr. Piddington notices, in the course of his directions, some curious phenomena connected with storms, amongst which is the oscillation

of that delicate instrument, the *sympiesometer*, which, in one case, in the China Seas, was observed for twenty-four hours before a typhoon.

Other phenomena are, a remarkable kind of lightning, shooting up something like an *aurora borealis*, with a dull glare for a short interval, and either at one or various points, or all round the horizon. The wind also sometimes rises and falls with a moaning noise, like that heard in old houses in Europe on winter nights, and this in situations both near and far from the land, and independent of the noise made in the rigging,* and on shore at least, most particularly on the approach of a storm, and not when the wind is varying in strength in fine weather.

After setting down the particulars of the "further information" required to perfect this science, inviting communications addressed to him at Calcutta, under cover to "the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Department," and marked "Storm Report Service," and deprecating the opposition of those who do not believe in the law of storms,—“I am old enough,” he says, “to have heard lunars and chronometers sneered at as ‘new-fangled notions,—’” Mr. Piddington concludes his valuable little work with the following remarks, in which we heartily join him :

Let me entreat those who may have read the foregoing pages to reflect, that this investigation has claims upon every man far above those of most scientific researches. It claims attention alike from the man of science, for it relates to some of the most mysterious and awful phenomena of our globe—from the merchant, for he is every way interested in its truth—from the seaman, for it is with him a question of life and death, of safety or ruin ; and of disgrace or credit—from the friend of humanity, for it deeply concerns human life and human suffering ; and from all other classes, especially in the colonies, because all are themselves, or by their friends, traversing the pathways of the deep—and finally and emphatically from every Englishman of every class : for if England owes her greatness to any one special cause, it is assuredly to the science, skill, and daring which have made her, either in war or peace, the mistress of the ocean and of its shores, and has given to her sovereigns that trident which is “the sceptre of the world.” It is no small advance in that science, no trifling addition to that skill, and no small encouragement to that daring, if through the application of this beautiful science by Colonel Reid’s laws, and the thorough tracing out of all the collateral results to which the researches lead, we can teach the plainest of her ship-masters to guide his bark in comparative safety, and often to use the scourge of the tempest, as a beneficent and friendly power.

* This very curious phenomenon certainly occurs as I have described it, and is no doubt connected with the “roaring” and “screaming” of the wind in a typhoon. Those who have passed through one, well know that, even in a totally dismasted ship, the noise of the wind is fairly entitled to be described by these words.

SURVEY OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN BHAWULPORE AND SIRSA

THE following official report, on the country lying between Bhawulpore and Sirsa, and the road through the desert, is drawn up by Major F. Mackeson, C.B., official superintendent of the Bhutte territory, and submitted to R. N. C. Hamilton, Esq., late agent to the Governor-General, on a special mission to Sirsa and Bhawulpore.

In submitting this survey, I beg to offer a few remarks: first, on the general features of the country traversed; secondly, on the nature and capabilities of the road that has been opened, and on the effect its opening is calculated to have on different channels of commerce.

The tract of country traversed from Sirsa to Bhawulpore measures in extent, from east by north to west by south, two hundred and twenty-seven miles. The first forty-three miles are through British territory, the next eighty-seven miles are through the north-east portion of the Hindoo state of Bikanir, and the last ninety-seven miles are through the Musulman principality of Bhawulpore. This tract is not, as has been thought, a desert of deep sand—the heavy sand bears no proportion to the hard soil. From Sirsa to Bhatnir, though void of large trees, the country near the road is covered with underwood of *band*, *raul*, and *ban*; beyond Bhatnir, the stunted underwood is partial, while bare shifting sand-hills on a substratum of hard soil are the common feature. The population is scanty. In the British territory, the inhabitants met with are Bhuttis (Musulmans) and Bagri Jats (Hindoos); in Bikanir, the *zeemindars* are Musulmans from the Nai and Bagris from Bazardis; in Bhawulpore, the prevailing cast is Musulman. The small towns on the road are inhabited by Hindoo merchants. The chief places are Raneeah, in the British territory,—a *thanna* and *talissel* station; Bhatnir and Soorutgurb, in Bikanir; and Maroth, in Bhawulpore. Soorutgurb and Maroth are the marts to which the scattered inhabitants of the desert resort to dispose of their produce, chiefly ghee, and to purchase in return the necessities of life. The principal food of the inhabitants of the desert is *bajra*.

Between Sirsa and Soorutgurb, the country bears traces of having once been well inhabited; at no very distant period the waters of the Gujgar river reached as far as Soorutgurb, and old wells are numerous as far west as Bhatnir; a large belt of meadow land, four miles in breadth, extends from Sirsa to Soorutgurb, which, when flooded by the Gujgar, is capable of producing crops of wheat, barley, gram, and oats, and, after the rainy season, rich crops of rice; while the Kohi, or high lands, north and south of it, yield excellent crops of *bajra*, moat, and til. The progress of improvement in this district has been much retarded since it came under British sway, by the unjust system that has prevailed in the Patteala and Khaithal states, of bunding the upper course of the Gujgar river, notwithstanding remonstrances from the British authorities, running through a twelve years' correspondence. Villages, that enjoyed the benefit of the Gujgar inundation when under Patteala, have, within the last six years, since their transfer to us, been nearly ruined for the want of it; yet it is maintained that no new bunds have been constructed. The above tract has, it is seen, great natural advantages, if not unjustly deprived of them, and only requires the introduction of capital, and a more industrious race of cultivators,

to render it exceedingly valuable. It has suffered much from the disorders following the cessation of regular government, and from the marauds of its late masters, the predatory Bhattes, who lived by plundering their neighbours. The Bhattes, checked in their predatory habits by the strong arm of the British Government, are now slowly but gradually being displaced by the more industrious Sikh Jats and Bagris, and they must either bend to necessity and become cultivators, or retire with their herds of cattle further into the desert, across the Sutlej.

As regards the barren waste extending west from Soorutgurb to Bhawalpore, the prospects of reclaiming it are not very promising; not that it is altogether unproductive, for luxuriant crops of bajra, moat, and til, are raised at the portions of light sandy soil that occur here and there, spread over a substratum of hard clay; but these crops depending entirely on the monsoon, which is uncertain, are subject to frequent failures, and the water to be found in wells is at too great a depth and too brackish in most places to be of use, either for drinking or agricultural purposes. The measures best calculated to change the face of a large portion of this country would be the digging a canal from the river Sutlej, near Roper, which should pass south of Bhatenda and Furid Roth, and fall into the forsaken bed of an old river, called the Slakro, near Bhatnir. The line of country this canal would pass through is clear of all the rain-torrents from the Himalaya range, and the slope continues favourable to within two marches of Bhawalpore, while the rich soil it would pass through in its upper course should amply repay the outlay.

There remains to be noticed one remarkable feature in the country traversed to Bhawalpore; which is, the traces that exist in it of the course of some former river; and as it is to the forsaken bed of this river that we are indebted for the opening to us of a road through the desert, I shall venture to give a more particular description of it than it would otherwise deserve. On looking at a map of the desert, we find many scattered hamlets, ponds, and wells marked on it, which the people dwelling north and south of the desert may have founded and dug, either for watering their cattle at graze, or for the convenience of inter-communication and traffic; but in no part of the desert, save on the road from Sirsa to Bhawalpore, shall we observe a continuous line of villages traversing its whole extent from east by north to west by south, and their existence on this road must, I think, be attributed to the facilities afforded for settling by the deserted bed of the river before mentioned. All the villages and roths or forts on the road, which since Marath have been constructed within the last thirty years, stand either in or close to this deserted channel, and for the reason that wells dug in it are generally found to have sweet water, while the water of wells dug at a distance from it, either north or south, is usually brackish.

The deserted bed of the river alluded to in the foregoing paragraph, is known as far east as Sirsa by the name of Slakro Baban, and is pointed out by old inhabitants as distinct from the smaller channels in it, confined within which the Gardwar river now flows. This distinction continues a few miles west of Ranee, whence to Soorutgurb the whole breadth of the Slakro is distinctly marked by numerous elevated sites of villages on its banks, although the banks themselves now appear low and ill-defined. At Baurre, the Slakro is joined by the dry bed of the Tharholi, and at Manah, four miles east of Soorutgurb, by the dry bed of the Chittanj river. From Soorutgurb to Anopgurb its

course is well defined by strongly-marked lines of high sand-hills, those on the south bank being more conspicuous and uninterrupted than those on the north. After leaving Soorutgurb, it bears but the one name of Slakro Baban, the names of its feeders, the Gujgar and Chittanj, being unknown. From Anopgurb to Chapao and Ralipahar, its banks and course are less easily traced; its bed spreads considerably, and divides into branches, exhibiting large expanses of flat hard soil, entirely bare, and called by the natives of the country Chittany or Idubar, and which, after the sun has risen high above the horizon, have the appearance of sheets of water, displaying all the deceptive and varying images of the mirage. The breadth to which the bed of the Slakro attains at this part of its course is such as to favour the idea that it was a larger river than the Sutlej, which it may have resembled in the lowness of its banks and in its winding and slow current. Opposed to the conclusion of its having ever been a permanent stream, is the fact of its principal known feeders, the Gujgar and Chittanj, having been ascertained to be merely rain streams, taking their sources from within the lower range of the Himalaya. A glance at the map of the Upper Provinces will, however, shew the numerous streams by which the whole country between the Sutlej and the Jumna is drained off into the bed of the Slakro, and it is possible that some of these streams formerly possessed a more permanent character, and that their sources may not yet have been traced. Even if not permanent, the body of water accumulated in these streams in former years may have been sufficient to have worked for itself a well-defined channel through the desert, the traces of which still remain. Ages have elapsed since this river ceased to flow; and I shall leave to those who care to prosecute the inquiry, to establish the permanency, or otherwise, of its character; merely observing here, that, from excursions made north and south in the desert, to a distance of fifteen miles from the river bed, and a comparison of the face of the country met with, in the bed itself, I traced, to my entire satisfaction, the deserted course of a large river as far as the Ralipahar wells. From that point its course was reported to me to continue in the same west by south direction, passing Delawar and other forts in the desert built on its channel, perhaps joining in the end some forsaken bed of the ever-changing Indus, near where that river empties itself in the ocean.

The road from Sirsa to the wells at Ralipahar, within two marches of Bhaulpore, follows the dry bed of the Slakro, conforming to its windings. Its direction is west by south. It sometimes runs in the dry bed, sometimes crosses it, and sometimes runs parallel with it on the right or left bank, never deviating from one or the other of its banks more than four miles. On a comparison with the average run of marshes, it is less heavy for wheel-carriages than the road from Kurnaul to Ferozepore, and it would continue good at all seasons. It runs through an open country, with little or no cultivation, and may be increased to any breadth; camels may march by it fifty abreast on either side of a column of troops.

The present supply of water from wells would suffice for the passage of a *kafilā* of three hundred camels, and we have only to increase the number of wells on the road to admit of large bodies of troops moving by it; with the exception of the stage of Belochan, the water is everywhere drinkable, and generally good.

There would be no difficulty as to supplies of all kinds, on due notice being given; such as are not procurable on the road, can be brought to any point on

it in two days, or less, from the Ghura river. Grass for horses is not procurable beyond Raseeh, but barley and moat, or bajra, may be substituted; forage for camels, and grass for bullocks and horses, may be said to be plentiful throughout the march, unless in seasons of unusual drought. The grass is of a kind that requires to be cut with a sickle, and notice should be given to have it cut and stored, if required for troops. Barley bhooza, and moat bhooza, are plentiful as far as Anopgurb, but scarce beyond that stage.

Koss miners are now being erected at every two miles, to shew the direction of the road by day; for troops marching at night, it would be well to take the precaution of having fires lighted at intervals of four miles, for the road once lost in the desert is not easily recovered. In the march of troops, the strictest orders should be issued and enforced to secure the few people inhabiting along the road from molestation, and all persons employed as guides (for whom at first a great demand will be made) should be liberally paid, and encouraged by kind treatment.

Whether viewed with reference to the march of troops, or to the despatch of military stores from the heart of our upper provinces at Delhi to Scinde, or to a direct line of dawk from Delhi to Sukkur, the advantages of the new road are too obvious to require to be dwelt on. The saving of time in marching troops by this road, instead of by Ferozepore, would be ten days, to say nothing of the vast expense avoided, which has hitherto attended the dragging of fleets of boats up to Ferozepore from Bhawulpore and Sukkur. The time saved in the conveyance of the dawk would be upwards of three days. The advantages of the road as a channel of commerce will be separately noticed; meanwhile I may observe that, if it be an object with Government to make the road a thoroughfare, much is still required to be done to improve its resources. A greater number of wells must be dug than will barely suffice to supply the wants of travellers, and encouragement must be held out to people to settle on them. The practice hitherto in force with zeemindars on the road, of exacting payment at discretion from travellers and kafilas for watering cattle at their wells, must be put a stop to. The zeemindars should receive an allowance on the duties levied from their own government, for, without remuneration, they cannot be expected to draw water from a great depth for other people's cattle which they require for their own, while, if their exactions continue, the road will not be travelled by merchants.*

I have now to remark on the effect which the opening of the road from Delhi, through Sirsa to Bhawulpore, will have upon commerce. This effect

* Several kafilas from Delhi, within the last month, have gone from Sirsa round by Abahur, along the left bank of the Sutlej, to Bhawulpore, alleging as their reason for not taking the direct road through the desert, their fear of exactions from the zeemindars for watering their cattle. The chief advantage of the desert road for kafilas is its directness. The duty levied on it is eight annas per camel more than by the circuitous route on which the Bikanir territory is avoided. Add to this, that forage, though not scarce in the desert road, is more abundant in the circuitous road, as is water; and when we consider how little it requires in the shape of exaction or obstruction to turn trade off its direct channel, it is obvious that the road through the desert must be cleared from all obstacles of this nature before it can successfully contend with the roads possessing greater natural advantages. Even when all has been done for it that can be done, part of the traffic from Afghanistan, that would otherwise have come by it, may, since our acquisition of territory at Asafwala, on the Ghara, cross to that place direct from Multan, by Puk Pattan; thus avoiding the duties to be paid in the Bhawulpore and Bikanir states. At present, however, the duties between Multan and Puk Pattan are much heavier than they are between Multan and Sirsa, by Bhawulpore.

can only be fully developed when steam-boats, plying between Bombay and the mouth of the Indus, and thence to Bhawulpore, shall have rendered the transport of Europe manufactures and other articles of commerce by that channel both safe and expeditious. We may then expect, from a comparison with the various routes by which the products and manufactures of Europe reach the great marts in the upper provinces and in the Punjab, that the route from Bombay to Bhawulpore by water, and thence by land through Sirsa to Delhi, will have the advantage over all others in rapidity of communication, and in other respects. In point of safety, it is now much to be preferred to the long land route traversed by kafilas from Bombay *via* Pali, Bhirin, and Amratsuf, which is seldom free from the apprehension of plunderers. The trade from Bombay by the river route to Bhawulpore, and to the countries north-east of that mart, has hitherto been trifling in amount,—a circumstance that may be accounted for by the unsettled state of the countries west of the Indus since that river was opened in 1832, and by the natural difficulties of the upward navigation of the rivers, opposed to the unskilful enterprise of native merchants unused to the risk of water carriage. Early in 1836, a firm of our merchants, established at Bhawulpore, opened a commercial intercourse with Bombay by the river route, but meeting with some loss from the sinking of a cargo on the outset, they for a time suspended their transactions. For the last three years, however, this firm has annually got up an investment of three boat-loads of goods from Bombay, consisting of Europe long-cloths (suphedli), bars and sheets of iron, spices, coco-nuts, &c.; but they shew a great want of enterprise in selecting for their voyage the season when the river is at its lowest, when there is less risk, and they can load their boats heavily; the consequence is, that their voyage from Bombay to Bhawulpore occupies seven months. They lose the advantage of being first in the market, and much of their profit is eaten up by the wages of boat-men. Goomani Ram Seth, of Luchmungurh, who has branch firms at Sirsa and at Bombay, has now sent for an experimental cargo from Bombay, in order to prove in how short a time goods shipped at Bombay, and brought up the river in boats lightly laden, and taking advantage of the season of favourable winds, can be landed at Bhawulpore, and conveyed thence to the markets at Bhiam and Delhi. Should the result of his venture be favourable, his example will no doubt have many followers, and we shall in course of time see this channel of commerce vie with that from Calcutta to Delhi, and in a great measure supersede the long and expensive land route from Bombay *via* Pali.

Of the traffic created between the marts of Bhawulpore and Sirsa by the opening of the new road, I have little to say. In the outset, the Sirsa merchants anticipated a great demand for the groceries which they bring from near Shamli and export westward; their anticipations have not been realized. The consumption at Bhawulpore itself is not very great, and that place is already well supplied, by the channel of the Sutlej, from Loodiana and the Jaliendar Doab, and when our merchants would have sent on their investments to Sukkur, when a demand for them existed, they discovered that the heavy duties they would have to pay, in clearing out of Bhawulpore, would leave them little or no profit on their investments. To avoid these ruinous duties, they are now put to the inconvenience of sending their goods outside of Bhawulpore to the river-side, and there keeping them until they can hire a boat to take them on to Sukkur; and yet, in spite of this drawback, my impression is, that when bullock-carts come to be used instead of camels on the new road, it may suc-

cessantly compete with the river route in supplying Upper Sindh with the groceries and drugs in demand there, which can be procured cheaper and of better quality from the eastward of Sira than from the neighbourhood of Loodiana and Jallendar. The Sira merchants will also have the advantage of bringing back a return cargo, thus making two profits where the river-going trade only yields one. In addition to sugar, molasses, cotton, and groceries, the Sira merchants should be able to export to Bhawulpore the indigo grown about Hamel, which is of a superior quality to that now purchased by the Lohani merchants at Bhawulpore and Shahabad, for export to western markets.

Another branch of trade that will be more immediately affected by the opening of the new route is that from Afghanistan to India, carried on by the Lohanis. The trade is so well known, that a detailed account of it is not requisite. The number of camels laden with merchandize that annually pass through Dera Ismael Khan towards India, led by these enterprising traders, has been estimated at 7,000. Those who bring horses are compelled by the Sikh government to take the road to Lahore; very few of them come by Multan and Bhawulpore. Those who bring green and dried fruits, madder, assafoetida, and other merchandize, find their way to our frontier from numerous directions, driven by exactions into circuitous routes, and travelling any distance, and undergoing any hardships, rather than pay duties. Besides the Lohani kafilas engaged in this trade, there are kafilas belonging to Multan,—Afghans, amounting to about 700 camels, that go annually to Candahar, and as far as Lucknow and Cawnpore in our provinces. There are also merchants at Bhawulpore, and at Soorutgurb, in the desert, whose camels, 300 in number, ply between Dera Ismael Khan, Jung Meani, Multan, and other provinces, making their journeys later in the season, and purchasing the goods which they import from the Lohanis. The reduction of the duties in the Bhawulpore and Bikaner states, followed up by the removal of all difficulties in the supply of water to caravans, should have the effect of concentrating in the new road a great part of the trade above described, and the Lohanis, freed in a great measure from former exactions, should be able considerably to increase the amount of their imports and exports.

It has been suggested that the opening of the direct road across the desert would enable the Lohanis to make two journeys to India, instead of one. The time saved affords no grounds for such an expectation, nor is it possible in their present mode of travelling, for they can only cross the Suliman range with their families previous to or after the heavy falls of snow, and they must leave their families to spend the depth of winter in Demaun,—that is, on this side the passes; but if it has not effected what was impracticable as a measure facilitating the access of the Lohanis to our marts, and the supply of their wants, the opening a direct road, together with the reductions of duties through two of the three foreign states intervening between Afghanistan and India, must be admitted to have effected much for commerce between those countries. Much eventual benefit will, I am persuaded, also arise from this measure to the trade between Bombay and the marts of Upper India and the Punjab; and if I might be permitted to suggest a further measure by which commerce by these two channels might be promoted, it should be the revival of an old proposition for the establishment of a mart, or annual fair, at a convenient position on the frontier, at which the merchants from Afghanistan,

from Hindoostan, and from Bombay, might meet and exchange their goods, free from the vexatious exactions practised by native governments. The inconvenience suffered by our merchants trading between Sirsa and Upper Scinde, from the want of an intermediate mart at which they might store or dispose of their goods, free from exorbitant duties, has been already noticed; and this inconvenience would be more severely felt, should the Bombay trade with Delhi and Amritsar follow the new channel. As regards the effect of a mart or fair on the Lohani trade, it may be remarked that, though generally the Lohanis are indifferent to the distance they have to travel to supply their wants, there are many of them even now who find it their interest to dispose of the goods at marts nearer home, where they have to pay heavy duties, and where their wants are but indifferently supplied. Many of them who cross the Suliman range with the last kafilā of the season may wish to return with the first, and will dispose of their goods at Dēra Ismael Khan, at Multan, and at Bhawalpore, as has been observed of the merchants of those places, rather than undertake a long march into Hindoostan. Others, again, whose wants are supplied at Jung Meani, Multan, Shujabad, and Bhawalpore, never come beyond those marts. At Jung Meani, after disposing of their own goods, they purchase large quantities of a particularly strong coarse cloth, resembling dowote, which, dyed in indigo, is the common wear of the Affghan peasantry. At Shujabad they purchase indigo, and at Multan and Bhawalpore indigo and coarse chintz, which are exported to Bokhara. It is, therefore, obvious that, were a mart once established in a convenient locality on the frontier, where no duties should be levied, the number of Lohanis who would dispose of their goods there, instead of coming on to India, would be much increased — indeed, that the number might be expected to increase in proportion to the ability of our merchants to supply their wants.

Should the foregoing remarks dispose you to view the establishment of a mart as a practical object deserving of encouragement, it will not be difficult to determine its position. The town of Bhawalpore, or a site in its immediate neighbourhood, would unite advantages that could not be found in any other one place. It is situated both on the high road of the trade from Afghanistan to India, and on what promises at no distant period, and with due encouragement, to become the high road of trade from Bombay to Delhi, or from Europe to the marts in Upper India. It is, moreover, easily accessible from the capitals of Rajpootana, from Delhi, and from Amritsar, and is near to Multan, itself a great mart.

In conclusion, as connected with subjects adverted to in this letter, I beg to draw your attention to the annexed tabular statement obtained from the government native agent at Bhawalpore, shewing the increase of trade on the rivers Sutlej and Indus since the opening of those rivers early in 1833. It will be seen that, in the first year, the number of boats that descended the river was four, laden with 2,700 mds. of merchandize, which, I may observe by the way, was sold at a dead loss, owing to the obstacles opposed to our merchants by the jealous fears of the Ameers of Scinde. In the last year, 1843, the number of boats is stated at 1,125, and the quantity of merchandize at 2,14,416 mds. All the 1,125 boats, save the three alluded to in a former part of this letter, as bringing cargoes from Bombay up the Indus, are downward-going boats, engaged in carrying groceries and drugs from near Ferozepore and Ludiana, and grain from near Sutpoor and Mithankoth, to Scinde. It must be

admitted that the greater portion of the 2,14,416 mds. of merchandize, so called, is grain, the demand for which in Seinda arises from the presence there of a large body of our troops; that the trade up the river from Bombay is at present trifling; that the population on the rivers is too scanty and too poor to be able for many years to come to purchase any quantity of our Europe manufactures; but I would still draw your attention to the general progress of trade on the rivers. In 1823, on the course of the Sutlej and Ghara, from Loodiana to near Bhawulpore, there were no boats, but one or two at each of the ferries, ten or twelve miles apart, used for crossing the river. The use of oars, masts, and sails, was unknown, and a voyage down or up the river to any distance unheard of. We now see the boatmen of the upper course of the Ghara and Sutlej become expert sailors, and making a voyage to Sakkur and back as a common occurrence, while the actual number of boats between Loodiana and Sukkur has increased from 250 to upwards of 750. These are results which appear to me to justify our entertaining sanguine hopes of one day seeing the neglected rivers of the north-west of the Indian continent vie with those to the east as channels of commerce and civilization.

Critical Notices.

Anglo-Indian Policy during and since the Affghan War. By FREDERICK HOLME M.A. Edinburgh, 1845. Blackwood.

THIS work consists of a series of papers, six in number, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, at intervals of a year, from January, 1839, to May, 1844, devoted to an examination of the foreign policy of our Indian Government, and the condition of the States, Indian and extra-Indian, with which that policy was connected, occasional narratives of transactions, diplomatic and military, being interwoven. They contain, in short, a criticism upon our Indian policy, from the date of the lamentable Affghan expedition to the close of Lord Ellenborough's misadministration; and are written with first-rate ability, discovering not only sound and just views, but a comprehensive knowledge of Eastern politics rarely seen in our best periodical works. We do not hesitate to say, that an ordinary reader, from a perusal of this work of 140 pages, will gain a full and accurate acquaintance with the important occurrences in India during the last five years. Mr. Holme pays the following just tribute to a nobleman, who, for reasons which have not yet appeared, has been shamefully vilified.

"No former Governor-General of India entered on his office—at all times the most arduous under the British crown—under such unfavourable auspices, and with such a complicated accumulation of difficulties to combat, as Lord Ellenborough; few, if any, of his predecessors have had their actions, their motives, and even their words, exposed to such an unsparing measure of malicious animadversion and wilful misconstruction; yet none have passed so triumphantly through the ordeal of experience. Many of his measures may now be judged of by their fruits; and those of the Calcutta press,* who were

* It is now generally known that the universal hostility of the Indian press was provoked by Lord Ellenborough's having withdrawn (by instructions from the Court of Directors) the private intelligence which Lord Auckland had allowed them to receive of the forthcoming measures of Government.

loudest in their cavils, compelled to admit the success which has attended them, are reduced to aim their censures at the alleged magiloquence of the Governor-General's proclamations; which, it should always be remembered in England, are addressed to a population accustomed to consider the bombast of a Persian secretary as the *as plus ultra* of human composition, and which are not, therefore, to be judged by the European standard of taste. Much of the hostility directed against Lord Ellenborough is, moreover, owing to his resolute emancipation of himself from the bureaucracy of secretaries and members of council, who had been accustomed to exercise control as 'viceroys over' his predecessors, and who were dismayed at encountering a man whose previously acquired knowledge of the country which he came to govern enabled him to dispense with the assistance and distastefulity of this red-tape camarilla. Loud were the complaints of these gentry at what they called the despotism of the new Governor-General, on finding themselves excluded from that participation in state secrets in which they had long revelled, in a country where so much advantage may be derived from knowing beforehand what is coming at head-quarters. But much of the success of Lord Ellenborough's government may be attributed to the secrecy with which his measures were thus conceived, and the promptitude with which his personal activity and decision enabled him to carry them into effect—success of which the merit is thus due to himself alone, and to the liberty of action which he obtained by shaking off at once the etiquettes which had hitherto trammelled the Indian government. In July, 1842, we ventured to pronounce, that 'on the course of Lord Ellenborough's government will mainly depend the question of the future stability, or gradual decline, of our Anglo-Indian empire; and if, at the conclusion of his viceroyalty, he has only so far succeeded as to restore our foreign and domestic relations to the same state in which they stood ten years since, he will merit to be handed down to posterity by the side of Clive and Hastings.' The task has been nobly undertaken and gallantly carried through; and though time alone can shew how far the present improved aspect of Indian affairs may be destined to permanency, Lord Ellenborough is at least justly entitled to the merit of having wrought the change, as far as it rests with one man to do so, by the firm and fearless energy with which he addressed himself to the enterprise."

Reply to a Pamphlet entitled "India and Lord Ellenborough." By ZETA.
Second Edition. London, 1845. Ollivier.

HAVING ourselves exposed the misrepresentations of the pamphlet to which this is a reply, we should not be justified in going over the ground again. We shall, therefore, merely say that ZETA,—a writer who attached some reputation to that name by his political contributions to the *Morning Post*,—has most successfully disposed of the pamphleteer, upon whom his own manner of writing is very fairly retorted.

The German Manual for the Young and for Self-tuition. By W. KLAUER-KLATTOWSKI. London, 1845. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE increasing attention with which German literature is now regarded in England, combined with the difficulty of the language itself, has given birth to a number of works which profess to smooth the road to its attainment. Among these the one now before us occupies a high place. It is in two volumes, the first of which, contains a selection of pieces for translation;

flowers, as the author styles them in the opening lesson, culled from the garden of German literature. The second volume comprises a compendious grammar, a key and glossary to the pieces in the first volume, a set of German dialogues, with a French translation in parallel columns, and finally a complete German letter-writer.

The title selected for the work appears an unfortunate one; not that it pretends to more than it can accomplish, but because M. Klauer, in the introduction prefixed to the first volume, makes several remarks tending to shew that the aid of a tutor is indispensable in mastering the language. With such views, it appears strange that he should have entitled his work a manual for self-tuition. On some other points, too, we cannot entirely agree with him: his etymology of the word *meurtritif*, or horse-radish, 'its being relished by horses,' is quite new to us; as well as his division (vol 2. p. 90) of a proposition into two parts, subject and predicate. In his eagerness to deprecate the plan of learning a language by rote (see Introduction), he appears to forget that it is the mode in which all are naturally acquired.

But M. Klauer does not pretend to teach us etymology or logic, but German, and this his book seems admirably calculated to do. The pieces for translation are well selected: the key and glossary adapted to give a clear insight into the intricacies of German construction: the grammar is at once compendious and lucid: and even if the Dialogues and Polite Letter-writer may be thought unworthy the rest of the work (for such things appear seldom to be of much practical use), still they are excellent in their way. In short, the whole work seems perfectly suited to answer the end of its publication, and we are of opinion, that those who study by its help this beautiful but difficult language will feel themselves much indebted to its author.

Royal Asiatic Society.

A general meeting of this society was held on the 18th of January: the Right Honourable the Earl of Auckland, President, in the chair.—Various presents to the library were laid before the members; and Albemarle Bettington, and W. S. Gillett, Esquires, were elected Resident Members.

A paper, by C. Masson, Esq., was read, detailing the particulars of a journey made by him in 1838, from Peshawur to Shah-baz-Ghari, a village about forty miles from that place, in the Yusufzai country of Afghanistan. The expedition was undertaken by Mr. Masson for the sole purpose of copying the large inscription extant on a rock near the village above named, and which had been first made known to Europeans, in 1836, by M. Court, a French officer formerly in the service of Runjit Singh. An imperfect copy of a few lines of the inscription had been sent to Europe by Captain Sir A. Burnes, but this was of no further use than to excite antiquarian curiosity on the subject, and to induce Mr. Masson to endeavour to satisfy it. This enterprising traveller was not to be deterred from attempting the journey by the knowledge that hostile chiefs were warring against each other in the country. He reached Shah-baz-Ghari on the afternoon of the 17th of October, and was most hospitably received by the *Malek*, or chief of the district. Next day, Mr. Masson and his party visited the rock, which he found covered with characters on two sides. The lines of the inscription were undulating, and had been cut upon the rock

without any previous smoothing of its surface, which was now so covered with the moss and dirt of ages, as to require the labour of the whole of the day to make the letters distinct and visible. On the 19th, after covering the surface of the rock with ink, Mr. Masson hoped to be able to get a fac-simile of the inscription on native paper, pressed upon it, but he was unsuccessful. Calico was then used instead of paper, and answered better; but Mr. Masson found he had not enough of that material for the purpose. On the 20th, after scraping out the letters with sharp tools, Mr. Masson had had made for the purpose, and marking their cavities by a chalky stone, he succeeded in taking a copy of the whole inscription by the eye: and on the next day, having procured an additional supply of English calico, he managed to get a tolerable fac-simile of that on the north side of the rock. Another day was spent in correcting the copies taken, and on the 23rd our traveller and his party started on the return to Peshawur. The *Malak*, who had throughout evinced the utmost kindness towards Mr. Masson, accompanied the party to the borders of his dominions, and furnished them with a guide for the rest of the journey. Our traveller reached Peshawur in safety, and sent back the guide with a *Korán* and other presents for the *Malak*, as well to shew his appreciation of the hospitable treatment he had received from him and his people, as to ensure for future Feringhi travellers a favourable reception by them.

The fac-simile on calico taken by Mr. Masson was suspended in the society's room; it is twenty feet in length, by eight or nine in breadth. The characters are not unlike Phœnician, and are those of the Bactro-Pahlavi, anterior to the Christian era. We are glad to learn that the society purposes to have the inscriptions lithographed and published, and that Mr. Norris, the assistant secretary to the institution, has undertaken a critical comparison of the calico impression with the copies taken by sight, as well as a philological analysis of the whole. Mr. Masson, who was present, received the thanks of the meeting for his interesting communication.

On the 1st of February, the society held another meeting; the Earl of Auckland in the chair. The honorary secretary read to the meeting a paper on the Progress and Present State of the Cinnamon Trade of Ceylon; by John Capper, Esq., of that island.

In commencing his paper, the writer briefly notices the probable uses made of Cinnamon among the ancients for sacrificial and other purposes. He then reviews the intercourse which existed between the traders of Egypt and the inhabitants of the northern part of Ceylon, and remarks that, after the discovery of the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the northern ports of Ceylon declined rapidly, the native fleets dwindled away, and the trade formerly carried on by them passed into the hands of the Portuguese, on their settling upon the island. The quantity of Cinnamon exported by the Portuguese appears to have been very trifling, as the spice had not become an article of much demand in Europe. The greater quantity consumed was by the Arabs, who continued to trade with the Ceylonese; but the demand by them discontinued at the beginning of the present century, in consequence of their substituting Cassia, which could be procured at a much lower cost than Cinnamon. Through the Portuguese, the Spaniards became acquainted with the uses of Cinnamon, and through the latter, the spice was introduced into the new world.

Soon after the Dutch had gained possession of Ceylon, one of their go-

vernors, M. Falk, turned his attention to the improvement of the culture of Cinnamon, in spite of the opposition of the *Chakas*, or native peo-
ple, who maintained that the spice would be deteriorated by cultivation. Falk, how-
ever, persevered, and soon produced bushes of a size and quality superior to
any that had been known before. By employing large numbers of the villagers
in the culture, and by stimulating them to second his efforts of improvement
by a judicious system of rewards, in a few years he had considerable tracts of
land well planted with the shrub, and obtained a far more abundant supply of
the spice than had been previously collected. To preserve his plantations,
severe enactments were passed, and heavy fines, or floggings, were awarded to
depredators.

During the Dutch rule, the exports of Cinnamon to Europe and the Indian
continent appear to have been considerable. By treaties with the sovereigns of
Kandy, they procured the monopoly of purchasing large quantities of the spice
at a reduced price. From official documents it would seem that, about the
middle of the 18th century, the quantity of Cinnamon exported from Ceylon,
was 6,000 bales, of 88lbs. each, to Europe; and 1,000 or 1,200 bales to the
Indian continent; 400 to the Coromandel coast; and about 200 to Persia and
the coasts of the Red Sea.

The English found the Cinnamon trade on the decrease, and the cultivation
of the shrub confined to a few spots near Colombo, where Falk had com-
menced his experiments. The subject was not long neglected by us, and in
1799 Governor North inclosed the best portions of Cinnamon land near
Colombo, and other places, with broad boundary ditches, and by employing
a large number of labourers upon the gardens, they were soon brought into a
flourishing state. In 1805, Mr. Carrington, the chief superintendent of the
gardens, greatly improved and extended the culture. But in its extreme care
to preserve Cinnamon bushes from destruction, government passed enactments
which became very obnoxious to the natives. When the Cinnamon depart-
ment fell into the hands of Mr. Montgomery, he recommended that Govern-
ment should add to their own plantations, and thereby render themselves
independent of the native gardens. His advice was taken as regarded the
extension of the plantations; but none of the coercive restrictions upon the
native gardeners were relaxed. Previous to 1804 there appears no accurate
record of the amount of the crops, but from that time to 1814 the annual
number of bales produced increased from 3,400 to 4,500. On the Kandyan
Provinces being subjected to British rule, in 1815, the aggregate produce
greatly increased. In 1823 a new spirit was infused into the Cinnamon culti-
vation by the exertions of Mr. Wallbeoff, the superintendent, whose judicious
views were liberally supported by Sir J. Campbell, and by his successor, Sir
E. Barnes: 900 men were now employed, and about 640 acres of new ground
were planted. In 1833, however, Government suddenly relinquished their
monopoly of the Cinnamon cultivation, the trade was thrown open to the
natives, and the neglected gardens were sold in 1841, 1842, and 1843, fetching
wretched prices. Although the opening of the trade to private dealers threw
the business into its legitimate channels, the good effects at first exhibited were
not permanent; and even the reduction of the export duty in 1836 did not
increase the demand for the spice. Cassia, which could be procured at a tithe
of the price of Cinnamon, rose rapidly into use, and has continued to supplant
the latter in many of the continental markets, as well as our own. From this

period to the close of 1843, the trade languished, in spite of a further reduction of the export duty. Early in 1844, however, after the large imports at home of low-duty spice, the quantity in store on the island was barely sufficient for six months' supply; and in a very short time prices got up 50 per cent.; and it is thought that that improved rate will be maintained.

The paper concludes with some curious particulars relating to the caste of Cinnamon-peelers on Ceylon, and of the grades and ranks into which they are divided; also of the system of compulsory labour enforced by the Dutch, which was abolished by the British. Some accounts are also given of the mode of cultivating the shrub, and of the wages paid to the labourers. The plant requires great attention and care, and the produce is extremely liable to injury from damp.

Chronicle.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE Session of Parliament was opened on the 4th of February by her Majesty in person. The Royal Speech touched upon no Eastern topic, nor was any such topic (except the Tahiti question) introduced in the debates on the Addresses, which were carried in both houses unanimously.

In the House of Commons, on the 10th of February, Mr. *Hume* inquired whether there would be any objection to the production of the correspondence between the Government and the Court of Directors respecting the recal of Lord Ellenborough?—Mr. *Baring* intimated that the government did not intend to produce the correspondence.—Mr. *Hume* subsequently gave notice that he would, on the 16th March, move for a copy of the correspondence, and also for a copy of the minute directing the recal.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Lord Viscount Jocelyn has been appointed Secretary to the Board of Control, in place of Mr. W. B. Baring.

The Rev. W. H. Johnstone, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, has been appointed to the chaplaincy of the Hon. East-India Company's Military Seminary, Addiscombe.

The next see erected by the committee to whom has been intrusted the appropriation of the Colonial Bishops' Fund, will be that of Ceylon. The Rev. James Chapman, M.A., formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, rector of Dunstan Walle, Essex, and late assistant master at Eton School, will be the first bishop of the new diocese.

The Boden Professor of Sanscrit, at Oxford, commenced his lectures on the 10th of February, at the Clarendon.

The Arabic Professor at Cambridge commences his lectures on the 8th of April, in the Combination-room of St. Catherine's-hall, to be continued every day till the division of term. Subjects—"The Chrestomathies of Koss-garten and De Sacy, the *Koran* and the *Makamat* of Hariri." The Arabic Professor also gives notice, that he purposes to deliver a course of Sanscrit lectures in the Easter Term. The early lectures will be elementary, being intended for persons desirous of beginning the study of the Sanscrit language. The subject of the remaining lectures will be, "The Episode of Nala," from the *Mahabharata*. The lectures to begin on the 8th of April, in the Combina-

tion-room of St. Catherine's hall; to be continued every day till the division of term.

Captain Grover has received intelligence of Dr. Wolff to the 10th of January, at which date he was at Erzeroum, endeavouring to recruit his strength for the journey over the mountains to Trebizond. At Teheran, the Doctor was received in the kindest manner by Colonel Shiel, her Majesty's envoy, who sent a government golan to meet him. He left Teheran in a *tuchak* (a sort of litter), and by easy stages reached Tabrees. Here the judicious treatment of Dr. Casolani enabled him, after some days' repose, to proceed by a similar conveyance towards Erzeroum. On reaching the Turkish frontier, owing to the immense accumulation of snow, he was obliged to proceed on horseback, and after great bodily suffering, he reached Erzeroum on the 4th of January completely exhausted.

Dr. Beke communicates the following extract of a letter from Aden, dated October 11, 1844:—"The latest news from Shoa is, that Sahela Selassie has suddenly made extensive inroads into the adjoining countries, and murdered and captured many thousands—report says, 30,000 men, women, and children. The natural consequence is an increase in the exports, by sea, of slaves, to supply Mokha, Hodeidah, Loheia, Djidda, and Yembo. The Danakil (the slave-dealers) are in a terrible fright in consequence of their having expected 600 from Tadjúrrah."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Feb. 5.

The *Berbice Gazette* states, on the authority of Mr. George Laing, that 10,000 instead of 5,000 coolies are to be sent by Lord Stanley to British Guiana.—*Ibid*.

The *Revue de Paris* announces, that the marriage of the celebrated Arab Chief, Yussuf Bey, Colonel of the Spahis, with Miss Weyer, grand niece of General Guilleminot, was to be celebrated in Paris on the 27th of February. He has abjured Islamism, and embraced the Catholic religion at St. Thomas d' Aquin, in presence of the relatives of his wife and of a few friends. He received the sacrament of baptism, and had for his godfather M. Gentz de Bussy, formerly civil intendant of Algiers, and for his godmother Madame Gentz de Bussy. Yussuf is a Turk by birth, and 36 years of age. After his marriage he is to be promoted to the rank of Major-General, and invested with the military command of Oran.

The East-India and China Association have placed the portrait of Mr. Waghorn (by Sir George Hayter) in their board-room, as a memorial of his valuable services in acting as the first pioneer in the overland route to India.

The new Arctic Expedition is appointed to sail about the first week in May. The intended route is through Barrow Straits, between Cape Walker and Banks' Land, and thence to the continent of America, to the westward of Wollaston Land. They will still be able to take two years' provisions, though the steam apparatus and coals will not admit of their taking three years' complete, as on former arctic voyages. Capt. Crozier is to accompany Sir J. Franklin.

Mr. Baily has just completed, for the College at Calcutta, a monument of the late Mr. David Hare, the statue being 6½ feet in height.

The freedom of the City has been voted to Sir Henry Pottinger, in a box valued at 100 guineas.

The *Precursor* steamer arrived at the Sand Heads, Calcutta, on the 26th December. She had been looked for from about the 6th. The detention arose from bad weather at the Cape, which denied her communication with the shore for eight or nine days, and an accident to her machinery, which, with

coaling, detained her sixteen days at the Mauritius, where, through the stupidity of the pilot, she was put on a coral reef, but got off in a couple of hours, with some slight injury to her copper, sufficient, however, to send her into dock.—*Overland Calcutta Star*.

The merchants connected with the East Indies are in great consternation at an announcement from Marseilles, by which it appears that the Calcutta mail that left here on the 24th ult. found no vessel to convey it to Malta. The consequence is, that it will have to wait at Marseilles till the arrival of the Bombay mail that leaves here on Friday, before it can be carried on to Malta and Alexandria. When it reaches the latter place, one of two contingencies may arise—either it will be forwarded to Bombay with the Bombay mail, in which case the original and duplicate letters will both go by the same vessel; or it will be detained there a month for the next Calcutta conveyance, and in that case the duplicates will precede the originals. Great dissatisfaction is expressed at the oversight which seems to have been committed by the Admiralty in not providing a vessel to take the Calcutta mail from Marseilles to Malta. All the advantage that was held forth by the announcement of a special mail on the 24th ult. is completely thrown away.—*Times*, Feb. 5.

It appears the steam arrangements have undergone another change,—or rather, we should say, the negotiation that was pending between the Peninsular and Oriental Company and her Majesty's Government, for the conveyance of the mail to Alexandria on the 3rd of each month, has, for the present, fallen to the ground, we believe under an impression that the steamers belonging to her Majesty, which are now lying idle, may be economically employed on this service, and they are consequently refitting for the purpose. The *Styx* will lead off on the 3rd proximo; but as her Majesty's steamers will neither carry goods, parcels, nor passengers, the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for the accommodation of the public, have determined to start their Constantinople boats on the 1st of each month. This comfortable medium of conveyance, with a branch boat from Malta to Alexandria, will enable passengers to reach Egypt two or three days prior to the arrival of the outward mail, and consequently they will pass through to Suez with much ease and comfort, and passengers from Bombay will proceed by the same means to England. The new arrangement of the Government cannot last long, because, on the homeward voyage, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers will outrun her Majesty's smaller vessels; and then, doubtless, there will be strong and influential representations, and the public voice will compel the Government to build steamers suitable for the work, or to make an equitable contract with parties who have them already at command. As the last alternative will be the most economical, there can be no doubt that it will be adopted in the end.—*Monthly Times*.

On the 24th and 25th February, the trial took place before Lord Denman, and a special jury, in the Court of Queen's Bench at Guildhall, of "*The Queen v. Douglas*," which was an information filed at the instance of the East-India Company, against Captain Archibald Douglas, for having, whilst resident at the court of the Rajah of Tanjore, corruptly received Rs. 116,000 from the Rajah, and also about Rs. 17,000 from the Rajah of Pooda Cottah, in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, in violation of an act passed in the year 1793, and of the oath taken by him upon his appointment to the post of resident. It appeared that Capt. Douglas had filled that post from 2nd October, 1839, to 16th March, 1841, at which latter period he left Tanjore for the Neilgherry Hills, on sick leave, and Mr. Bayley, assistant to the secretary of the Governor of

Madras (Lord Elphinstone), was appointed to take temporary charge of the residency in Capt. Douglas's absence. Mr. Bayley, finding reason to believe, from his communications with the Rajah of Tanjore, that Capt. Douglas had been in the habit of receiving presents from the Rajah, communicated the fact to the Madras Government, and Mr. W. Kindersley (now deceased) was directed to proceed to Tanjore and institute a searching inquiry into the matter. Mr. Kindersley, on arriving at Tanjore, communicated in writing to Capt. Douglas the nature of the general charges alleged against him, and requested from him a specific answer. The reply from Capt. Douglas was considered by Mr. Kindersley not to afford such answer, and he addressed him again, repeating the charges, stating particulars, and the names of the parties upon whose statements they rested. Capt. Douglas, in his further letter, charged these persons with collusion; but he refused to produce his private account with Messrs. Parry, at Madras, his bankers and agents, to his credit with whom some of the sums of money were charged to have been transferred. One of the letters, which was dated 20th December, 1841, and which was relied upon by the Solicitor-General, on the part of the prosecution, as an unequivocal avowal by Capt. Douglas of his own guilt, is as follows:—

"My dear Kindersley,—I have some hopes that you may be spared a duty which I am sure must be most disagreeable to you, from a letter which I have addressed to the Government, and of which I enclose you a copy. Pray shew it the official; if you think proper, to Bayley, with my regards, if he pleases to accept them,—certainly with my respects. He has acted honourably and fairly to me, according to the impression which he received; but I wish he could have read my heart, or, which would have answered the same purpose, the heart of the wicked rajah. He bitterly deceived! No; it is I that have been most bitterly deceived. I have not the least intention of denying the fact of having lent myself to a system of some forty years' duration. The cruelty of Sir Frederick Adams's measure—my deep and hopeless state of embarrassment—the refusal of the Court to grant me any redress, because I was employed out of the regular line of my profession, though they acknowledged the injustice and oppression I had met with from their Governor at Madras—the inattention of Lord E. (supposed to be Lord Elphinstone) to their orders for my appointment to Travancore by way of compensation—the reduction of my salary at Tanjore, when I did return there, by upwards of 500*l.* a year—the entire failure of my health, and with it all hopes even of release for the debts I had incurred for others—I could add to the list; but though I did so for ever, it would be no excuse; the best, the only really palliative part of the proceeding is, that I did not deceive the rajah. He was told I would unflinchingly perform my public duty; and I did so, hoping against hope. I told him repeatedly I would leave him to his fate, never to return; and I did so,—at how great a sacrifice, let the present well-founded, as likely to happen, apparent ruin, to which Bayley's belief of the rajah's assertions exposes me and mine, testify. Good-bye. I have been very foolish, hoping against hope, and misled by the rajah's promises, and at times even his semblance of amendment. If your inquiry should proceed, even in spite of my letter, it should commence with the installation of Sirpatee in 1799, and Mr. Torins and his annuity of 1,000*l.* per annum; Colonel Blackburn, ditto, ditto; Fife's ditto; and, above all, to entertain the fact whether or not I made any alteration in the method left me by poor old M'Clean. No

excuse; I know it, and deeply feel it. It does not signify whether it was the mere bite of the apple, or the eating it all. Touch not—taste not. The Act of Insolvency was the choice left me, and I was weak.

"I am, faithfully, yours,

"A. DOUGLAS.

¹ Addressed to W. Kinnarsley, Esq., Tanjore."

The case having been laid before the Attorney-General, he filed an *ex officio* information against Capt. Douglas (then in England), and a *mandamus* was granted by this Court to the Supreme Court at Madras, for the purpose of taking evidence in support of the charges, which was accordingly taken on the spot, and copies of such evidence were transmitted to this country. On the part of the defendant, Mr. Kelly objected to the reception of this evidence, on the ground (*inter alia*) that the original transcript, and not copies, should have been transmitted, which point the judge reserved.

Mr. Kelly, for the defendant, contended that he had merely followed the practice of his predecessors in receiving presents, without which the income of his office would not have defrayed his expenses, and he complained that Capt. Douglas should have been selected as a victim. The Company had arrested him as a deserter, and when he obtained his release by *habeas corpus*, they instituted this proceeding. He entreated the jury to deal justly, but mercifully and leniently, with him. The jury returned a verdict against the defendant. Lord Denman, in his address to the jury, commended the conduct of Mr. Bayley, who, when offered presents which had not been rejected by former residents, had not forgotten that he was an Englishman, and preferred the performance of his duty to the gratification of his interest.

A column is to be erected by subscription to the memory of the late Sir William Nott, near his native place, Carmarthen.

Our letters from Alexandria (Feb. 8, 1845), referring to Mr. Galloway's projected railroad, state that that gentleman, having brought the subject to the Pasha, the latter desired him to prepare a plan, saying that he would look at it after his return from Upper Egypt. In the meanwhile, Mr. Galloway has been measuring the ground on the spot. The notion of the canal across the isthmus seems to be dropped.—*Times*, Feb. 25.

In the *Diario do Governo* of Lisbon, of the 15th February, is published a copy of a decree issued by the Chinese High Commissioner Ki, dated the 31st of October last, in which, by order of the Emperor, the port of Macao is declared open to the trading-vessels of Portugal, and of all other nations.

OBITUARY.

Sir James Dowling, Chief Justice of New South Wales.—Sir James Dowling died at his residence, at Darlinghurst, Sydney, on the 27th of September. He was born in 1787, and was called to the English bar, where he acquired a high professional reputation; the reports bearing the name of "Dowling and Ryland," are well known. He had been some years at the bar, when, in June, 1827, he was appointed to the office of puisne judge in New South Wales; and in August, 1837, on the retirement of Sir Francis Forbes, he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. Sir James had obtained leave of absence for two years, in order that he might visit his native country, with a view to the restoration of his health, which had completely broken down under the pressure of excessive labour, occasioned by the withdrawal of Judge Burton to Madras. Sir James was then left to dis-

charge all the duties connected with the Courts of Equity, Common Law, Admiralty, and the Criminal Court, with only one coadjutor, Judge Stephens. These duties completely broke him down, and he was thrown upon his bed incapable of further exertion. His medical attendants at once pronounced the necessity of immediate withdrawal from all active employment, as well as the expediency of a change of climate. Under these circumstances, the governor granted him permission to return to England; and he had taken his passage with Lady Dowling, in the hope that he would be able to resume his duties hereafter. Unhappily, however, a temporary convalescence was succeeded by a relapse, which carried him off, to the regret of all the inhabitants of the colony, by whom he was sincerely respected, not only on account of his great talent, integrity, and impartiality as a judge, but for his unceasing benevolence as a man, having been a liberal contributor to every institution calculated to promote the happiness or advantage of the colony. Previous to his death, the legislative assembly, impressed with the value of his past services (having been 17 years on the bench), voted him the full amount of his official salary (2,000*l.* a-year) during his absence, although it is customary on such occasions to reduce that moderate stipend one-half. Farewell addresses of the most flattering description were presented to him by the corporation and every institution in Sydney; while the bar not only offered the strongest expressions of their sympathy, but handed to him a valuable piece of plate, commemorative of the high regard which they entertained for him, and the deep sorrow they felt at the cause of his departure. "It is a source of painful reflection to the family of the learned judge," observes the *Globe*, "that, three years back, when labouring under ill-health, arising from his incessant application, he applied to the Governor (Sir G. Gipps) for permission to return to his native air to recruit his strength, but was refused on the ground of economy, and on the plea that his medical men would not certify that he was incapable of continuing his duties without danger to his life. The economy by this fatal determination secured was a saving of 500*l.* a-year, for two years. One-half of Sir James's salary would have been apportioned to some gentleman of the bar, who would have been placed on the bench, and this sum would have been increased to 1,500*l.* per annum, the salary of a puisne judge, out of the colonial funds. This refusal is the more extraordinary, as a similar license had been granted to his predecessor, Sir F. Forbes, and to Judge Burton, next in seniority to himself, without hesitation. Judge Burton, on his return to the colony, was appointed to a better post at Madras, and thus Sir James and Judge Stephens were left to perform the whole judicial duties of the colony, and the life of a valuable public functionary has been sacrificed."

In the official announcement of the event, in the *Sydney Gazette*, the governor expresses his assurance, "that the public in general will join with him in deeply regretting the loss which the colony has sustained by the death of his Honour, and in a desire to pay all possible respect to his memory," and his intention to attend the funeral of the deceased Chief Justice, which he invites all officers of the civil government also to attend.

Sir James has left behind him a widow, two daughters, and a son, in the colony. Mr. James Dowling, his second son, is at the English bar, and was on the eve of his departure to the colony, hourly expecting the arrival of his father. His family in this country is well known as members of the bar, and by their connection with our periodical and general literature.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Jan. 20. At Roehampton, the Hon. Mrs. Leslie Melville, son.

Feb. 10. At Curzon-street, May-fair, Viscountess Jocelyn, daughter.

— At Stockton-on-Tees, the lady of W. C. Gibson, Esq., Ceylon Civil Service, son.

11. At Bishopstoke, the lady of Captain Walter, Bombay Cavalry, daughter.

13. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the lady of James Weir Hogg, Esq., M.P., son.

18. At the East-India College, the wife of the Rev. Henry Melvill, B.A., daughter.

24. At Warley Barracks, Essex, the wife of Capt. W. F. Hay, E. I. Co.'s dépôt, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 4. At Tonbridge-wells, James A. Durham, Esq., to Maria Helen, daughter of William Thomas Toone, Esq., late of the Hon. East-India Company's service.

— At St. Pancras Church, Mr. George Wickens, of Southwark, second son of George Wickens, Esq., of Rotherfield, Sussex, to Anna Maria, youngest daughter of the late William Cole, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

— At Edinburgh, A. Easter, Esq., to Jessie F. Steel, eldest daughter of the late Lieut. col. J. Taylor, Bengal army.

6. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Percy Tuckin Snow, Esq., 3rd Madras Light Infantry, to Louisa Maria, eldest daughter of T. A. Shaw, Esq., late of the Bengal Civil Service.

11. At St. Paul's Church, Edinburgh, Sir William Cornwallis Harris, Major of the Hon. the East-India Company's Bombay Engineers, to Margaret, only daughter of George Sligo, Esq., of Seacliff, in the county of Haddington.

12. At Carron-hall, in the county of Stirling, North Britain, Lieut.-Colonel Armine S. H. Mountain, C.B., of the Cameronians, to Charlotte Anne, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Dundas, of Carron-hall.

14. At Monkstown Church, county of Dublin, Lieut. Archibald J. M. Boileau, of the Madras engineers, son of Thomas Boileau, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, and Judge of the Northern division, Masulipatam, to Georgiana Elizabeth, eldest daughter of George Wilson Boileau, Esq., of Monkstown, county of Dublin.

15. At Woodbury, near Exeter, Capt. A. R. Witson, 14th regt. Bengal N.I., to Anna Saunders, eldest daughter of the late Capt. W. R. Smith, R.N.

DEATHS.

Oct. 22. On board the *Poictiers*, returning to England for the recovery of his health, Lieutenant Edmund Leicester, 52nd Regiment Madras N. I., second son of the late Rev. G. C. F. Leicester, of Hatfield Broad Oak.

Dec. 27. At Demerara, John T. Rothney, Esq., of the Civil Service of that colony, aged 25, sixth son of Mr. Alexander Rothney, of the East-India Company's home establishment.

Jan. 26. At Wiesbaden, duchy of Nassau, Susan Maria, youngest daughter of Captain H. A. Drummond, late of the Hon. East-India Company's Service, aged 10 years.

Feb. 4. Colonel Andrew Creagh, C.B., late commanding 81st Foot, and Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty William IV.

9. In Air-street, Piccadilly, in his 56th year, F. W. Morgan, Esq., late Captain in the Hon. East-India's Company's service.

11. At his residence, Herne-hill, Surrey, James Hine Ball, Esq., late of the East-India House, aged 62.

12. At Southampton, Lieutenant E. N. Kendall, R.N., marine superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company. He served on

several expeditions in the Arctic and Antarctic Seas, and accompanied the last expedition of Sir John Franklin to the Polar Sea, between the years 1825 and 1827, and was the companion of Dr. Richardson on that branch of the expedition which discovered and delineated the northern coast of America lying between the Mackenzie and Copper-mine rivers.

Feb. 14. At Guernsey, T. H. Davies, Esq., late President Madras Med. Board.

-- J. C. Grant, Esq., eldest son of the late Dr. W. L. Grant, Bengal establishment.

15. At Torquay, aged 23, William G. H. Vos, Esq., youngest son of the late Dr. Vos, of Calcutta.

-- Dr. W. A. Hughes, formerly of the Madras med. establishment, aged 50.

16. At Camberwell New-road, Captain William Orrok, of the Hon. East-India Company's 16th Regiment of Bombay N. I., aged 25.

17. At Brighton, Miss Julia Sophia Cross, aged 12, niece and adopted daughter of Capt. and Mrs. Cogan, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

21. At his house in Grafton-street, Piccadilly, Guy Lenox Prendergast, Esq., aged 66, late of the East-India Company's Civil Service, formerly chief of Surat, Member of Council at Bombay, and M.P. for Lymington.

SHIPPING

ARRIVALS.

JAN. 20. — *Scindian*, Bengal, Downs; *Gertrude*, Batavia, St. Alban's Head — 30. *Persian*, Madras, Eastbourn. — 31. *Louisa*, Van Diemen's Land, Portland; *Isabella*, Mauritius, Downs. — FEB. 1. *John Edward*, Bengal, Downs; *Bakamian*, China, Liverpool; *Andromache*, Singapore, Dover. — 3. *Carshalton Park*, Manilla, Dover. — 4. *Augustus*, South Australia, Isle of Wight; *Caledonia*, Batavia, Isle of Wight. — 5. *Carthaginian*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Siam*, Bengal, Sandgate. — 6. *Dauntless*, Bengal, Downs; *Hortensia*, Cape of Good Hope, Portsmouth; *Sirene*, China, Brest. — 7. *David Malcolm*, Bengal, Falmouth; *Montefiores*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Timandra*, Bengal, Falmouth. — 9. *Duke of Cornwall*, Madras, Brighton. — 10. *Regia*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Bengal*, Moulmein, Plymouth; *Sanderson*, China, Liverpool; *Delhi*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Theodosia*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Elizabeth*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Admiral Troup*, Batavia, Torbay; *Arab*, Bengal, Falmouth. — 11. *George IV.*, Singapore, Hastings. — 12. *Haidie*, N. S. Wales, off the Wight; *Earl Durham*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Esther*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Isabella Harnett*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Meloe*, Singapore, Bordeaux. — 13. *Robert Matthews*, Van Diemen's Land, Portsmouth; *Braganza*, (St.) Constantinople, Portsmouth; *Athol*, Bombay, Clyde. — 14. *Earl of Durham*, Madras, Portsmouth; *Poitiers*, Bengal, Falmouth; *McLeod*, Mauritius, Isle of Wight; *Lady Feversham*, Madras, Portsmouth; *Mary Ridley*, Bengal, Eddystone; *Douglas*, Cape of Good Hope, Dublin. — 15. *Inglewood*, China, Liverpool; *Isabella Blyth*, Mauritius, Torbay; *Unicorn*, Mauritius, Dover; *Thomas Young*, Bengal, Downs; *Cookson*, Mauritius. — 17. *England's Queen*, China, Downs; *Reliance*, Penang, Downs; *King of the Netherland's*, Batavia, Dover. — 19. *Skerne*, N. S. Wales; *Samarang*, Batavia, Plymouth. — 21. *Patna*, China, Liverpool. — 22. *Akbar*, Mauritius, Cork. — 24. *Urania*, Batavia, Plymouth; *Earl of Liverpool*, China, Portsmouth; *Robert Small*, Bengal, Dover; *Belle Creole*, Mauritius, Downs; *Emma Eugenia*, ditto; *Colombo*, Bengal, Downs; *Jack*, Mauritius, Downs. — 25. *Queen of England*, Bengal, Liverpool; *London*, ditto; *Governor*, Cape of Good Hope, Liverpool; *Wild Irish Girl*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Harrison Chilton*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Achilles*, Ceylon, Folkstone; *Emma*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Medusa*, China, Downs; *Duke of Portland*, Madras, Sandgate; *Plancius*, China, Downs.

DEPARTURES.

From Liverpool. — JAN. 17. *Ranger*, Batavia. — 28. *Syren*, Calcutta. — 29. *Hope*, Ceylon; *Argyle*, China. — 31. *William Mitchell*, China; *Invoice*, Mauritius. —

FEB. 2. *Robert Henderson*, Calcutta.—8. *Robert*, Batavia; *Burley*, Bombay.—11. *Alice Brooks*, and *Marmion*, China; *Patriot Queen*, Bengal.—12. *Peru*, Bombay.—13. *Indus*, Bombay.—18. *Sea Queen*, Calcutta; *Superior*, N. S. Wales.—20. *Jessie*, Bombay.—21. *Meg of Maldon*, Calcutta.

From the Downs.—JAN. 29. *Mauritius*, China; *Winifred*, Calcutta; *Bland*, Mauritius.—31. *Achilles*, St. Helena; *Mary*, Calcutta.—FEB. 4. *Norfolk*, Algoa Bay; *Inchman*, Bombay.—5. *Mary Ann*, Cape and Madras.—6. *Halvellyn*, Singapore; *Avoca*, Singapore.—7. *Seringapatam*, Ceylon; *Bussorah Merchant*, N. S. Wales.—10. *Swiftsure*, Mauritius.—11. *Lady Rowena*, Calcutta; *Helen Stewart*, China; *Briton*, Mauritius.—12. *Madura*, and *Hyderabad*, Aden.—14. *Orator*, Bengal.—15. *Anna Robertson*, Madras.—16. *Madagascar*, Madras and Bengal; *Eliza Scott*, St. Helena; *Vespasian*, Manilla.—19. *Berkshire*, Bombay.—22. *Ganges*, N. S. Wales.

From Portsmouth.—FEB. 4. *Prima Donna*, Swan River.—7. *Caroline*, Mauritius and Ceylon.—8. *William Shand*, China.—14. *William Hyde*, Hobart Town; *H. M. S. Lily*, Coast of Africa.—18. *Ann*, Madras and China.—19. *Concead*, Cape.

From Plymouth.—FEB. 15. *Himalaya*, Cape.

From Deal.—FEB. 7. *Cowslip*, Mauritius.

From Shields.—FEB. 9. *Borneo*, India.

From Kingstown.—FEB. 15. *Elizabeth Henry*, Hobart Town.

From the Clyde.—JAN. 25. *Levant*, Bombay; *Mary Anne*, Singapore; *Mary Eliza*, Madras.—12. *Duchess of Argyll*, Bombay.

INCIDENTS.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, DEC. 13.—The *Wm. Metcalfe*, Calcutta to London, arrived at the Cape, lost foremast, maintop-gallant mast, &c., during a heavy gale, and had seven men killed.

MADRAS, DEC. 18.—The *Lord Eldon*, Worsell, was totally lost at Madras, on this date, during a violent gale.

CHINA, OCT. 25.—The *Harriet* (English brig) was wrecked at the mouth of the Yang tze Keang; the loss of property is estimated at 100,000 dollars.

FALMOUTH, FEB. 8.—The *Arab*, Sumner, from Bengal, on entering the harbour, grounded off St. Mawes Castle, but came off after, without apparent damage.

PORTSMOUTH, FEB. 7.—The *Courier*, Whitley, London to the Cape, put in with stern stove, and mainsail split, having been in contact off Beachy Head with a ship, name unknown.

BLACKWALL, FEB. 10.—The *Henry*, Finlayson, for Ceylon and Moulmein, took fire in the river, is completely gutted, and is scuttled in Blackwall reach.

PASSENGERS.

Per *Tagus* (steamer), to Malta and Alexandria.—Mesdames Colegrave, Outram, Mackay, Carstairs, Brett; Rev. Mr. Dredge; Captains Laing and Graves; Lieut. Aplin; Ensigns Ord and Gardener; Messrs. Gifford, Colegrave, Russell, Kershaw, Renlock, Miles, Shackelton, Richards, Ryan, Heatley, Stillman, Thomas, Creagh, Ord, and Douglas.

Per steamer *Oriental*, from Southampton. For Malta.—Mesdames Walsh and England, and three children; Gen. Vern, Capt. Agnew, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Cecil, and Mr. A. Bethune. For Alexandria.—Mrs. Baines and Miss Campbell. For Madras.—Lieut. Elmhirst. For Ceylon.—Mr. and Mrs. Croome, Mr. Vandespar, and Mr. Pownall. For Calcutta.—Messrs. Harding, Hanmar, Drummond, Marshall, Bell, Cookes, Mylne, Lambert, Russel, Heath, Jenkins, Brown, and Lowe; Mr. Carnie (to embark at Suez, for Ceylon); and Mr. Mackenzie (at Malta, for Calcutta).

Per *Prima Donna*, to Cape of Good Hope and Swan River.—Mr. and Mrs.

Bland; Mr. and Mrs. Brough and infant; Dr. and Mrs. Hinds; Miss Sampson, Mr. S. P. Phillips.

Per *Aus*, for Madras.—Mrs. Gen. Fraser; the Misses Fraser, M. Fraser, and H. Fraser; Capt. Stevenson (to Madras); Drs. O'Brien and Dacre; Messrs. Lewin, Anderson, and McDonald.

Per *Symmetry*, for Mauritius, &c.—Lieut. col. Sweating, R.A.; and Mr. Scor. For Colombo.—Mr. Thomson; Lieut. Tulk and Hill, of Ceylon Rifles; Dr. Murray, staff surgeon; and Mr. Sablonadierre.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>vid</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (in divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>vid</i> Marseilles,*)						
Nov. 4	Dec. 11..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	37	Dec. 17 ..	43	Dec. 20	46
Nov. 15.....	Dec. 23..... (per <i>Akbar</i>)	38	Dec. 30 ..	45	Jan. 1.....	47
Dec. 6	Jan. 11..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	36	Jan. 17 ..	42	Jan. 19	44
Jan. 6, 1844 ..	Feb. 11..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	36	Feb. 16 ..	41	Feb. 19	44
Feb. 6.....	March 13 .. (per <i>Berenice</i>)	36	March 19 ..	42	March 21	44
March 6	April 8	33	April 14 ..	39	April 16.....	41
April 6	May 12	36	May 13 ^a ..	37	May 17 ^a	41
May 6	June 6	31	June 14 ..	36	June 15.....	40
June 7	July 9	33	July 16 ..	40	July 17.....	41
July 8	Aug. 6	29	Aug. 12 ..	35	Aug. 16.....	39
Aug. 7	Sept. 7	31	Sept. 16 ..	36	Sept. 18.....	38
Sept. 7	Oct. 12..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	35	Oct. 19 ..	42	Oct. 20	43
Oct. 7	Nov. 12..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	36	Nov. 17 [†] ..	41	Nov. 20	44
Nov. 7	Dec. 13 .. (per <i>Victoria</i>)	30				

A Mail will be made up in London, for Bombay, *vid* Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and *vid* Marseilles on the evening of the 7th March, if not postponed; a Mail will also be made up for Calcutta *vid* Southampton on the 20th, and *vid* Marseilles on the 24th.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1844-45.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>vid</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Jan. 1, 1844	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 8.....	38	Feb. 14	44
Feb. 1	<i>Cleopatra</i>	March 8.....	36	March 13..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
March 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	April 5	35	April 9..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	39
April 1	<i>Victoria</i>	May 5.....	34	May 11..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	40
May 1	<i>Berenice</i>	June 5	35	June 11..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	41
May 20	<i>Cleopatra</i>	July 4	46	July 10..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	39
June 19	<i>Akbar</i>	Aug. 3	44	Aug. 10 (per <i>Lady Mary Wood</i>)	38
July 31.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Sept. 11	49	Sept. 16	47
Aug. 27	<i>Akbar</i>	Oct. 3	37	Oct. 7	41
Oct. 1	<i>Victoria</i>	Nov. 5	36	Nov. 10	41
Nov. 1	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5	35	Dec. 10 .. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	40
Dec. 2	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Jan. 3	33	Jan. 11..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	41
Jan. 1, 1845	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 7.....	37	Feb. 17..... (per <i>Braganza</i>)	47

* Per steamer *Bontinck*.

† Per steamer *Hindostan*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PROBABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Caroline</i>	372 tons.	Hughes ...	Lond. Docks...	March 2.
<i>Orlando</i>	333	Cockrell...	W. I. Docks ...	March 7.
<i>Larkins</i>	701	Heidrick ...	E. I. Docks ...	March 8.
<i>Candahar</i>	642	Ridley	St. Kat. Docks	March 12.
<i>Timandra</i>	432	Skinner ...	Lond. Docks...	March 25.
<i>Edmonsbury</i>	600	Allan	E I. Docks ...	March 20.
<i>Poictiers</i>	756	Denny	—	March 31.
<i>Helen Mary</i>	379	Gordon ...	Lond. Docks...	April 1.
<i>Mary Ridley</i>	309	Sharer	—	April 1.
<i>Scindian</i>	650	Terry	E. I. Docks ...	April 12.

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Lady Clarke</i>	440	Lawrence	W. I. Docks ...	March 10.
<i>Pekin</i>	600	Laing	E. I. Docks ...	March 17.
<i>Orient</i>	600	Wales	—	April 10.
<i>Robert Small</i>	655	Williams ...	—	April 22.

FOR MADRAS.

<i>City of Poonah</i>	551	Hight	E. I. Docks ...	March 26.
<i>Duke of Cornwall</i>	580	Whitehead	—	March 31.
<i>Sir Robert Sale</i> ..	741	Fawcett ...	St. Kat. Docks	April 1.
<i>Minerva</i>	850	Geere	E. I. Docks ...	May 1.

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Royal Sovereign</i>	504	Freyer	W. I. Docks ...	March 7.
<i>Gilmore</i>	500	Maw	Lond. Docks...	March 15.
<i>Arab</i>	485	Sumner ...	St. Kat. Docks	March 15.
<i>Abyn</i>	374	Walker ...	Lond. Docks...	March 20.
<i>Neptune</i>	643	Ferris	E. I. Docks ...	May 15.

FOR CHINA.

<i>City of Derry</i>	474	Were	W. I. Docks ...	April 1.
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FOR Ceylon.

<i>Pearl</i>	200	Heywood...	W. I. Docks ...	March 5.
<i>Britannia</i>	379	Gellatly ...	St. Kat. Docks	March 7.
<i>Sumatra</i>	400	Duncan ...	W. I. Docks ...	April 5.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Ann Falcon</i>	265	Bowness ...	W. I. Docks ...	March 8.
<i>Darwent</i>	220	Steele	—	March 12.
<i>Chapley Castle</i>	381	Althans ...	St. Kat. Docks	March 25.

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Vanguard</i>	249	Langridge .	Lond. Docks...	March 6.
<i>Star</i>	150	MacDonald	St. Kat. Docks	March 6.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REVIEW.

No. XVIII.

THE two mails of the past month (which bring Indian intelligence down to the 8th February from Calcutta, and to the 15th from Madras) have contributed little to our previous stock of information respecting the state of the Punjab, or the proceedings in the Southern Mahratta country,—the most important topics of Indian politics at present. Fuller and more exact details are, indeed, furnished of the revolution in the Sikh state, which enable us to form better notions of its character, objects, and probable consequences.

Notwithstanding that the elements of disorder, which were scarcely slumbering at Lahore, boded but a short life to the ill-compacted authority of the late minister, Heera Sing, the suddenness of his downfall seems to have occasioned some surprise. The insubordination of the army, and the measures necessary to overcome it, might have been expected to be the immediate cause of the event; but it would appear that the discontent of the troops was one of the means employed for the overthrow of the minister, rather than the primary source of the occurrences which led to it. The *Delhi Gazette*,* which has been usually well-informed respecting Punjabí politics, has traced the rise and progress of the revolution.

Jowahir Sing, the maternal uncle of the maharajah,—a restless, intriguing man, jealous of the power of the minister, and desirous of exalting himself by means of his sister, the raní mother,—obtained from Heera Sing, who seems to have been justly distrustful of him, a jaghire, upon which he was desired to reside. This, however, did not suit his purposes, and he returned to Lahore, where his intrigues, in conjunction with those of his sister, alarmed the young vizier, who took measures to check them. In November last, Jowahir Sing retired to Umritsur. Here he could mature his schemes against the minister with more security, and, though repeatedly summoned to Lahore, he delayed his appearance there until he had secretly secured a sufficient number of partisans to accomplish his ends. The minister had resolved upon putting Jowahir Sing to death, as well as the raní, his confederate; but when the former arrived at Lahore (in the beginning of December), Heera Sing found that the army had been gained over to the cause of his rival. His adviser, the Pundit Jella,—a man who had rendered

* January 22nd.

himself obnoxious to all parties, except the minister, over whom he exercised an extraordinary influence,—suggested the strong and decisive step of dethroning the reigning prince, and substituting the son of the late Shere Sing; other accounts say, another son of old Ranjeet, whose progeny, so scanty during his life that he doubted whether he had a son, has, since his decease, developed the property of the celebrated dragon's teeth. This scheme, however, was devised too late; the sirdars of the council, as well as the army, had been successfully dealt with by the raní,—so great is female influence in some parts of India. A consultation took place, at which deputies from the army assisted,—for this custom, analogous to that which existed in Cromwell's army, seems to be one of their republican traits still existing amongst the Sikhs; these military advisers renounced allegiance to the minister, and declared they would recognize no other authority than that of the raní and such minister as she should appoint. The raní, in order to precipitate matters, announced that, unless Heera Sing retired from office, she would leave Lahore, with her son, the young maharajah. The crisis now approached. On the 19th December, the minister issued an order that Jowahir Sing should be placed under restraint in his own house, and he proposed to seize him, by means of his hill-men from Jumboo, as soon as the gates were closed, and the Summun-boorj was surrounded by a party. This was no sooner known than the troops assembled, and the seizure of Jowahir Sing was too perilous an act to be attempted. Next morning, when the gates were opened, the ministers summoned the officers of the army, and addressed them to this effect:—That he had been appointed to the Sikh Khalsa by the will of the troops; that the raní had expressed her determination to resist his wishes; that he was now ready, if the officers desired it, to transfer the authority with which they had intrusted him to any person whom they might deem fitter for the office, and was ready to accept an inferior employment, if he could thereby render a service to the state.

This speech, which was well calculated to work upon the persons he addressed, appears to have produced some effect. The officers consulted, and desired time to give their answer. They proceeded to the raní, who effectually removed the impression which the minister's address had made upon them, by telling them that the treasury had been exhausted by Heera, and promising large rewards for their co-operation in removing a wicked minister, who was oppressing both them and the people. On the 21st the troops collected, and

Jowahir Sing, by his own authority, carried the maharajah on his state-elephant, and presented him to the soldiery, accompanied by most of the influential chiefs at Lahore. This was, in effect, a subversion of the power of the minister, who had kept at home during this critical period, and now made preparations for flight to his uncle's fortress at Jumboo. At dawn of the 22nd December, he quitted Lahore, accompanied by the pundit, Meean Sohun Sing, Meean Lab Sing, and a few other adherents, with about 600 men, chiefly sowars (some of them said to have been corrupted by his enemies to betray him), and elephants with treasure, leaving about 3,000 hill troops to defend his house. As soon as Jowahir Sing became aware of his flight, he communicated the important fact to the troops; a general pursuit commenced, headed by that sirdar, and the fugitives were overtaken at a place called the Jemadar's Baolee (well), about thirteen miles from Lahore. It is said that, when the Khalsa troops came in sight, the traitors in the escort of Heera Sing turned upon him. The party took refuge in a village; the Khalsa troops surrounded and fired the hut in which Heera Sing and his adherents had concealed themselves, which compelled them to come forth. Heera offered to surrender, but was immediately cut down. It does not appear whether the rest of his party fell here or at other places; but it is certain that Meean Sohun, Meean Lab, Pundit Jella, and the minister's secretary, named Dewan Chund, were put to death, with most of those of his followers who remained faithful. The heads of the principals were brought to Lahore, and paraded through the city.

Thus fell a personage who, whatever estimate may have been formed of him prior to his elevation to power, exhibited after it qualities which, under less intractable circumstances, might have secured to him a long tenure of authority. How far his acts may have been the result of his own prudence and judgment, or how far they may have been dictated by stern necessity, could only be determined by time and experience. His fall seems to have been brought about by causes independent of his own merits or demerits, arising from that total disorganization of the state which every one foresaw would follow the death of Runjeet Sing, and which no internal energy is capable of controlling.

The measures of the conspirators appear to have been so well taken, that this revolution was attended with little or no bloodshed at the capital. Jowahir Sing, on his return to Lahore, proceeded to the house of Heera Sing, the guard of which, learning their master's fate, offered no resistance, and even entered the service of the

state. The sirdar accordingly took possession of the house and the treasure it contained. Riot and disorder had been in a great measure prevented by excluding the troops as much as possible from the city.

The avenue to the vizierat was now apparently open to Jowahir Sing; but it appears that the *Punches*, or deputations from the Sikh battalions proper, assumed the management of affairs, ostensibly under the direction of the sirdar and the raní, but really for themselves. The raní proposed that her brother should be nominated minister; but the troops turned a deaf ear to the proposal, and caused letters to be written to Lena Sing, Majeeteea, at Benares, and to Prince Peshora Sing, at Ferozepore, inviting the former to accept the post of minister, and the latter that of commander of the army. On the 23rd December, a grand durbar was held, at which the chiefs congratulated each other on the emancipation of the state from the oppression of the Dogra family, though it is not mentioned wherein that oppression consisted. The recal of the European officers was ordered, and Golab Sing, the Rajah of Jumboo, was summoned to Lahore, to account for the treasures he had abstracted during the rule of his brother Dheean Sing and his nephew Heera Sing, preparatory to offensive operations against his state. These and other ulterior operations, however, were suspended till the promise should be fulfilled of augmented pay and gratuities to the troops, who declared that, otherwise, not a man should march; and negotiations had been going on respecting this matter ever since the revolution. The troops are meanwhile in a state of complete insubordination, beating and imprisoning their officers, and maltreating all who manifested the slightest inclination to oppose their wishes. We subjoin a sample of their proceedings:—

Some artillerymen under Sultan Mahmood Khan, after placing their guns on the parade-ground, having taken some offence, brought them in position and began to abuse their general. The latter, mounting a fleet horse, rode into the fort and represented the occurrence to the sirdar (Jowahir Sing), who brought the maharajah to the place. Some of the artillerymen, meanwhile, had proceeded to the general's house, which they unroofed, and were about to set fire to it. The men paid marks of respect to the maharajah, but upon the sirdar addressing them in terms of admonition, they told him he had better mind his own affairs, as they did theirs; that they should dismiss their general if he did not attend to what they required of him, and were determined to appoint whomsoever they pleased to be their officers. They told the sirdar, further, that it was highly improper in him to bring out the maharajah. The sirdar, it is added, thought it best to return to the fort, greatly disappointed.

Meanwhile, Prince Peshora Sing had obeyed the summons, and returned to Lahore on the 1st January. Upon presenting himself before the maharajah, he unbraked his sword and belt, and placed them at the feet of his highness. He was well received by the troops, but Jowahir Sing persuaded the raní not to countenance him. He was accordingly honourably exiled, by receiving a jaghire of Rs. 40,000 per annum, in the neighbourhood of Seemikote. The prince secretly sounded the troops, who at first evinced an inclination to support him, but finding that he had nothing to give them, whilst the raní lavished jewels and necklaces amongst them, they adhered to her, and recommended "patience" to the prince, who proceeded to his estate. Lena Sing manifested no alacrity to embrace the offer made to him, and, notwithstanding urgent messages, remained, at the date of the last advices, in his secure retreat at Benares. That the post of minister is not to be coveted is evident from the effect which a report of its being about to be conferred upon Ittur Sing wrought upon that sirdar, who was seized with alarm, and, proceeding to the durbar, entreated that he might not be placed in a post for which he was unfit.

One of the most lamentable incidents of this revolution has been the number of suttees, widows and slaves of the slaughtered chiefs. No less than twenty-four individuals have fallen a sacrifice to this barbarous custom amongst a people who profess to have renounced the tenets of Hinduism;—namely, two wives and ten slaves of Heera Sing, two wives and five slaves of Meean Sohun Sing, a wife and two slaves of Meean Lab Sing, the wife of Pundit Jella, and the wife (only fourteen) of Dewan Chund.

The latest advices represent the Sikh durbar as greatly disturbed by the movements of the British forces in the vicinity of their territories. Troops were despatched to the ghauts on the Sutlej, and efforts were making to inspire them with a good spirit by liberal distributions of gold necklaces. The utmost license, however, still prevailed amongst them; they flocked into the city, in contempt of orders, obtruded themselves into the palace, and behaved in the most disorderly manner even in the royal presence.

There is no difficulty in foreseeing that the state of that country, in which there is in fact no government, will compel interference on the part of the British-Indian authorities. This step will be delayed as long as possible, from motives of prudence and policy, as well as from a dread of that obloquy at home which has seldom failed to visit an Indian ruler who is supposed to pursue "schemes of conquest," though really measures of self-defence. The pre-

sent Governor-General is concentrating a formidable force upon the north-west frontier, in order to be prepared for any emergency. The latest (Calcutta) papers are unable to speak with certainty as to the intentions of our Government. The *Hurkaru* says:—"A quiet concentration of troops in the north-west is in progress, but whether for immediate interference, or simply as a precautionary measure of defence, remains yet to be seen." The *Calcutta Star* speaks more decidedly:—"The Government is accumulating a large force on the north-west frontier, and we believe the crisis of our interference is rapidly approaching. The probabilities at present seem, that we shall meddle to mediate and settle, rather than to appropriate. There is no doubt that communications have passed between this and the court of Lahore; and we incline to the opinion, that, should Golab Sing and his party make any decisive movement in hostility to the young maharajah, we shall step in; the same should the Affghans attempt any irruption across the Attock. We deem it certain that the great preparations that have been gradually, though unostentatiously, going on, are far more than a mere precautionary measure." On the other hand, the *Bombay Times* considers it to be understood and admitted that nothing short of the violation of our frontier will induce the Governor-General to interfere.

The operations on the Bombay frontier have not yet succeeded in putting down what now appears clearly to be an insurrection of the people. "The troubles in the Kolapore and Sawunt Warree country, and the formidable robberies in the Northern Concan," says the *Bombay Times*,* "continue almost unabated, in defiance of the efforts of an army of 12,000 men, scattered in detachments above and below the ghauts. Various forts and villages have been taken; detachments have been parted from each other, united, and parted again; yet subordination can scarcely be maintained beyond gunshot from our pickets. Though the success of the troops has been uniform, and their conduct excellent, the insurrection continues apparently as far as ever from being subdued." This is discouraging intelligence, for the war, an inglorious one, is harassing and unpopular. Three officers had fallen during the month,—Capt. Taynton, 8th Madras N.I.; Lieut. Campbell, and Ensign Faure, both of the 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry; and seven had been wounded. Lieut.-Colonel Outram, with a light irregular detachment, was scouring the jungle in all directions,—attacking forts, and taking possession of them when evacuated by the enemy. The

roads, nevertheless, continued blocked up, and general intercourse interrupted. The leaders of the insurgents exhibit a confidence bordering upon audacity. Soobana Nookma, the once-captured chief, who made his escape, appears to keep the people of Belgannam and the surrounding villages in constant panic, whilst Ragojee Bangria plunders the Northern Concan, and Phonda Sawant's gangs infest the Warree territory. All the efforts of Government to open a communication with some of the rebels have failed, so that there are no means of learning the secret haunts and projected movements of the insurgents, who are, on their part, minutely instructed respecting our proceedings.

The operations of the several detachments engaged in this country are so disjointed and desultory, that they cannot easily be combined into an intelligible narrative. The troops under General Delamotte and Brigadier Wallace, having advanced in separate detachments to the edge of the table-land, remained, at the end of December, posted on the verge of the mountain range which separates the plains of Kolapore from the low country towards the sea. Reinforcements had joined the camp at Kolapore and the headquarters of the field force at Hunmunt Ghaut. Colonel Carruthers, with a wing of the Queen's Royals, meanwhile, moved along the base of the mountains, with the view of closing up the bottom of the ravine, at the top of which the larger force was stationed, and so driving the insurgents before him, and placing them betwixt two fires. On the 27th December he had reached the bottom of the slope, near Rangna, which (as noticed in our last Review) had been evacuated by the enemy, and was afterwards destroyed. Brigadier Wallace's force was now at the top of the ghaut, and that of Colonel Carruthers at the bottom, and the attempts to establish a communication between them met with the fiercest resistance from an unseen enemy. A party of 150 men, of the 2nd Europeans and 20th Madras N.I., sent by Brigadier Wallace to reconnoitre the pass, encountered a flanking fire, and though they stormed and destroyed a stockade, they sustained a loss of four (Europeans) killed and twenty wounded. Here Lieut. Campbell fell, whilst leading his men through a densely-wooded defile commanded by the insurgents, who, from crevices and fissures of the scarp, and from behind rocks, opened a sure and deadly fire. Capt. Strettell, who commanded the party, deemed it prudent to retreat. On the 1st January, a party was sent down to communicate with Colonel Carruthers, when the precaution of raking the jungle with ordnance was adopted, which dislodged the enemy from a stockade

half-way down, whence they had annoyed a reconnoitering party a few days before.

The brigades had, on the 4th January, arrived at the foot of the ghaut and valley leading from Warree to Seevapore, and Colonel Outram, with his Irregulars, was pushing up the valley of Banda, with the view of scouring the jungles and woodlands. Brigadier Wallace, not without much fighting, established himself on the very crest of the precipice, on the borders of the Concan, overlooking some of the principal villages of the insurgents, including the forts or stockades of Seevapore and Kulmist. The enemy felt secure in the inaccessibility of their position in the rear,—tremendous scarps isolating their stockaded villages,—and they consequently waited without alarm the difficult approach of the troops from the right, left, and front. “Fancy,” observes one of the correspondents from the camp, “mountains rising several hundred feet out of the Concan, and having at the summit scarped rocks from 90 to 200 and 300 feet of perpendicular height.” An officer of the 2nd Bombay Europeans (Lieut. Brassey), having been engaged with an engineer officer in reconnoitering, suggested to Brigadier Wallace the practicability of descending the cliff, 110 feet high, by ropes, and, as an experiment, was lowered down, and hoisted up again. The hint was not lost upon the brigadier, who, on the 4th January, prepared a light detachment, which, after two unsuccessful attempts, at length succeeded in the perilous exploit of descending by rope-ladders the scarped rock, the last sixty feet being quite perpendicular. Lieut. Mardall, 16th Madras N.I., was the first to venture down; he was followed by Lieut. Brassey, Lieut. Drury, 20th Madras N.I., and a corporal of H.M.’s 22nd regiment. About thirty Europeans and twenty of the 2nd Grenadiers (N.I.) then effected a lodgement on a narrow ledge of rock (only ten feet), a 9-pounder having been also let down. The enemy were either unaware of what was going on, or kept in check by the rifles of the 16th, and the flank companies of the 20th Madras N.I., so placed above and on each side of the ladders as to command the open ground at the bottom of the cliff for 200 yards. “This passage of the western mountains,” writes a correspondent of a Bombay paper, “and thus turning the whole of the enemy’s strong positions, and rendering them perfectly useless, may be considered one of the boldest measures adopted for years past. Talk of native troops not doing daring things, we never saw men go more coolly to work than those of the 20th Madras N.I.; they slung their arms across their backs, and went down as if they were only taking a common

walk. When Wallace only said to the men, 'Who intends following the officers?' every man of the two flank companies of the 20th stepped forward."

This daring operation was not completed till the 17th, when 600 infantry and three mortars had been sent down. Tents, provisions, and heavy baggage, were lowered by temporary cranes, the men descending by rope-ladders. Lieut. Thompson and nine privates were more or less hurt in this dangerous feat, but no fatal or even serious accident occurred.

The result of this operation was, that, on that day (the 17th), Seevapore, Kulmist, and an adjoining village, were taken almost without resistance by a party under Major Clemons, 20th Madras N.I. The insurgents in Kulmist, said to have been 4,000 strong, set fire to their houses and fled, after a short engagement. The Kirwattree Pass, leading from Sussadroog, where Brigadier Wallace had suffered severely on a former occasion at a strong defile, was still in possession of the enemy, and a party of 200 Europeans and 100 sepoy, with a 9-pounder, under Major George, H.M.'s 22nd regiment, were ordered on the 18th to advance against the stockades. They were, however, so warmly met by the enemy, that, after a few volleys, the party was obliged to retire, closely followed by the enemy. Meanwhile, Colonel Carruthers attacked the pass below, on the 19th, with 100 of the 2nd Queen's, and the insurgents were driven, after some fighting, from all their stockades, and the pass was opened.

These operations prepared the way for the investment of the important fort of Munohur (or Munnaur gud), filled with insurgents, under Phonde Sawunt himself, the capture of which, and that of Munsurtosh (or Musentosh), it was hoped, would close the campaign in this part. The forces under Colonel Outram, Colonel Carruthers, and Colonel Bird, invested Munohur on the 22nd January (as far as a hill fortress, surrounded with stockaded jungles, can be invested), and the mortars opened against the fort on the 24th. Colonel Outram, with his usual activity, effected a lodgement close to the walls, on a ledge leading to one of the gateways, after much fighting, in which he lost several men. In one of these operations Capt. Taynton was killed. It is said he was "picked off" in revenge for having killed nine of the rebels, a short time before, with his own hand. On the 25th, an attempt was made to take the fort by escalade, which failed, and four European officers (Capts. Munbee and Jacob, and Lieuts. Gardiner and Peyton) were wounded. On

the 27th, the insurgents abandoned the fort, which was taken possession of by our troops.

The latest intelligence states, however, that the insurgents remained unsubdued. "Their real strength lies in the jungles, from which it is next to impossible to drive them." It is proposed to fire the brushwood covers as soon as the season will permit. Meanwhile, the roads are everywhere obstructed, so that travellers, as well as military parties, are fired upon by an unseen enemy. This marauding system has extended to the southward, and the following incident will afford some idea of the state of the country.

Dr. Cahill, of the 2nd Europeans, proceeding to Bombay to meet his family from Europe, and Ensign Faure, of the same corps, on his way to the same place, having set out, on the 1st January, from Belgaum to Vingorla for embarkation, came up, at the bottom of the Ramghaut, with a detachment of the 8th Madras N.I., under Major Lucas, who had been directed to open a communication with the sea-coast. Dr. Cahill and Ensign Faure, whose affairs were urgent, obtained an escort of twelve troopers, and pressed on. When within three miles of Banda, where the jungle was so thick that it was impossible to see six feet on either side, a quick and constant fire was opened upon the officers, and the ensign was mortally wounded. Major Lucas was attacked at the same place on his advance, and suffered a loss of five men. The bodies of such of our troops as fall into the enemy's hands are barbarously mutilated, "so rancorous is said to be the feeling of the insurgents against Englishmen and the British Government."

The enemy do not always confine themselves to the jungle. On the 20th January, a body of 1,500, under Lall Geer Gosain, a noted malcontent chief, approached within twenty miles of Kolapore. Two detachments set out to meet and intercept them; the result was not known at the date of the latest advices.

The Northern Concan is still the theatre of the systematic depredations of the celebrated freebooter Ragojee Bangria, who carries on his operations over an area of 500 square miles, in the most audacious manner, at the head of parties chiefly drawn from the lowest and poorest portion of the people.

His plan is to send notice to the wealthier men in the villages to have certain sums, for which he will grant them a receipt, ready by a specified day, when he will call for it, and burn their houses, cut off their ears, and slit their noses, if they fail to comply with his demands. He usually keeps his word, and the amount of mutilation that has in this way been inflicted is perfectly frightful. The roads everywhere are

unsafe ; travellers are waylaid and stripped of all they possess, and mutilated if suspected of concealment. Many of the villages are almost deserted by their inhabitants, who have betaken themselves to the jungles, trusting rather to the wild beasts of the forest than to the tender mercies of Ragojee Bangria. Detachments of troops, regular and irregular, and strong parties of police, have for nearly a twelvemonth been continually in the field, but all to no purpose.

The most important intelligence from Scinde relates to an expedition under the immediate command of Sir Charles Napier, the object of which is to chastise the predatory tribes, and destroy their strongholds. Sir Charles has published a manifesto, explaining his motives for entering the territories of the Khan of Khelat, with his permission. In this document he states that those territories are occupied on our immediate frontier by three powerful tribes,—the Doomkies, Jakranees, and Boogties,—who are in open rebellion against their sovereign, the Khan. Last summer, without the slightest pretext, they made frequent predatory inroads on the Scinde territory, plundering villages, murdering the inhabitants, and devastating the country. In several instances, they were engaged with our outposts ; and, falling upon 200 unarmed and unoffending grass-cutters, they massacred nearly the whole of them, together with an officer's party of cavalry. The Khan of Khelat has the most friendly intentions towards the British Government, but the rebel, Beejar Khan Doomkie, was too powerful in arms to be reduced by his prince, and openly bestowed in jaghire large tracts of his sovereign's territory. The success of Beejar Khan rendered the rebel tribes more daring ; they frequently entered the Scindian frontier in search of plunder. Such a state of things could not be suffered. He (Sir Charles) was directed by the Governor-General to take such steps as were necessary to tranquillize the frontier and protect the people of Scinde. The ex-ameer, Shere Mahomed, had located himself among those robbers, and excited them to plunder Scinde. He was also in hopes of exciting an insurrection in his favour ; but the chiefs of Scinde had no desire for his return ; still less would the people of Scinde assist him, conscious of having a degree of protection under the British Government which they never experienced under that of the ameers. The ameer, consequently, retired to the Sikh territory. In consequence of the solicitation made by his Exo. to the Khan of Kelat, his Highness made a feeble effort against his rebel subject. He advanced from Dadur to Poo-lajee ; but the strength of the rebels lay in the Boogtie mountains, and to the mountains they of course retired. Among these defiles

and passes the Khan dared not pursue them. The amount of his forces did not exceed 2,000 men, and an immediate retreat was decided upon by his Highness!

"While this prince was at Poolajee (adds Sir Charles), I sent a vakeel to beg that he would allow me to have a conference with him, either at Poolajee, Dadur, Bagh, Gundava, or any other place his Highness chose to appoint. His answer was a refusal; for reasons which I cannot make public without doing his Highness an injury. I felt that it was necessary to have in writing his Highness's formal acknowledgment of his inability to control his subjects, and his desire that I would punish their rebellion and their murderous inroads upon the Scinde territory, as well as his reasons for not meeting me. I therefore despatched Mr. Brown, the secretary to the Scinde Government, who is a personal friend of the Khan's, in hopes some arrangement might be made for a united exertion to repress these mountain robbers; but in vain. The state of the Khan's territories beyond the Bolan Pass rendered him unable to attend to the affairs of Cutchee; and he appeared to hold nothing but a nominal authority over that rich tract of country, of which Bagh is the centre. The course to be pursued by me has now become clear and decisive. It is to enter the Boogtie mountains and attack these robber tribes in their fastnesses. They are the Pindarees of the Indus. Therefore I shall march on the 16th of January, beyond the frontier, at the head of a strong force, accompanied by the Scindian chiefs, Wully Mahomed Chandeeah, Ahmud Khan Mugsey, and many others, at the head of several thousand of their followers, all determined to revenge their plundered villages upon the mountain tribes. I shall also be assisted by his Highness Ally Moorad Talpoor, who will march against the enemy, by whom his frontier has also been molested."

Sir C. Napier set off on the 13th for Shikarpore, the guns and battering-train having preceded him; he was followed on the 15th by General Hunter. The troops were directed to push right across the desert. General Hunter, in command of the infantry, was for a time to take up his head-quarters at Khangur, forty miles from Shikarpore; the whole were then to force their way into the Boogtie mountains, and to attack the robber tribes in their fastnesses, rendered memorable by the events at Deyrah, Kahun, Nufcoak, and Surtoff. Capt. Jacob surprised one party of the enemy, capturing sixty prisoners and cutting up the rest. Capt. Slater is said to have intercepted another, on their return to the mountains, with a drove of 3,000 cattle, collected in the plains. Sir Charles himself is reported to have reached Deyrah, the scene of Major Billamore's adventures just before the occupation of Kahun; his nephew, Capt. Napier, had a narrow escape of becoming prisoner.

The native letters from Afghanistan, which are to the 27th November, make no further mention of the plague, whence it is inferred that its ravages have been stayed, at least at Cabul, though it still prevailed in the valley of Peshawar. According to the *Delhi Gazette*, the disease, though termed the plague, was cholera in its most virulent and deadly form. Dost Mahomed Khan remained at Cabul, where a large body of Mooltaneees had arrived, and tendered their services. Mahomed Ukhbar had quitted the capital,—some say in consequence of a difference with his father; others, to be ready to take advantage of the disorders in the Sikh state.

Complaints are still made of the continued sickness of the troops at Hyderabad; II.M.'s 78th Highlanders, it is stated, have been so reduced, that not one-third of the regiment (which left Bombay 1,000 strong a year since) will ever more be fit for field duty in India. They had lost 402 men, and were losing from four to eight a day, before they were ordered to Kurachee, which was healthy. With reference to the exaggerated and unjust statements respecting this unfortunate regiment, a letter has appeared in a London paper,* from Sir William Napier, vindicating his brother from the imputation cast upon him of being "the murderer" of the soldiers, and shewing that due precautions had been taken by him to secure both the 78th regiment, which was ordered up the river from Kurachee to Sukkur, and the 13th regiment, returning from Sukkur to Kurachee, against the fever. The latter escaped it; but, although the 78th arrived at Sukkur in excellent health, and continued so till 1st November, when, according to all former experience, the danger of first cases of fever should have been over, the disease burst out suddenly, with unusual violence, and raged till the end of the year. "The sickness," he adds, "has astounded the medical men, who call it an extraordinary epidemic, for which they cannot account." This, then, furnishes further evidence of the fatal, as well as deceitful, character of the Scinde climate, especially to Europeans.

Amongst the domestic incidents at the presidencies there are few which invite particular notice. The Governor-General has reiterated his determination to promote native education, upon the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Hindu College. A proposed act has been published at Calcutta, which declares the *law loci* throughout the Company's territories to be the law of England, except as regards Hindus and Mahomedans. This will be an important improvement, and put a stop to many evils as well as anomalies.

It is stated in the Madras papers that the question of the re-

* The Times, March 24.

introduction of corporal punishment into the native army has engaged the attention of the Marquess of Tweeddale, who, in order to learn the opinions of those most competent to form a correct judgment, has forwarded circulars to the officers commanding corps. The *Athenæum* adds, that "to many, or most, replies have been received, recommending a return to the punishment."

The committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to examine the estimates of the engineer for the proposed railway have published their report, whence it appears that the cost of the undertaking is calculated at above £500,000, and the returns are expected to be about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (instead of the promised 22 per cent.) upon the capital invested, which is poor encouragement in a pecuniary point of view, considering that the interest on private loans at Bombay is 9 per cent. The advantages likely to accrue to the country from the undertaking, seems to have supplied another powerful motive, for half the capital had been subscribed. The history of the Bombay railroad shews what valuable utilitarian impulses may be given by individuals. A Mr. Clark arrived in Bombay, in the year 1843, with the view of obtaining employment as a civil engineer. Learning the vast amount of intercourse carried on between Bombay and the foot of the Ghauts, he examined the capabilities of the country, and found it peculiarly adapted for a railway. Earth-works of any magnitude were not necessary; good foundations under water can generally be obtained without coffer-dams; the soil is of so little value, that the embankments may be taken from the adjoining lands almost without charge; and stone, brick-clay, and jungle-wood are abundant. The result of his investigations induced him to believe that a railway would not only be practicable at a comparatively small cost, but highly remunerative, and he drew up a *vidimus* of the outlay and returns, from which a prospectus was constructed. His promise of a profit of 22 per cent. provoked a demand for more shares than could be supplied; but, although the sober reality is so much below his golden promises, there is little doubt that the project will be realized, and it may in time fulfil even the projector's expectations.

REPLY OF MR. MASSON.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—Having observed in your Journal for the present month (March) a republication of an article upon the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, from the third number of the *Calcutta Review*, I cannot refrain

from adverting to the foul language which the writer of that article has thought proper to apply to me; and I doubt not you will deem it only just to insert these few lines in your forthcoming number.

Before seeing your Journal, I was aware of the existence of the article in question, but did not consider it necessary to concern myself about it, as, published at Calcutta, most people there would know the author, and the value due to his remarks: its republication in your Journal so far alters the case, that, were I to allow it to pass without comment, it might give rise to an impression that I tacitly admitted the imputations of the Reviewer, or that I was unable to repel them,—an impression which, I can assure my friends and all those who hold opinions in common with me upon the causes and merits of the late Affghan expedition, would be a most unfounded one. But for such reason, the virulent and libellous language of the Calcutta Reviewer, dealing only in general accusation, would have been passed over in silence and contempt by me. As it is, prudently omitting to instance any proof of the “worthlessness of my testimony,” and to impugn it in any one case, all that he leaves in my power is, to deny his imputations as strongly as he has dared to make them.

Of course, I do not intend to follow the Reviewer in his defence of Sir W. H. Macnaghten; yet it appears to me, after reading it, to be rather an attempt to bespeak indulgence for his errors, than to deny them; and, singularly enough, the Reviewer makes so many admissions detrimental to that ill-fated functionary, that I can see no difference in the opinions of the Reviewer and any other person who has questioned the policy of the Affghan expedition, or the capacity of those who suggested and conducted it. By example, the Reviewer admits that, “as he is well known to have approved the policy which led Government to provide for the security of India by sending an army into Affghanistan, and was probably among those who suggested it, his official character is, to a considerable degree, implicated in the origin as well as the progress of the measure.” Farther on, he admits, “the unfortunate expedition proved the grave of our treasure, our army, and our national honour;” and, still farther on, he makes the important confession, that “there can be no hesitation in saying that the expedition was injudicious and hazardous.” Why then does the Reviewer complain of those who merely think as he does himself?

The Reviewer, moreover, attempts to array Dr. Buist, the editor of the *Bombay Times*, upon his side, because, as he asserts, the doctor has triumphantly refuted the charges brought by me against Sir Alexander Burnes. This is curious argument, and Dr. Buist is a strange authority to name in defence of Sir W. H. Macnaghten. All who have read Dr. Buist's Journals must be aware that he has invariably laboured to prove that Sir Alexander Burnes did every thing right, and that Sir W. H. Macnaghten did every thing wrong; that the former was a very wise man, and that the latter was a very foolish man. Taking up a stray Bombay Summary for July, 1842, I find Dr. Buist writes:—“As the matter is at present understood to stand, according to the official

memorials of Captain Mackenzie and the late General Elphinstone, Sir W. Macnaghten was killed when resisting an attempt to carry him off from a conference, arranged by him with a view of treacherously attempting to obtain possession of the persons of the chiefs. According to the records of Government, the Envoy was a criminal, whose effects ought to be escheated to the Crown, he being beyond the reach of personal punishment." What an authority is Dr. Buist to bring forward in defence of Sir W. H. Macnaghten !

I may regret, very much regret, to differ on any essential point with Dr. Buist ; but I never can concede that he or any other man can refute one particle of whatever I have alleged respecting Sir Alexander Burnes, or that any thing which I have set forth as fact is the less so because it may be doubted by Dr. Buist. I have not seen what Dr. Buist has written upon the subject, but I had been informed by a valued friend in India that I had no reason, on that score, to be obliged to Dr. Buist.

When I wrote those parts of my works which touch upon political affairs in connection with the rise and formation of the Affghan expedition, it must be obvious to every one who has honoured them with perusal, that I rejected the idea of conciliating the partisans of Sir A. Burnes or Sir W. H. Macnaghten : still, although compelled, while handling the subject at all, to state much that would be unpalatable to them, I thought I was sufficiently reserved and lenient to merit even their thanks for forbearance, as I cannot get the idea out of my mind that they must be conscious that I could have disclosed much more ; as indeed I should have done, had I not supposed, as most people did at that time, that all matters relating to that sad affair would have been subjected to public inquiry.

I had the pleasure to make the acquaintance of Dr. Buist at Bombay, and at all events he must be cognizant that the sentiments I expressed of Sir A. Burnes in print were the same which I openly professed to him at that place, and when Sir Alexander was living ; and I think he can hardly have forgotten the conversation I had with him just before my departure for England, in which I insisted upon the fallacious estimate he entertained of Sir Alexander's ability, as well as of his popularity at Kábul, which was a point most strenuously contended for by his friends. Dr. Buist, and the Reviewer if he pleases, may learn from Lieut. Eyre's work what the Affghans thought of him.

I must beware, lest, tempted by subjects on which so much may be said, I should wander from my sole purpose of repudiating the foul imputations of the Calcutta Reviewer ; therefore, repeating that, but for the reasons stated, and that they have been republished in an English journal, I should never have noticed them,

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Tottenham, 15th March, 1845.

CHAR. MASSON.

CONNECTION OF THE ATLANTIC WITH THE PACIFIC OCEAN, BY THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA.

BY WILHELM WALTON.

POSTERITY will look with amazement at the enormous and costly undertakings, commenced within the last fifty years, in Great Britain, the United States, and France, in order to facilitate and accelerate the conveyance of mails, passengers, and goods from one point to another. With us, the railway-mania has, in fact, attained almost an alarming height, and it is difficult to say when and where it will stop. As if not to be behind-hand with us, the French king, on opening the session of 1841, informed the Chamber that the project of a law would be submitted to them for constructing the principal lines of a great system of railroads, calculated to insure those rapid and easy communications with all parts of France, which must prove a source of strength and riches to the nation. The royal wishes and intentions, then announced, have since been fully supported by French capitalists, several of the projected lines having been already finished, and others are in a state of progress. These examples have had their influence in Germany, and even the Spaniards, always slow and wary, seem determined to have railroads, and also to navigate the Ebro by means of steam. In France, not long ago, a project was formed to connect the Mediterranean with the Atlantic, by a canal, to run parallel with the Pyrennees, and three millions of francs were subscribed towards the execution. More recently, a celebrated Italian engineer has submitted plans for establishing a link between the Mediterranean and Adriatic, engaging to carry the works through within five months. Finally, advices from Cairo convey the pleasing intelligence, that orders had been issued for a survey of the proposed line to Suez, and well-founded hopes may now be entertained that the works will be forthwith commenced.

And yet, in these enlightened and stirring times, the noblest, if not the oldest, project of all, and one likely to create a greater and a more interesting revolution in commerce than the discovery of a route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, seems, all the while, to have been neglected, if not forgotten, viz. the union of the Atlantic with the Pacific, by means of that narrow strip of land which the hand of Nature points out as a connecting link. At length, however, the commercial world will rejoice to find that there is a reasonable expectation that this undertaking will be accomplished. Jamaica official letters, reaching down to the 23rd of last January, convey the assurance that Capt. Liott, superintendent-general of the Royal Mail Company there, and Mr. Goschy, Crown surveyor of the island, had proceeded to Panama, for the purpose of instituting a thorough survey of the isthmus, in order to test the practicability of opening a canal, or otherwise constructing a line of communication between the two oceans, in furtherance of the desired extension of the Company's operations, by this

route, to the populous and rapidly increasing colonies of Australia, Polynesia, &c.

The importance, the magnitude of the scheme here unfolded, it would be impossible adequately to describe ; but as great facilities unquestionably exist upon this favoured spot for opening a communication, of one kind or other, the known intelligence, as well as the spirited and patriotic disposition of the directors, are a sufficient guarantee that whatever can be done will be undertaken, and no expense spared. The commissioners' report will therefore be looked for with more than ordinary interest ; and, in the interval, a short historical and descriptive account of the locality, embracing a brief enumeration of the most important projects which, at various periods, have been set on foot in order to effect an opening through it, may not be thought unseasonable.

The Spaniards first crossed the Isthmus of Darien, in 1513, under Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, when, having gained the heights which overlook the Pacific, they gazed in rapturous wonder upon the smooth expanse spread before them. So forcibly were these stern and hardy adventurers struck with the importance of the discovery, and so much were they delighted with the change of scene, effected within the lapse of a few hours, that, the old chroniclers inform us, they simultaneously threw themselves down upon their knees, in order to return thanks to Divine Providence, who, after so long a lapse of time, had revealed this prodigy to them. Then it was, that the learned men accompanying the expedition conceived the project of uniting the two seas by means of a water-communication ; and accordingly, in the next reports sent home, the practicability was represented in glowing colours. During the early days of the conquest, the Spaniards kept their eyes steadfastly fixed upon this undertaking, and procured particulars in reference to the means of execution ; but, notwithstanding the prospects were deemed favourable, the affair slumbered for years, so actively were they, at that period, engaged in other more pressing enterprises. Eventually, in the reign of Philip II., it was determined to carry the Panama scheme into effect, and two Flemish engineers were ordered out, to make a formal survey, with fresh estimates of the expense. On their return they reported favourably as regarded the feasibility of the plan ; but represented, in such strong terms, the mischief which would ensue from a cut being made, owing to the alleged greater elevation of the Pacific than the Atlantic, that the project was abandoned, through the advice of the Council of the Indies, and a resolution passed, to the effect, that no one should revive it under the penalty of death.

In 1670, Panama was taken and burnt by the celebrated buccaneer, afterwards Sir Henry Morgan, and governor of Jamaica, where he amassed a large booty. It is presumable that, like the first Spanish adventurers, this enterprising man and his companions became sensible of the importance of that locality, as presenting all the advantages required for an emporium of goods, and at the same time affording an easy access to the rich and secluded shores of Western America. No doubt,

Morgan also collected interesting particulars regarding the projected plan of communication, a favourite topic with the inhabitants even since their country had been settled. Nothing, however, was done in either respect till the close of the same century. A clever and spirited Scotchman, named William Patterson, who, in early life, is supposed to have been connected with the buccaniers, or at least had in his possession the most valuable part of the information gained by them respecting the Isthmus of Panama, then conceived a project to seize upon some contiguous point of land, and after fortifying it, proposed to make it a depôt for merchandize, open to all nations. The scheme became very popular in Scotland, several royal burghs and influential individuals uniting to carry it into effect. A sum of money was accordingly raised, and three vessels set sail, with settlers on board, who, on their arrival, effected a lodgement upon the coast, built the fort of St. Andrew, and traced out the site of a town, to be called New Caledonia, after obtaining a grant of the land from the aboriginal chiefs, who had never sworn allegiance to Spain. A change of policy having, in the interval, taken place between the cabinets of London and Madrid, and the object of the Scotch settlers being disavowed, their establishment was attacked by the Spaniards, and eventually broken up.

Thus terminated an experiment which, had it succeeded, in all likelihood would have led to the opening of a communication across the Isthmus. The subject again slumbered during the whole of the last century, save only now and then, when it was revived on paper by Raynal and other French philosophers of the day. Certain parties, among whom especially may be named Miranda, interested in the emancipation of South America, did, indeed, soon after his accession to power, submit plans to Mr. Pitt for opening the Isthmus, representing that event as an inevitable consequence of the destruction of Spanish power in that neighbourhood; but still no effective measures followed. Humboldt's valuable writings on South America, however, brought the subject, with increased interest, before the European public. He severally discussed the merits of nine different projects which, from time to time, had been drawn up to connect the two oceans, more particularly those in reference to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, through the Rio Bravo, the Bay of Cupica, the Lake of Nicaragua, and finally, the Isthmus of Panama. These valuable disclosures excited a spirit of inquiry, and several foreign adventurers proceeded to the points named to view the localities, to some of whom special grants were made, but without producing any specific results.

Bolivar hoped to crown his labours for the independence of his native land by carrying into effect the long-projected works across the Isthmus of Panama. Accordingly, in 1827, he determined that the ground should be scientifically surveyed, with the view of selecting the most eligible line, whether for a canal or railroad; and this important task was confided to Mr. Lloyd, an English engineer. This gentleman's first endeavour was to ascertain the relative height of the sea, on either side, and from the observations made, and levellings taken (although, from

a variety of circumstances, not with all the accuracy that could have been desired), it was estimated that, in every twelve hours, the level of the Pacific is some feet higher than that of the Atlantic; but when the tide is out, on the other hand, several feet lower. Experienced mariners have noticed that at Chagre the tide seldom rises more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, whereas at Panama it comes up to 27. Still this inequality would not be sufficient to disturb hydraulic operations, where locks are avowedly required, if, in other respects, the locality should prove suitable; but, it unfortunately happens, that this is not the only difficulty opposed to the formation of a canal, for oceanic navigation, at least, that is, for Indiamen and vessels of a large draught of water, as will appear from the following outline.

Chagre, it is well known, is the only frequented port in the Isthmus on the Atlantic side, where, owing to a ledge of rocks at the bar, vessels drawing more than twelve feet water cannot enter, or in other words, it only admits small brigs and steamers. From this point the usual mode of crossing the Isthmus is by ascending the Chagre, in flat-bottomed boats, to Cruces, or Gorgona, a little higher up, the former of which places is only twenty-two miles, in a direct line from the Atlantic, but, owing to the sinuosities of the river, the distance along it becomes nearly double. The velocity of the downward current frequently equals three miles an hour, thus rendering the ascent tedious and difficult, whereas the descent is easy and rapid. Cruces and Gorgona are pleasantly situated on the banks of the Chagre, and from each there is a mule-road to Panama, the distance about five leagues; the one from Gorgona rather longest, although easiest. The road from Cruces is the oldest, and was at one time paved, for the purpose of bringing over the treasure, in former times destined for the galleons. At present it is broken, stony and precipitous, in consequence of which the other is preferable. On arriving at Panama, situated on a headland and nearly surrounded by the sea, the traveller at once sees the other great difficulty which nature has opposed, on this line at least, to the formation of a canal. It has already been remarked, that on the Pacific side the tide rises to, and consequently falls from, an unusual height, owing to which, when it has ebbed, the shore is left bare for a considerable distance down. Indeed flat-bottomed boats only can enter Panama harbour, which, as soon as the waters have receded, is left nearly dry. Hence keeled vessels are obliged to anchor under the Perico Islands, five or six miles from the main-land, where there is safe anchorage and good shelter. It thus follows that at both extremities of the line, commencing at Chagre and running from Trinidad to Panama, adequate water is not to be found for a canal on a large scale, an obstacle which no human ingenuity can overcome.

The first Mr. Lloyd proposed to obviate by making the bay of Limon, a little higher up than Chagre, and nearer to Carthagena, the entrance-port, instead of the old one. At the bottom of this bay, most assuredly there is sufficient water for large vessels; but, in order to connect it with the line proposed, it would be necessary to dig a deep

canal for several leagues, through a flat and loose ground, often washed by descending torrents, and consequently difficult to make tenable, and when this gigantic work has been accomplished, still the impediment on the Pacific side as regards Panama remains. It has, therefore, been the decided opinion of intelligent persons who visited the spot before Mr. Lloyd, that the idea of a canal, for the present, at least, ought to be abandoned, and such facilities only made available, as time and circumstances admit. The day probably will come, after the country has been more carefully explored, and the working population increased, when it may be judged advisable to attempt a water communication; but, in the mean while, a railroad, for which the nature of the ground is adapted, and the profile of the country presents no serious impediment, would better meet the existing exigency. Of this fact, Mr. Lloyd himself appears to have been sensible, for, without stopping to discuss the question of a canal, he at once proceeds to propose two lines of road, the practicability of which it may be proper to explain.

It has already been stated that the entrance to Chagre harbour does not admit vessels drawing more than twelve feet water, but as soon as the bar is passed the river deepens. A steamer thus easily ascends, and at the distance of about six miles, on the right, comes to the mouth of the Trinidad, a river falling into the Chagre, where there are from two-and-a-half to three-and-a-half fathoms. The banks of the Trinidad are bold, and the stream unincumbered, in consequence of which, vessels of the dimensions already stated, a little beyond the junction, can easily load and unload, almost with the convenience of a wharf. This, therefore, becomes a most interesting point in the projected route, as six miles of the distance across (in a direct line, estimated at about thirty miles) are thus saved, besides the obstacles of a river requiring a long bridge. The upper bank of the Trinidad in fact appears to be the natural terminus, on the Atlantic side, and such no doubt Mr. Lloyd thought it, as he thence drew two lines, advancing towards the Pacific, the one terminating at Chorrera, on the coast and situated about six miles to the north of Panama, and the other at the latter place. The first is the shortest, being estimated at twenty-four miles, whereas, the other would be rather more than twenty-eight. However desirable it might be to have Panama as the Pacific terminus, the want of water, as previously noticed, is a serious obstacle, if another, more suitable one could be obtained.* Chorrera village is nearly on a parallel with the harbour of that name, which admits vessels drawing twelve feet water, and, should it be chosen as a position, a branch, although with some difficulty, might be constructed along the coast to Panama. The middle ground intervening between these two points, as well as the

* The want of water, on the Pacific side, distinguishes nearly all the bars of the rivers, descending in that direction, and is the principal obstacle to the access and outlet of large vessels on the several points where a water communication has been suggested. The Estero Real, for example, by intelligent travellers considered the most advantageous line for a canal, which by means of lake-navigation might be connected with San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and thence proceed to the Atlantic, does not admit vessels of more than ten feet water. Were the inland difficulties on a long and tedious line overcome, the one of finding a corresponding issue upon the Atlantic would still remain.

junction of the Trinidad and Chagre, is confessedly favourable to the opening of either line.

The only obstacles, therefore, to be apprehended would arise from a number of small rivulets, uniform in their direction, which in the summer are nearly dry, but in the rainy season swell into torrents. This difficulty might, however, be overcome by means of arches and causeways, at certain intervals. The great Andes chain, which, from the neighbourhood of Cape Horn continues, with its lofty and wide dimensions, without interruption, to traverse the whole of the southern continent, in a line contiguous to the Pacific, almost stops short as it approaches the Isthmus; hence, although the ground over which the proposed lines would pass, is marked by a series of hills, verging towards the north, as it were to re-connect themselves with the mountain line which, at the other side of the Isthmus, rises and extends to the sources of the Mississippi, these hills are nevertheless comparatively small, conical in their form, and have such occasional depressions between them, that they offer no formidable impediment. Forests of lofty trees are seen in the neighbourhood, the hard and almost incorruptible, and even incombustible, wood of which would serve for sleepers and other uses. Excellent quarry stone and lime may also be readily procured. Finally, coal has been discovered and dug on the western coast as well as on other points in the district. It is, indeed, believed that a transverse vein intersects the Isthmus, samples of which have already been tried and found suitable for all steam purposes; compared with English coal in strength it stands in the proportion of thirteen to eighteen. The population of the Isthmus is not supposed to exceed 80,000 persons, a large part of whom are blacks and mixed races. Both are sober and tractable, and might easily acquire industrious habits; among them good stone-masons, carpenters, and labourers might be obtained, who would work at a cheap rate, requiring only European skill and science to direct them. Provisions are plentiful, and in every respect it is thought that, as the ground can be had for nothing, the class of works here alluded to may be carried on at half the expense they are in Europe. In contemplating this enterprise there is still another consoling reflection, which is, that the unhealthiness of the climate has been much exaggerated. The greater part of the deaths, which take place at the worst season of the year, may be attributed to the want of medical attendance and medicines, or else erroneous treatment.

If there is a subject of deep and general interest to the commercial communities of Europe, as well as the United States*, it is the one under consideration. For two centuries, previous to the independence of South America, statesmen and private individuals in our quarter of the globe, as before noticed, were sensible of the immense importance of shortening the passage to the East, and opening to more general enter-

* In order to show the immense and immediate interest which the United States have in shortening the passage to the Pacific, let it be borne in mind that a vessel, leaving an Atlantic port in the Union, and bound to the Columbia river, for example, is obliged to ascend to the latitude of Cape Horn, double that fearful promontory, and then descend the same distance along the coasts of Chile, Peru, &c., to arrive at her destination.

prise those resources with which the Pacific abounds. When the severance of the Spanish colonies had been completed, and the rights of the natives to the advantages of self-government acknowledged by the most powerful European States, the trading classes anxiously looked forward to the accomplishment of this great and useful design, and when it was known that Bolivar had taken the lead in it, they fondly indulged the hope—the expectation, that no farther delay would intervene. Years, however, have elapsed since the eventful period of separation, but nothing effective has been done either by Americans or Europeans. The local governments, unable to perform the task on their own account, were repeatedly misled by the professions of foreign adventurers, who went over and represented themselves to be in the possession of sufficient means, or at least in a situation to raise them, and privileges were accordingly conferred upon them; but still, even then, no regular survey of the locality followed. At length, wearied out with delays, the Congress of New Granada, to whom the territory belongs, issued a decree, peremptorily declaring that all the privileges granted to foreigners for the purpose of opening a canal or railroad across the Isthmus of Panama should be forfeited, and the project for connecting the two seas laid open for general competition.

In 1842 an event occurred indicating that France was not indifferent to the advantages which Great Britain derives from her extensive system of colonization in and near the Pacific. The French took possession of the Marquesas and Society Islands, evidently with an intention of retaining them. In pursuance of this determination, the Minister of Marine, in April, 1843, presented to the Chamber the project of a law, asking for an extraordinary grant of money, specially to defray the expenses of the new Pacific establishments, in the preamble of which he introduced the following remarkable words:—

“Polynesia is an extensive field, open to the conquests of commerce and civilization. It belongs to France, standing as she does in the first rank among civilized and maritime nations, to take a share in the efforts making to redeem the inhabitants of that part of the globe from their present state of barbarism. The development which our intercourse with these distant islands will require, is an interest which cannot fail to strike you. Over an extent of more than 4,000 leagues, our ships of war found no station belonging to France—none where they could obtain supplies, or repair their damages. Another special motive rendered an establishment upon some of these islands necessary. The whale-fishery is principally carried on in the Polynesian Archipelago. These operations are of long duration, and while they lasted our ships were obliged to remain exposed to the violence and exactions of the natives. The advantages of our new settlements, even now incontestable, will, however, hereafter acquire much higher importance. They will be very great if a plan, which at present fixes the attention of all maritime powers, should be carried into execution. It consists in opening between Europe and the Pacific, through the Isthmus of Panama, a track much shorter than that round Cape Horn. Whenever this grand result, in

which all naval powers are interested, shall have been obtained, the Society Islands and the Marquesas, by being nearer to France, will rank among the most important stations in the globe. The facility of this communication will necessarily give a new impetus to navigation in the Pacific Ocean, and this track being a line of communication with the Indian and China seas, if not shorter at least safer, will be one of considerable commercial interest. Our new possessions, happily situated as a store-house in these long voyages, will be used as a place of resort for the navigators of all countries," &c.

These avowals were welcomed by the Chamber, and to them the French public enthusiastically responded. Subsequent demonstrations, on the part of M. Guizot and other influential members, induced a belief that the opening alluded to was under the immediate auspices of the government, and specially patronized by the King. In consequence, capitalists offered to lend any sum of money required for the enterprise, and so decided was the consistency which the project immediately assumed, that a "Provisional Committee for the intended canalization of the Isthmus of Panama" was formed. Shortly afterwards, the government sent out M. Garilla, *ingénieur en chef des Mines*, and M. Courtines, of the *Ponts et Chaussées*, with a suitable establishment and well provided with instruments, avowedly for the purpose of surveying the Isthmus. About the same time the venerable Humboldt forwarded to Paris a paper, read before the Institute, in which he called to mind his own past labours on the subject, urging the accomplishment of the works. The professional commissioners arrived at their destination and commenced the survey, as is presumable, in virtue of some understanding with the local authorities. The government at home, as it were to satisfy public curiosity, occasionally announced the progress made by them. One of their earliest notices was inserted in the *Debats*, towards the middle of March 1844, to this effect:—That the government had received advices from the commissioners, whereby it appeared that the land on the Isthmus does not lie so low as had been represented, but, at the same time, that the elevation is not so great as to prevent the accomplishment of the proposed undertaking.

Subsequently, the public were told that the commissioners had completed their survey, and found the ground suitable for a canal from Chorrera to Trinidad river, but recommended the line to proceed thence to Limon Bay, in order to avoid Chagre. It was even added that two locks only would be requisite. This notice appeared about the same time that the paragraph of a letter, dated July 7th, and written by M. Garilla, a few days before his departure for Europe, to the Governor of Panama, found its way into the Paris papers. It is in these words:—"I am, nevertheless, partly enabled to satisfy your just and natural impatience, by announcing to you that a canal across the Isthmus, between the river Chagre and a point on the coast of the Pacific, in the environs of Panama, is a work of very feasible execution, and even easier than that of many canals which have been formed in Europe."

Finally, at the end of last September, the subjoined was ostensibly

inserted in the columns of the *Courrier Francais*:—"We learn, from a source upon which we can confidently rely, that the hopes which have been entertained relative to the cutting of the Isthmus of Panama cannot be realized. M. Garilla is returned from making his survey, and the result of it is, that the Isthmus rises between the two oceans, not merely ten yards, as stated by the Franco-Granadine Company,* but in reality to 125 yards; so that, instead of a single trench, or canal, with only one lock,—which, in fact, would have been equal to an artificial strait, (as by that Company's engineers we had been given to expect,)—nothing can be thought of less than a canal with 60 locks, divided between its two sides." This astounding and contradictory information was read with mingled feelings of regret and disappointment, while the silence of the Government, coupled with that of *M. L'Ingénieur en chef*, apparently confirmed the truth of the *Courrier's* statement. At length, on the 14th of October, with the sanction of his government, M. Garilla, assailed on all sides, caused the subjoined explanatory paper to be inserted in the *Moniteur*:—

"Some public prints, in announcing the return of M. Garilla to Paris, have asserted that the surveys made by that engineer on the Isthmus of Panama, have led him to conclude that the formation of a canal, in that part of the country, which should unite the two oceans, was impracticable. This assertion is completely erroneous. The report, which this engineer proposes to lay before ministers, is not yet completed; but the principal results of his voyage are already known, and which, far from establishing any impossibility in the execution of the projected works, on the contrary, prove that the position of the land on the Isthmus is not such as to threaten serious obstructions to the performance of an undertaking of this kind.

"The line which has been explored by M. Garilla seems to be about 75 kilo-metres (46½ miles) in length. Its point of termination on the Atlantic side is in the Bay of Limon (otherwise called *Puerto de*

* This was a company formed of Frenchmen and New Granadians, for the purpose of cutting a canal. In the sitting, held by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, on the 28th Dec., 1843, Baron Humboldt reported that, agreeably to advices which he had received, the preparatory labours of the Company, assisted by those of commissioners appointed by the Santa Fe government, in a survey of the Isthmus, had terminated; adding, that it appeared that all parties had arrived at a result as fortunate as it was unexpected. The Baron then proceeded to state that, according to the advices before him, the Cordilleras do not extend, as it was supposed, in an unbroken chain across the Isthmus. A valley, favourable to the operations in question, had been discovered, and could be used. The natural position and course of the rivers, it was also ascertained, were propitious, as three streams only occur within the space required, over the waters of which an easy control might be established; indeed, some of them, it was further believed, could be made partially navigable, and thus be connected with the canal, by which means the central and inland excavations would not exceed 1½ miles. The Baron concluded by remarking that, as far as his information went, the ascent and fall upon the high ground might be regulated by four double locks; and that the total length of the canal, terminating on the Atlantic at Limon Bay, would be 40 miles, with a width of 125 feet at the surface, 55 at the base, and 30 in depth, thus rendering it navigable for vessels of from 1000 to 1600 tons burden. M. Morel, a French engineer, estimated the cost of works, undertaken in conformity with the dimensions above set down, at fourteen millions of francs. The grant to the Franco-Granadine Company was afterwards cancelled, and, according to report, a large sum of money asked for its renewal.

Nase), situated a little to the eastward of the mouth of the river Chagre, and five years ago pointed out by Mr. Lloyd, where there is a depth of water equal to 10 metres (35 feet), and where it will be easy to form an excellent port at a small expense. By this means the town of Chagre would be avoided, the unhealthiness of which has been so much exaggerated as to create an unfounded alarm among too many travellers. On the Pacific Ocean the canal should terminate at a little bay, named *Ensenada de Vaca de Monte*, situated between Panama and the mouth of the Caimito river, where there is 4 metres (13 feet) depth of water at low tide, which, with 3 metres and 20 centimetres (10 feet) representing the height of the rise, when the tide has flowed in, gives a sufficiency of water for the largest vessels.

"The rigidly exact levellings which have been taken by M. Garilla, establish the fact, that the land, here bordering upon the Pacific, is 8 metres 8 centimetres (9 yards) higher than that on the Atlantic, and that the minimum point of the intervening chain to be overcome, and consequently the most elevated part along the line, is 120 metres (130 yards) above the level of the sea at Panama. The places surveyed at the same time prove that this elevation may be reduced to 90 metres (97½ yards) by a trench from 4 to 5 kilometres (3 to 4 miles) in length, which, although considerable, has nothing discouraging in it, considering the power which modern science places at the disposal of the engineer. This great elevation will nevertheless render it necessary to construct 30 locks on each of the declivities.

"M. Garilla is convinced, as much by his own observations as by the information which he has been able to obtain upon the spot, that all that has been said of the unhealthiness of the Isthmus has been exaggerated. Panama is of all the towns situated upon the coast of South America, under the tropics, the most healthy, and perhaps the only town where the yellow fever has never made its appearance. The interior of the Isthmus, through which water-courses find a rapid passage, is equally healthy, and inhabited by a robust and hospitable population, which, although thinly spread over a large tract of country (the same as in all those of Central and South America), by being joined by people from the neighbouring states, might amply supply labourers for the works, in case they are carried into execution. Chagre is the only point where the climate has any degree of unhealthiness in it, and this is owing solely to local circumstances; but this point would be avoided by the line contemplated by M. Garilla, and, in that case, there is nothing to be apprehended from it by the masons and carpenters whom it might be necessary to send over from Europe. In another point of view, it may be said that the soil is amazingly fertile, and cattle, far from being scarce, are extremely abundant, especially in the district of Chirigui, situated on the Pacific, a little to the west of Panama. The means of provisioning a large number of workmen will, consequently, be readily found within the country."

It is more than presumable that the professional report, promised by the engineer in the outset of his paper, was in due course submitted to

Louis Philippe's ministers ; but as it has not been made public, individuals are not in possession of details, or estimates of the probable expense. On the appearance of the above explanatory statement, emanating, as it avowedly did, from competent authority, parties interested in the canal scheme endeavoured to keep alive the expectations of the capitalists, both in France and England, who had evinced a disposition to join in it, by laying before them a sketch of the advantages which would result from the achievement, with a view to the formation of a company. In this sketch they argued that every vessel, bound to China, Australia, New Zealand, and the Polynesian Islands, as well as to the Western coast of North and South America, would thereby shorten its passage by nearly two months, and at the same time effect a saving of about 250*l.* per month for a vessel of 300 tons burden, besides avoiding the dangers of a voyage round the two southern continents. In the absence of official data, and as a guidance, the same parties hazarded some calculations on the expenses likely to be incurred, amounting to this, that the most costly canal, undertaken in Europe, was the Caledonian, principally owing to the great number of locks required, and the amount paid for the land through which it passes ; but that one of these items would not form part of the outlay for the Panama cut, as the ground is granted by the local government.* The rate of expense was nevertheless taken at the same average as that incurred in the construction of the Caledonian, viz. 16,800*l.* per mile, whence it was concluded that the Panama project would require 695,000*l.* but, to guard against contingencies, it was deemed expedient to raise one million-and-a-half sterling.

From the cautious silence observed by the French Government, and the unaccountable apathy which seemingly still prevails upon the subject in Paris, it is now thought that the canal project has been abandoned, at least for the present. Whether this state of things has been induced by a dread of the physical difficulties and expense attendant upon the execution, or the obstacles to overcome in obtaining a satisfactory title to the ground, as well as to the privileges which such an undertaking would call for, as a security and compensation to the contributors, can only be surmised. The general impression, however, is, that some unforeseen disappointment has occurred, probably of such a nature as to require the tedious process of diplomatic negotiations. These may again have been delayed through the want of unanimity, if not cordiality, between the local parties, most interested, one would think, in the opening of a communication of one kind or the other. At present, Panama is a distant dependency upon the Santa Fé Government, and held rather by a slender thread. Hence it would appear that, for so large an undertaking, the formal sanction of the latter is ab-

* In 1840, the Bogota government gave orders for the ground required for a canal, to be placed at the disposal of the French, but the Panama authorities evaded, rather than refused the execution of these orders. On the 28th September, 1843, the consent of the latter was however obtained.

absolutely necessary, together with the hearty concurrence of the authorities and inhabitants of the Isthmus. In proposing the subject to the general government, they have invariably started what might fairly be called an extravagant pretension, equivalent to this—that any foreign power, wishing to open the Isthmus, should guarantee to them the integrity of the territory thus benefitted, fearful, it would seem, that the inhabitants, when in the enjoyment of this advantage, and the facilities of communication shall have attracted among them settlers from other climes, will become so strong and unruly as to seek a separation. On the other hand, the municipality and leading men of the Isthmus have always insisted as a peremptory condition, that whatever line was opened, should terminate at or near their city.*

To remove these difficulties, if such have arisen, and as an essential groundwork to reconcile discrepancies in interests and opinions on the part of those who have a voice in the affair, must require both time and dexterity. In the mean while, any one who reads M. Garilla's authorized account, brief as it is, will be convinced that the natural impediments to a water communication, on the scale proposed, are of the most appalling kind, even when an outlet at the two extremities shall have been secured, although in Europe perhaps not insurmountable. The digging of forty-six-and-a-half miles for a wide canal, at least twenty-three feet deep, could only be performed by negroes (and even then under awnings), working in the dry season, which commences in December and ends in June, or July. As free labourers, having an abundance of food around them, by the lure of unusual earnings, these men might be induced to toil underground, but although tractable and well disposed, they would in all probability consider this as hard and monotonous work, and if a prejudice were once excited against it, nothing which their employers could do, would induce them to return to the task. Compulsory labour only enabled the Spaniards to dig their mines, and it would besides require years to complete the line. The difficulties of making a cut to Limon Bay from the Chagre bank, at the point opposite to the Trinidad junction, have already been alluded to, and, after all, it is acknowledged that on each declivity, thirty locks would be required (of course of the very largest dimensions), and the capital needed nearly one million sterling! For the present, the Garilla canal scheme can be viewed in no other light than that of a beautiful project.

* This disposition on the part of the Panamanians, evidently arises from an anticipation of the increased value which such an event would give to their property. The city contains about 10,000 inhabitants, but is capable of receiving an acquisition of twice as many more. No other town, or city, on the western side of the continent, presents so many good and substantial edifices, although for more than half a century they have been falling to decay. In the time of the Porto Bello fairs, Panama was a scene of busy traffic, the produce of Guayaquil, Paiza, Peru, and Chile, on the one side, and of Western Mexico and California on the other, being brought thither in order to exchange for European goods. Hence, the present residents, who daily witness the decline of their city, even in the appearance of the streets, are so tenacious in wishing the line to come near them, and, from the interest which they have at stake, it will readily be deduced that they are willing, and even eager, to second the efforts of any responsible party, in a situation to undertake the work on terms acceptable to them.

How much more preferable then would be a railway along one of the lines proposed by Mr. Lloyd, and since approved of by other intelligent travellers, as well as residents! This would be a safe and easy expedient, the accomplishment of which requires only as many months as the other would years, and not cost one-fourth of the money. For a work of this kind all the requisite elements exist, and the natives would besides readily co-operate, more especially if the line terminated at Panama. In the performance of their task the labourers also might easily be kept in good-humour, as the drudgery would not be so oppressive, and the progress made constantly before their eyes. This mode of opening the communication certainly would not altogether correspond with the views of naval powers, wishing a transit for their war-vessels,* or, indeed, wholly answer the expectations of that class of merchants who extend their operations to India, but still it would afford great facilities for the conveyance of passengers, mails, and merchandize; and by corresponding steamers being stationed on the Pacific (the ocean of all others best calculated for this kind of navigation, now that the existence of coal on various points of the Western coast of South America has been ascertained), a most material part of the great desideratum would be attained.†

The one plan can, at once, be reduced to a certainty, and no reasonable objection alleged against it, while the other is shrouded in doubt and distrust. It would be almost an act of ingratitude to Providence, were we to overlook the facilities afforded by the navigation of the Chagre, limited as they are. On entering from the Atlantic, by at once proceeding to the Trinidad, where proper establishments for the reception of passengers and goods might be formed, the dangers apprehended from the low and swampy ground, round the town of Chagre, would be avoided. The two operations are besides perfectly distinct, and one could in no way interfere with the other, provided the line runs in the direction of Panama and terminates within the point named by M. Garilla. Sufficient room would still be left to pierce the intervening ground, either in a direct line or diagonally, should it be so deemed advisable, after the two shores, together with the interior, have been more carefully searched and fresh elements accumulated. The conflicting opinions of professional men who have visited the spot, and the results of whose surveys have been sent forth to the world, under high authority, ought moreover to be previously reconciled, otherwise the

* As regards a canal, another consideration presents itself, which ought not to be overlooked. If the works were performed by, or for account of, any one European nation, without a special understanding with the rest, the right of passage might hereafter lead to disputes, more especially in case of war. This is a subject to which the natives, fearful of being controlled in foreign disputes, are perfectly alive, and with the United States any preference might become a serious bone of contest.

† For ages the Indians, and after them the Spaniards, have trodden upon beds of valuable coal, without observing them, which are, nevertheless, situated in regions so cold and denuded of wood, that they were obliged to collect the droppings of Llamas and Alpacas to use as fuel. Since the country has been opened to general intercourse, coal has been found upon the coast as high up as Chile, more especially at Talaguan, as well as on various points lower down.

responsibility, in case of failure, becomes very heavy. The cutting of a canal is a gigantic undertaking, and should not be commenced prematurely, or without the most eligible spot being deliberately weighed and judiciously determined. The narrowest part of the Isthmus is supposed to be from Mandinga Bay, on the Atlantic, to the Gulf of San Miguel, on the Pacific; but this section of the country is inhabited by independent Indians, who never acknowledged the supremacy of the Spaniards, and have not been molested by any of the new governments. They have hitherto invariably refused a passage through their territory, consequently its capabilities are not known. The line from Boca del Toro, on the Atlantic, to Cherokee, on the Pacific, would also be an interesting one, if the configuration of the land should prove favourable, the ports, at each extremity, being good and coal at hand. This ground also remains to be visited.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that, in the enterprise upon which they are about to enter, the Directors of the Royal Mail Company will turn their sole and undivided attention to the construction of a railway, from and to such points as, after mature consideration, their commissioners may pronounce best suited. By this means passengers, mails, and goods, might cross the Isthmus in four hours*, allowing one for stoppage at the first terminus, a part of the traffic which could never be carried on by means of a circuitous canal, encumbered with locks and sluices. With a work of this description we ought, for the present at least, to be satisfied and leave the rest to time, although, it must be acknowledged, there is something noble and grand in the idea of a 74, an Indiaman, or even a South Sea whaler, towering among the lofty forests of the Isthmus—in regions where the cane grows to an elevation of 100 feet, and in reality crossing the Andes. The anticipation of such a sight seems like a dream; still our children may live to witness it.†

But even a railway, economically constructed, and kept up, over such an interesting strip of land as the one here sketched, would be considered not only as an achievement corresponding to the spirit of the age in which we live, but also received as an expedient calculated to redound more to the advantage of commerce than any other that could be devised. It would tend to bring nearer together remote regions, abounding in resources, and disposed to exchange them. It would become a new bond of union between the most important of our distant settlements and the parent state; and the time has arrived, when British subjects, both at home and abroad, expect that Govern-

* Passengers frequently have come down from Panama, along the river, to the town of Chagre, in seventeen hours, who, on their return by the same route, expended a week.

† If for such a spectacle a parallel anywhere exists, it will be found, although upon a small scale, on the Andes, in Upper Peru, at an elevation of 18,000 feet above the level of the sea. A few years ago, through the enterprise and perseverance of a few Englishmen, interested in the neighbouring mines, a brig of large dimensions was built and launched upon lake Titicaca, which may almost be compared to an inland sea, where it still navigates, being employed to carry provisions for the miners from one side to the other. The iron work, small anchors, cables and ropes, were brought up the mountains, over long and rugged roads, on the backs of mules, from the coast, where they originally formed part of an English vessel, stranded there.

ment will give to such an undertaking as this all the patronage and support in their power.

Since the opening of China, and our late successes in India, our affairs in the East have assumed a new and more anxious character, and safe and early communications with both countries become desirable, nay, essentially necessary. Even when established, the route by Suez to China and India, like our present passage through France, may be rendered precarious by incidental causes; and, at all events, that route does not embrace so wide a scope, neither is it so well calculated for the conveyance of heavy goods, as the one proposed. A mere glance at a map will shew the geographical position of the Isthmus of Panama, and convince even the most casual observer, that this interesting point of land was intended to become a great commercial thoroughfare—the highway of nations.

As before stated, a railway would not answer all the purposes desired, but still it would do an incalculable amount of good; and for the construction of one, beyond all doubt, the physical aspect of the country is propitious. To an undertaking of this kind, every Englishman who has his heart in the right place must therefore wish well, under the conviction that our numerous countrymen in India and China, in the Indian Archipelago, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, as well as along the western coasts of South and North America, even as far as the Columbia River, will, under all circumstances, consider it the greatest and most seasonable boon that could be conferred upon them. But this is not all. Our West India Islands would thus become the advanced posts to a grand mart, opened for the supply of British commodities, and by the new route receive from the Pacific direct and regular supplies of guano, that valuable fertilizer so essentially requisite to the cultivation of their lands, exhausted by the uninterrupted growth of the sugar-cane, and without which the efforts making to afford them additional free labour will only be attended with one-half of the effects contemplated.

London, March 6th, 1845.

"JOTTINGS FROM MY JOURNAL."

BY A MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER XIV.—GOLGOETHA.

THE little grave-yard filled rapidly. Two companies of artillery had already lost half their number.

"How is poor P.?" I asked, as I entered the room of an officer attending upon him. The inquiry was useless, for he had just died. Sent down the river alone to fill a vacancy, he had been deeply oppressed with a feeling that he was doomed, and ere he arrived, he had caught the fever of Scinde.

I was struck down—revelled at night under the temporary mania of the disease—sat up in bed with shaven crown and sparkling eye, abused the medical attendant, and whilst the sleeping domestics knew it not, I wandered about searching for ice, which I knew would cool my scorching forehead, and I fancied that a boat-load of it was dropping down the Indus. Towards morning, when the exacerbation went off, and the medical attendant came, a confused recollection of these freaks and ideas was present; but as the domestics denied all knowledge of them, the doctor did not credit the frenzy of my nights. I knew it full well, however, and dreaded the approaching evening, for I had an instinctive horror of what I might do. It was full moon, and one night I made my way to the house-top, the Indus hard by running glassy and like an arrow beneath the porch, and I thought how cool it would be to spring into it, and as I thought so, the fancy struck me that I might swim to Kurrachee and get the beautiful sea-breeze there, and I thought I would stay a day with the officer who had lost his life in crossing from Roree, and whom I needs must see on my journey; and I sat down upon the ledge of the house-top to think over this glorious plan, and I laughed to think how I should trick the domestics who had slept while their master raved. Then, becoming chilled, I stole down again unseen by any, and, exhausted, betook me to my couch. Many a night I passed in manner like this, and in fourteen days was a shadow rather than aught else; nor was it wonderful, for many months had passed since my head had known the comfort of any other shelter than the fly of a subaltern's tent. Many a night I had passed on a hillock of sand, the bear-skin-covered saddle my pillow, a more sleep-bearing one than the medicated cushion of the sleepless inhabitant of the city. There is nothing like exposure and fatigue for rendering sleep what it ought to be; induced by these, a bed of good sand, heated to 100°, forms a luxurious place of repose, and I have certainly slumbered as serenely under a tropical rain of a night's duration as ever I did on a bed of down. But work like this is not calculated to ensure longevity, and it closed my book in the way I have stated. "The Faculty" agreed I was a fitting subject to return to Hindostan, but a difficulty existed in the Indus being beset, above and below Sukkur, by predatory bodies of Belooch horsemen, in whose warfare

plunder formed the chiefest aim. Of the two routes, I chose the upper, as being less perilous to a single traveller, and also a more expeditious route, for the rains of Upper India and the melting of the Hymalaya snows had filled the Indus, although now falling, and I trusted to fair winds and justifiable stratagem wherewith to "sarcumvent" the wily Belooch.

I left Sukkur in a miserable boat, manned by eight as rascally-looking, black-headed Scindians as I had ever seen. Evening after evening we brought to amidst the mud and jungle and filth of alluvial soil, rendered secure from Belooch moss-troopers by miles of inundated country. As a set-off to the advantages of security, there was the great chance of fever to my servants and the crew, and nightly exposure to the most malicious breed of mosquitoes ever let loose upon poor mortals. Too old in experience of the "jungle" and the "river" to travel without a mosquito-net, I suffered little from this annoyance, but my Hindostanees and the Scindian crew passed every night in torture, groaning in unison, and awaking constantly to anathematise the past. After enduring this for fourteen days, and holding councils of war with my servants and the boatmen, I came to the resolution of risking a visit from the Belooch, and shaped my course accordingly, taking the short route by the nullas or branches of the Indus, which abound, and are navigable in August, September, and October, enjoying the luxury of mooring to hard ground at even, and a half-hour's walk upon the bank.

So far it had been a most monotonous and lonely trip; inundated jungle had alone blessed my sight since the limestone rock of Bukkur disappeared on the evening of the first day. My boat was miserable in size, shape, and construction; square in stem and stern, and fashioned as if intended for a gigantic snuffers-tray or bread-basket. One solitary apartment, nine feet long by six broad, was my sole accommodation, scarcely sufficient to contain a bed stretched upon a pair of camel trunks, a small camp-table, and a chair; and between this room and the bow of the boat was a small caboose for cooking in. The Indus, though falling, was still immense; a fresh-water sea, boiling, wheeling, and shooting like an arrow here, and tearing like a cataract where its bed was not so deep. A very short probation satisfied me that my conveyance was not insurable, and as we crossed the mighty stream from time to time, as it was necessary, the miserable craft creaked, and groaned, and strained, until I thought the planks must soon part company; square in stem and without any keel whatever, the boat was only adapted for sailing dead before the wind; and when the manjee or skipper endeavoured to keep her steady, she pushed before her broad stem a wall of water two feet higher than that alongside, and at times, the enormous sail jibing, she would take in a tun of water at a sweep, drenching us one and all. My Hindostanees were much alarmed; land on either side could scarcely be seen; a palm tree on the horizon, here and there, pointing out its direction, and a current such

as promised no salvation to the wrecked. Albeit not a bad swimmer myself, I was not quite easy as to the result, and weighing in my mind the chances of shipwreck, I did not omit to weigh those of deliverance. The boat was shipping water at every lurch, yet, as I liked not the idea of being unable to extricate myself in the event of a capsizing, I sat down at the larboard doorway; having first, however, removed the stirrup-leathers from my saddle, I rolled up the horse-hair mattress upon which I slept, and buckled them round it; with this safety-buoy at my elbow, I felt life still worth struggling for, and even enjoyed the fresh gale and boiling caldron, for the wind was fair and our progress better than it had yet been.

The Indus is a solitary river; for miles and miles no boat gladdens the eye; in the rains a sea, in the dry season a desert; a line of jow jungle, or a fantastically-shaped drift-tree, alone varying the scene. We are now passing over a shoal, the flood is hissing in anger; see how, rolling over the sand on its mutilated branches, that enormous tree is urged along! mayhap torn from its native bed on the brow of a Himalayan precipice. How many miles has it travelled?—how many miles may it yet go?

The gale moderated, and towards evening, to avoid a strength of current to which the wind was now inadequate, we left the main stream and wound our plodding way up a nulla or water-course, only navigable at certain seasons: the banks of this nulla were dry, and my servants rejoiced in the idea of cooking their meal in comfort, a luxury which they had scarcely once enjoyed since leaving Sukkur. The weather assumed a placid appearance, and the clouds clearing off, disclosed, as far as the eye could command, the dark-blue ridge of the Soolimanee mountains. We threaded this nulla for three days, only meeting with a solitary village or two, and going many miles without seeing a single human being, and at length found ourselves at that point where the nearest spur of the mountain approaches towards the river: this was a dangerous locality, as the neighbouring hills harboured numerous Belooch freebooters, who in small parties infested the nullas and banks of the Indus in quest of plunder. We were moored to the dry bank, and a ragged jungle, which shewed marks of having been flooded when the river was at its greatest height, looked deserted and uninviting. The Hindoos had cooked, told their evening tales, and retired to a disturbed rest, for the mosquitoes were unusually virulent, and kept trumpeting outside the net, searching with laudable perseverance for an opening; the Scindian boatmen were lying abaft and already snoring; the sky had again become cloudy, and the moon in her first quarter just rendered more indistinctly visible the jungle and the brake. Teaser and Tinker, good dogs and true, had been picketed ashore close to the boat, on the roof of which my domestics were alumbering. It might have been midnight, or nearly so, for I had no watch by which to note the time, when I was roused by my calashie or tent-pitcher stealing quietly into the little cabin in which I slept, and I was instantly aware that something unwonted had occurred.

"*Sahib! sahib!*" exclaimed Mr. Bola, in an undertone, "Jungle men buhot Sowar hyn (the jungle is full of horsemen); I have been keeping watch."

It appeared that the Hindostanees, having overheard the Scindian crew telling narratives of rapine and plunder enacted in this neighbourhood, had taken the alarm, and as it was not improbable that the boatmen themselves might be in league with these marauders, they had agreed among themselves to keep alternate watches. Bola had been on the "*qui vive*," and stated that he had seen four horsemen come out of the jungle, scan the state of our boat and the party, and dip again into the brake. I was not long in turning out, and, giving instructions to Bola not to awaken either the Hindoos or boatmen, for the latter I feared might assist the plunderers, I gave him my holsters and sword, and told him to keep close to me. Deeming it unlikely that the Belooches would return until they had consulted for a time, I occupied a few minutes in changing the caps of my firearms, and with as fine and sure a double bore as ever came out of Westly Richards' shop, I stole out by the starboard doorway, or that farthest from the shore. "Indian stratagem must be met with Indian circumvention," was the next idea that struck me. "Here are four to one at any rate, and mayhap more Belooches than these lurking in the bush; nor is it likely that their object in prowling near a lonely boat under the spur of a Murree hill is to build churches." The sad fate of poor Ennis and his wife came for a moment to my recollection, and as it flashed across me, I knew that I might find no more mercy than they did; so my mode of warfare I fixed upon, which was to take as many pot-shots as possible, the first shot in these cases being half the fight. They all, boatmen and Hindostanees, snored on, and I, with Bola crouched at my side, skulked behind the little room that formed my cabin. Levelling my double-barrel on the roof, I was screened all but the head, and I felt confident that, at the distance I intended shooting from, neither bullet would be uselessly spent. The jungle remained still as death, no one was there, and whispering to Bola to step within for my telescope, I kept watch myself, sweeping the horizon of the brake, where many gaps in the vegetation existed, I once or twice thought I could descry a figure of a mounted man, but I knew I might be mistaken, and at any rate no good could come of firing under such uncertainty. I fancy I had remained reconnoitring some fifteen or twenty minutes, when stealthily, and in each others' footsteps, four horsemen issued from the waste; so quietly did their horses move, that they broke not a rotten branch, nor stirred even a withered leaf, and their object was evidently to surprise us while sleeping, and all did sleep save Bola and I, who had it all to ourselves. The extreme caution with which the Belooch approached the bank was characteristic of their predatory habits and peculiar mode of warfare, and to my eye indecision strongly marked the group. They were standing together some twenty yards from the boat, and I wondered that the dogs had not been disturbed by them; nearer than this I did not intend them to come. I pressed the

hammers of both locks, and the clear musical tinkle as the tumblers caught the checks made me feel how completely two lives at least were at my disposal.

I whispered to Bola to challenge them. "*Quhon Sowar hye ?*" vociferated the Hindoo. "*Sahib goles se marega.*" 'What horseman is that? My master will shoot you.' One bound in four different directions, and every Belooch had sought shelter in the jungle; and, to assure them of their luck, I sent a chance bullet to where the creaking of branches told me the course that one of them had taken, and as it whizzed among the jow twigs, Bola followed it up with a loud laugh of derision, and I just thought how well we were out of that scrape.

The party were all aroused, none but myself and the calashie having any clear notion of the cause of disturbance; but fearing lest the Belooch might return, with more valour than discretion I ordered the manjee to cast off and stand up the nulla with the light favourable breeze that was blowing. This at first he refused to do, and his refusal satisfied me that, had the horsemen succeeded in plundering us, he and his crew would not have suffered much; but seeing me prepared to enforce my wish, he ultimately turned out the boatmen, and loosened the huge sail. This operation was one requiring some time to effect, and during its performance, Bola and I kept sharp eyes on the jungle. At last, the sail was bent to the yard, and we soon ran it up the mast; and, casting off the ropes of coir, by which we were moored to the bank, the flat craft gradually gathered way, and we were soon in the middle of the stream. Our progress could not be more than a mile and a half an hour, and I began to speculate upon what measures I should take were the breeze to die away, for we had not even a wooden anchor with which to bring up in the channel of the nulla. But the breeze continued, and at daylight we found ourselves near a village, where we brought up, in order to give rest to the crew, who had been working since midnight. The boat had not been moored more than half an hour, when four well-mounted Belooches entered the village. Kissun, my sirdar-bearer, who was on the alert, awoke Bola, and they both awaited the result. The Belooches came down to the ghaut, and Bola again challenged them, for he doubted not they were our friends of the night; and he knew that they could offer no violence within the precincts of the village, whose authorities would have been made answerable for the outrage, and that their sole intention in approaching was to discover if the boat was of sufficient value to tempt them to dog us further. I was awoke by one of them asking whose boat it was,—if it was a *sardouga's*, or merchant's, &c. &c. Bola replied, that his master had only three commodities for sale,—powder, shot, and bullets,—and that, if they pleased, he would acquaint him that they had come for a *moolakat*. The sneer upon Bola's countenance as he said this was most characteristic; and as they declined seeing me, and rode away, Bola sent a peal of laughter after them. We cast off again at ten a.m., and about two o'clock, a bend of the river, where the ground was open for a distance, and inviting for the view, was a pleasant change. I swept

it with my Dollond, and was astonished to find our four Belooch friends crossing this plain at about a couple of miles distance, evidently bent upon intercepting us at some turn of the river further on, when night should have closed in. Luckily, however, the main body of the Indus was close at hand, as a cross-branch of the nulla led into it from where we now were. So far from wishing to court danger when it could be avoided, we took to the mighty stream.

Once more upon the bosom of the broad Indus,—that stream of classic fame, that had witnessed the proud Greek's prowess, and borne upon its waves the fleet of Nearchus,—the days of scholastic troubles, when Quintus Curtius carried with him no further interest than that excited by having his page construed, and thereby escape a flogging, rose up before me like a dream long forgotten and suddenly remembered. How useless I then thought the task! and how disgusting to be crammed to the throat with chapter upon chapter of the records of the dull historian! but the feeling had changed now, and every feature in the expedition I could recal brought with it thanks to the old humanity professor, who had driven even a little of it into my leaden head. Relics of the Greek invasion may be found in every large town on the Indus and Punjaub rivers; and so complete were the steps for perpetuating the fame of the invaders, that their successors, the children of Mahomed, have failed in annihilating them. It is true, that even the site of Bucephalia, and cities of lesser name in the Greek dynasty, are lost to us; but where their currency is found in every old ruin, who can doubt of its past glory? The classic shapes of Athenian and Macedonian amphoræ and paternæ are preserved in all their original chasteness of design by the semi-barbarous workmen of the Indus, where the bare mention of Sikunder's name carries with it at such a distance of time wonder to the peasant and terror to the child.

CHAPTER XV.—TRAITS OF THE SUTLEJ.

Again, all is water and sandbank, save the dome-winged city of Mitten-ke-kote to the north-west, and a few palms at intervals, denoting the union of the Punjaub rivers. Hydaspes, Hyphasia, Hydrates, Acesines, all are here engulfed; and, chronicled as ye have been by the Greek historian's pen, who knows but your names may be yet more famed by the British cohorts that have forded ye never to return? I know a tale of one of ye which it yet chills my blood to think of; and many in the first returning force from Cabool will carry to their graves the recollection of the Jelum's treacherous ford. But a few marches more, and the force expected to be within the provinces; it had reached the banks of the Jelum, or ancient Hydaspes, and, to point out the ford, stakes had been driven diagonally into the bed of the river. Next morning, the advance-guard crossed, and discovered that the river had risen from six to eight inches during the night: the additional power produced upon troops crossing may, therefore, easily be conceived. It was considered necessary, however, to attempt it with the main body. Each took the stream with his own

corps; horses reeled, quivered, and snorted in terror, losing a footing at one moment and regaining it the next; the crisis required presence of mind, as even a good swimmer might not have reached the further shore amid struggling horsemen and trampling columns. Behind was a troop of European lancers, and, anxious not to be detained by the infantry, they had entered the river some few yards too low down. Ere they had got mid-channel, their horses were swamped; heads of horses and riders alone were above the water, except when, by a terrific effort, some charger almost sprang from out of it. Then occurred a fearful scene; the immediate struggle of man and beast for life itself. There was an old man, whose life had been spent in arms, who had fought in Spain and Portugal, and on whose breast hung the silver badge of Waterloo. He was an old officer to be only in command of a troop. He struggled well, often lifted his powerful horse with hand and knee, and the medal of Napoleon's last fight ever and anon appeared above the current; but these exertions only expended the strength of both, and at last he gave it up. Oh! to see the old man's grey locks floating on the oily eddy, as he and his charger sank together! it was horrible! A melancholy funeral party placed that evening within unconsecrated graves the gallant Hilton and nine of his men, and over the spot a monument was erected to their memory; but a few months after, and the river had swept it away, and a sand-bank covers one of the heroes of Waterloo.

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Ah! here is a change rendered more welcome by the monotony of the past: a kafila of camels and bearded Affghans preparing to cross the Chenaub. They left Mooltan this morning, and the ferry-boat so seldom used is now in great request. Bhawulpore, Jeyzulmeh, Bickaneer! how the chops of your citizens will water at the sight of the grapes and pomegranates from the Hindoo Coosh!

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I had left the Chenaub, passing on the right hand the ancient town of Ooch, and having entered the Garrah, or Sutlej, with a favourable wind, I kept it for eight or nine days; such good luck raised my spirits in the high-pressure ratio. With a flowing sheet, and the tip-top pace of four miles an hour against the stream, the old snuffers-tray reached Bhawulpore, and here, as I knew that a political agent resided, I did not hesitate to acquaint him with my presence. A saddled Arab, all ready for mine especial use, accompanied the answer to my note; and a real note from the heart it was; not the frigid note of the man in high authority often met with, the "Barra Sahib," to whom a host of dishonest vakeels and sneaking chuprassies bend low to forward their own plans, but one that told there was a welcome, and bore upon it the stamp of a right down good fellow. The sun was low, and I was not long in mounting; and a springy gallop over the flat ground between the city and the river was delightful indeed to one who had suffered a month's imprisonment in such a cabin as my boat afforded. The note of invite I had received was no forgery, for a ^dright down

good fellow" was awaiting my arrival in the verandah of an old flat-roofed house, which was shaded to the doors and windows by mango-trees. We sat down, and I at once consented to stay the night and next day with him, and in five minutes we had got each other's history, and each had fathomed the weak side of his neighbour; and finding there were assimilating points between us, we pecked holes in each other's garments, nor lost our good-humour in the tilt. A dinner for two, with some prime Allsop's beer, smoked before us at seven, and he delighted equally with myself at sight of a white man's face, we recalled scenes, and numbered mutual friends, and pledged a brimming bumper to them as though we were in public. It was a gay night indeed for a party of two, the only men of their colour and creed within the large city. We made speeches, proposed toasts, discussed the affairs of homes that we might never see again. Ah, well! Allsop is a strange fellow, and whatever he puts in his beer I neither know nor care; but, be it what it may, the beverage is a good one, and somewhat potent withal, not savouring, as Sir John's sack, of weak potations, leading to undesirable results, but, decidedly having the effect of heightening the spirits and lighting up the fancy, if taken in the ratio of three bottles per man. So Allsop conquered; and not burdened with dress, save pyjamas or loose trousers, and shirts, I forgot I was at the table of a political, and we hobnobbed together with mutual zest. About midnight we turned in upon couch beds, and the musquitoes trumpeted stoutly in our ears; but Allsop had made us proof against their attacks, and we both went to sleep with a good story upon our lips.

On awaking at breakfast-time on the following morning, I scarcely could see, for having passed the night without a musquito-net, my face, and especially my eyelids, were so inflamed, that my head felt double its natural size. We passed the day together; and having much anxiety myself to continue my passage up the Sutlej, we dined at four P.M., so as to permit of my going comfortably on board the same afternoon.

At six o'clock, a couple of smart Arabs were at the door, and my friend, springing into the saddle, in the same garb he wore the previous night, stated his intention of seeing me on board my boat. When we arrived at the sandbank to which she was moored, we found the manjee and his men and my own domestics employed in cooking their evening meal; the fires blazed up cheerily, and the merry laugh went round from fire to fire.

"Ah, well, old fellow, you cannot start till morning, and I must e'en stay here until you do; for not having seen a white face for months, I may not see one for as many more."

The cabin of the boat being confined for two, we got the only chair it contained, and my little camp-table, placed upon the sand, the remnant of an old charpoy belonging to the manjee served as a second chair; and knocking the top off a bottle of Allsop with the blade of a

"regulation," for my establishment did not possess a corkscrew, we talked *"sub oculo"* of days that had gone, and of future anticipations.

"Did you know W—— of the ——?" I stated that I did not. "Well! lying here reminds me of the night before we lost him, and a great loss to the corps he was; and his poor wife,—'My Kate,' as he used to call her,—I wonder what has become of her. He was my friend; amiable, gentle, unassuming; but to many who knew him not, he appeared reserved. Fifteen long years of service had given him a company, during which time he had not led the gay life and thoughtless existence of a bachelor, but one that had been better suited for a disciple of St. Benedict. He was, therefore, no friend of the dissipated and gay, but by them esteemed a 'bookworm' and a 'wet blanket.' His increase of pay and allowances consequent on the promotion for which he had patiently waited came at last, and he some time after was enabled thereby to avail himself of his furlough to Europe. For three years he was, as it were, lost to the corps; but at the expiration of that period he rejoined, a Benedict, and evidently a happy one. His wife, a sweet girl of eighteen, was welcomed to the regiment with much good feeling, and it afforded a little innocent remark and trite amusement, to witness the intense romantic attachment to his wife which the bachelor of thirty-six years displayed in all his thoughts and actions; but strong as it was, she was deserving of it, for love towards him for whom she had left her mother and her sisters, and the healthful climate of her rural home, was responsive indeed. But their happiness was not of long duration; ere they had been many days with the regiment, an order came to prepare for immediate service, for Sale was blockaded in Jellalabad. W—— was too good a soldier and too brave a man to hesitate between duty and affection; he made proper arrangements for the establishment of his wife during his absence, calmly and collectedly; yet beneath his unruffled brow a kind heart was breaking.

"We marched, and from myself, a married man similarly situated, though not so recently a lover, he claimed the sympathy of one who he thought could feel for him, a consolation in his grief, and a refuge whither to flee to. The same feeling of bereavement racked my own breast, but I bore it the better that he claimed so much, and though formerly somewhat indifferent to each other, we became inseparable friends, and on the outlying picket, or nightly bivouac, we stole aside, and spoke of our wives. Poor W——; how excited he would get on these occasions! 'My Kate,' as he called her, 'if ever an angel lived in the flesh, it was my Kate!'

"He could not divest himself of the feeling that he would never see her again, and this feeling was most urgent on the night of —th April, 1842. Our baggage had been *looted* by the Affredia, and for some days we had been occupying a fort which was untenable, and which it was deemed absolutely necessary to abandon; it was a miserable stronghold, built upon a rising ground in the centre of the noted Kyber, commanded from other heights, and neither supplied with guns nor provisions. A

retrograde movement was, therefore, ordered on the following morning, and injunctions as to the part each was to take made privately known. That night, with the clear, hard, starry sky of the mountains playing upon us, W—— and I slept beneath the same postern on the flinty rock of Ali Musjid; the mountainous defile of the Kyber retiring behind us, ravine after ravine. It was under such circumstances that poor W—— raved of his 'Kate' for the last time. We commenced our retrograde movement without the heartstirring bugle or fife, for much chance of success existed in keeping our plans secret from the Affredia, who, in hordes, occupied the heights around. W—— commanded the rear-guard, the point of danger, but the post of honour, for scarcely had the little fort been evacuated by our troops, before it was filled by a cloud of mountaineers, and from that moment until our rejoining the brigade at the mouth of the pass, it was one uninterrupted scene of strife. W—— fought his men with the gallantry of a soldier; he coolly and obstinately disputed every inch of ground, and repelled every onset of the enemy in his rear. From a spur of the mountain jutting into the pass, and where the latter takes a sudden turn to the right, the bullet sped that made poor Kate a widow; entering the left breast, and passing completely through the lungs: a few minutes, during which he was sufficiently sensible to acknowledge the thanks of his commanding officer and the farewell of us all, and poor W——'s anticipations of dying within the passes were fulfilled!"

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We talked on subjects like these until past midnight, when I crept under my musquito-net in the little cabin, while my friend, contrary to all recommendation, coiled himself up on the old charpoy, and Kiseun threw a sheet over him. By peep of day, the manjee was astir, and I arose to bid my new friend farewell; and whilst shaking him by the hand, I felt it hot and feverish; his sleep upon the sandbank of the river had worked him ill, and I bid him good-by with a feeling of more interest than I could well account for; and the huge sail filling, the boat shot out into the stream. I looked after him as he mounted his Arab, and galloped homewards to escape the sun; but the night-wind had done its work, and I saw him on his arrival in the provinces, a month afterwards, a shadow of what he had been.

THE MAHOMEDAN POPULATION OF INDIA.

THERE is a singular spectacle passing before our eyes in the south of India, equally interesting to the statistical and historical writer, and worthy of contemporaneous remark, as exhibiting the tendency of our rule to check the increase of the Mussulman population, without adopting artificial means for its repression. Whether it was foreseen that our presence would so soon bring about this consummation, it is needless to inquire; but the fact does not admit of a doubt, that, in the tract of country embraced by the Madras presidency, with the exception of Malabar and Canara, our Mahomedan subjects are rapidly becoming extinct: if we consider their comparatively recent arrival in the south, the events that befel their brief possession of power, their habitual indolence, and neglect of peaceful pursuits, we shall find reasons enough for their sudden disappearance, and shall perhaps be surprised that they have so long continued to cumber the land with their presence.

The first Mahomedan army that penetrated to the south of the river Khistna, ravaged the country of the Bellala rajah, now the Mysore, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and, about seventy years after, it was followed by another army, which reached the island of Ramisseram; in both instances, however, no permanent possession was taken of the conquered provinces, which appear to have reverted to their original sovereigns after the retirement of the invading forces. All that was done was but a repetition of the slaughter, the forcible conversions, and the rapine that marked the progress of the early intruders from beyond the Indus; and it is to be presumed that, after such enormities, few men were bold enough, even if they had the desire, to straggle from the line of march and settle down among the Hindoos.

After the breaking up of the empire of the Deccan, when the viceroy in the provinces had secured to themselves the independent possession of the districts they had been sent to govern, they turned their attention to the nominally tributary states south of the Khistna, and their armies soon overran all the countries between that river and the Panaur. Secra was taken in 1644; Vellore two years after; Sidhout in 1650; and Gingee in 1669. At these places the Mahomedan lieutenants established the authority of their masters; and from these dates, and not earlier, may the real possession of that part of southern India by the Mussulmans be said to have commenced. Trichinopoly was taken in 1736; and in 1743, Arcot, which had been built in 1716, was bestowed upon Anwar-ud-Deen Khan, from which year may be also dated not only the real possession of the districts south of the Panaur, but the great influx of Mahomedan settlers. Anwar-ud-Deen had been eighteen years governor of Chicacole previous to his appointment to Arcot; and so popular had he rendered himself to the men of his own faith, by his liberality and encouragement of immigration, that he was accompanied or followed to the south by not only his own retainers,

but by nearly all the respectable Mussulmans of Chicacole, by very many from the Deccan, and by numbers from the heart of the empire itself: adventurers continued to pour into his districts from all quarters during the six years of his administration; and at his death, in 1749, the tide which had set in continued to flow on in support of the Mahomedan cause, which, in the course of a few years, began to hold out to its partisans the prospect of rapid advancement in the service of Hyder Alli, who, having dethroned his master, the Hindoo sovereign, in 1750, assumed the government himself, and drew to his side all the Mussulmans of the south of India who were anxious to distinguish themselves or desirous of bettering their fortunes. His successor, Tippoo Sultaun, besides the promises he held out to Mahomedan settlers, further augmented the number of the faithful by carrying off to the Mysore all the Mahomedans found in the captured cities of the Carnatic, and by making forcible conversions, by the rite of circumcision, of great numbers of his prisoners of war. So barren was the soil, however, or so bad the seed, that when a census of the inhabitants was taken in 1804, there were no more than 17,000 families of the Mahomedan persuasion in the whole country; while in the provinces below the ghauts, and in the Northern Sircars, there were probably three times that number; forming, altogether, an aggregate of about 476,000 souls.

At that period, which is just forty years ago, the best soldiers in the native army of the Madras presidency, and at the same time the most numerous of the many classes of which it was composed, were Mahomedans, followers of our ally the Nuwaub, and the chiefs who were attached to his cause. At least three-fourths of the whole number were immigrants from the Deccan, or the offspring of adventurers from the north-west, and the countries beyond the Indus (a very important fact to be borne in mind when the influence of climate on the human constitution comes to be considered), and connected by blood or marriage with the other members of the Mussulman population not in the military service or in the pay of our government. Hence it may be asserted of the whole mass, that it was dependant upon us for the means of existence; and it rested with the dominant party in the south of India either to tolerate the presence of Mahomedans, to encourage their multiplication, or to banish them altogether. To admit them into the army upon the same terms as the Hindoo natives, was to give them present employment, with the certain prospect of wearing them out in two or three generations; to tolerate their presence, in short, and to make use of them as long as they might continue to last. Had a bounty been offered to people from the north; had higher pay been given to enable them to live in greater comfort than the lower classes of Hindoos; had grants of land been made to them, and none of the old sunnuds been resumed; had they been fostered and pampered, they would, perhaps, have been as numerous nowadays as they were half a century ago; but to mix them with our Hindoo recruits upon the same pay, and to pay them regularly, was simply to prevent their return to the

north, in the certainty of employment which attended their stay in the south, but without affording them a chance of rising from the poverty to which they consigned themselves by staying with us, or checking the decay to which they were liable by continuing to live in a tropical country.

When it was stated before a committee of the House of Commons, that the children of European parents born in India seldom or never attained the age of puberty, unless they had spent their childhood in Europe, the statement was treated as a fallacy by many well-informed persons, and from others it met with an unqualified denial. It has, however (since attention was pointed to the subject), received, with some trifling exception, the general assent of the public. We are of opinion that the climate of India is not equally—certainly, but in a minor degree—inimical to the descendants of *all* people who are natives of very cold countries; and that the Mahomedans of the south, to continue a robust race, and an increasing people, must mix with the natives of India, or be recruited with colonists from the north, west, and the other side of the Indus. Now for the last forty years both these means of replenishing themselves have failed them; they can no longer make converts of their captured women and children, as in the time of Tippoo; and the stream of immigrants from other Mahomedan countries ceased to flow with the downfall of that prince: they are thus left to their fate, which appears to be approaching them with more rapid strides than could have been anticipated forty years ago, but which will strike us with less surprise if we glance at the other disposing causes, besides the mere influence of climate.

The most conspicuous of these is extreme poverty, which, being also accompanied by extraordinary improvidence and extravagance, has the greater power to exercise its depressing influence. This poverty is in general the result of indolence and unthrifty habits, although not always so, as we can call to mind many respectable men, of unwearied industry and circumspection, who are sunk into the lowest state of indigence; indeed, so thorough does the decay appear, that we cannot remember a single Mahomedan, not in civil or military employ, or a pensioner of our government, whose condition is not infinitely worse than that of his father. If we also weigh the omnipotence of hereditary prejudices, we shall be compelled to admit that the Mussulmans of the south, indolent and extravagant as they undoubtedly are, owe some portion of their universal poverty to their prepossession in favour of a few professions, to the neglect and contempt of others. Thus they will not till the ground because it is an ignoble employment, and is supposed to debase the people who follow it to the condition of serfs, and consequently to render them an easy prey to foes from without. They will not become bankers or money-changers, because their religion forbids them to receive interest; and this law further gives them a distaste for trade or mercantile speculations. The only profession which is popular with them, besides that of arms, is a teacher's, under which term may be included the duties of a lawyer, a linguist, a

doctor, and a priest. The other callings to which they devote themselves are those of butcher, embroiderer on leather and cloth, &c. a saddler and shoemaker, chimes-printer, whitesmith, farrier, and sweeper,—all minor employments in comparison with those which contribute to the comforts and conveniences of life.

It will, perhaps, be asked, how the Mahomedans continue to exist in our southern provinces, shut out as they are, by their own choice, from the best means of earning a competency for their support, and unre-cruited with fresh blood from the land of their progenitors? We answer, that they are dying off as rapidly as their worst enemies can desire, and will be only saved from perfect extinction by the presence of a Mahomedan prince at our presidency. If his court could be removed beyond its limits, the past forty years, which have done so much to reduce their numbers, would be a season of prosperity in comparison with the coming forty, which would extinguish them altogether. The army, which formerly was their haven of refuge, has almost ceased to afford them employment, in consequence of the standard having been raised to five feet five inches,—a stature so much above the average height of these people, that they do not now number twenty-five *per cent.* in companies where they could count sixty a quarter of a century ago.* Whether this was done with a view to their gradual exclusion from the military ranks, it is impossible to say; but, when it is remembered that all the *outrages* which have taken place in the coast-army have originated entirely with the Mahomedans, it leads to the suspicion that something of the sort was intended: nor can the policy of such a course be questioned, if the mischievous tendency of the frequent recurrence of such outbreaks be duly regarded. The massacre at Vellore, in 1806, is known to have been quoted as a precedent for the one which was to have taken place at Bangalore, in 1834; both were exclusively the work of Mahomedans, as was the murder of Mr. Macdonald, the assistant collector at Cuddapah, which took place about the same time. The Coorgh Rajah also derived his chief promise of support from these people when he ventured to defy our power; and the miserable failure which he made, in consequence of their total abandonment of him, at the eleventh hour, may be taken as an example of the fate that is likely to await those who put their trust in such slippery adherents. The last occasion upon which their restless hankering after power was manifested was in 1839, when the Nuwab of Kurnool, egged on by others of the faith, was mad enough to contemplate our expulsion, by raising the banner of the crescent against the Christian foe. Indeed there is nothing that insanity can conceive or disloyalty suggest, which a Moslim will not attempt against an unbeliever, whenever the cry of the faith is raised in his ears. This proneness to embroil himself in support of his religion is at once the prominent feature of his character, and the cause of his incapacity for peaceful employment, in a country where his power has been superseded by that of the infidel:—he can not only never forget that his forefathers came hither as soldiers, and hewed

* The Mussulmans of the native army of Fort St. George may be set down at 20,000.

their way to fortune in the service of religion, but his poverty under the Christians' sway thrusts itself upon his daily notice, to render the remembrance the more intolerable. We are not painting the fact in distorted colours when we speak thus of the temper in which they live, and of their readiness to wrong us when opportunity offers : we believe it will be acknowledged by all who have mixed much with the Mussulmans of India, that the bigotry and hatred of unbelievers, so conspicuous in all Mahomedan countries, have lost nothing of their fervency under the burning sun of the south :—their bigotry is, perhaps, the more obstinate from seeing other forms of faith tolerated around them ; their hatred, the more intense from their inability to manifest it openly. With such feelings as they commonly possess, it is impossible for us to expect in them any thing of a civic spirit ; they have no national interest in the continuance of our rule ; their poverty is the result of our greatness ; and the anarchy, which formerly made our service popular in the prospect which it held out of advancement, no longer prevails to encourage them to enlist under our standard. As the champions of good order and civil liberty, we are the avowed opponents of the coercion and confusion which have ever attended the steps of the Mahomedans and the diffusion of the doctrines of their prophet ; we cannot, therefore, look for support from men whose rule of life and system of control are the very opposites of our own : all the aid that we have received from them, has been in furtherance of the dominion of force ; and now that we can no longer find full employment for them in the field against truculent Nuwaubs, nor suffer them to follow the bent of their inclinations in opposing our peaceful progress, they are reduced to the condition of men without occupation.

This forced idleness, conjoined with their litigious spirit, may account for the incessant litigation and divisions prevailing among them ; the sunnuds granted a hundred years ago have, in nine cases out of ten, passed from the hands of the descendants of the original holders into those of others, from their inability to abstain from engaging in law-suits, which have impoverished them to such a degree as to oblige them to part with their ancestral property. Divided as they are in families, it cannot be expected that they are united in the mass. A subadar of cavalry, who has worn the Bombay cap, on returning to the south to spend the remainder of his days among his children, is cited before the cazy for contempt of the rules of his faith ; the cazy decides that he shall express contrition, and make reparation, before he shall be admitted to pray with his neighbours in the public mosque ; he accordingly expresses his regret for having worn an improper head-piece, the invention of the unbelievers, and gives an expensive entertainment to the persons who summoned him before the cazy, which costs him half his savings. In another town, the moulee, a learned and exemplary man, in his address from the pulpit of his mosque to his congregation, makes use of epithets, in speaking of the English, which are construed into seditious expressions by some of his hearers, who envy him his popularity ; they complain to the military authority, and so plausible do

they make their story, that the moulvie is ordered to appear before the district court. He leaves his congregation, and repairs to the sillah judge, who examines into the case, and declares that he can find no fault in him.

They displayed more unity of feeling upon the recent occasion of the *awans* in the 6th regiment of Madras Light Cavalry; but this might have been expected of them, and formed no contradiction in their character; for men who are divided in a good cause, will generally be found unanimous in a bad one. In the mutiny referred to, the parties, with one or two exceptions, were all Mahomedans: they bound themselves by an oath* not to serve under their commanding officer, because he manifested no sympathy for their alleged hardships; they wished to depose him, and went to the next senior officer, with an invitation to put himself at their head. When their misconduct came to be inquired into, it was extraordinary to observe the union and good feeling that prevailed between the native officers and the men; the former, who would have been as active as could have been desired in the discovery and suppression of individual acts of disobedience, had neither eyes nor ears when a whole camp was in a ferment, nor had they industry sufficient to collect evidence of the men's misbehaviour. They have been very properly turned out of the army, and with them will depart much of that attachment to the service for which the Mahomedans of the south have been so often extolled. It will now begin to be seen, that the indifference of the native officers upon occasions of mutinous conduct among the men can be punished in a summary manner, of which they have hitherto had no experience; and the discovery will assuredly not tend to render the service more popular than before. If to this disinclination to enter the military service be added their unfitness for civil employ, the restriction that has been placed upon their admission into the army, by raising the standard of recruits to five feet five inches, and the reasons before given for their poverty and deterioration, it will be plain that their downward course is becoming more rapid the nearer they approach the pit into which it is fated they shall plunge. Their fall will not be viewed with regret by others any more than it is contemplated with anxiety by themselves: they have long been aware of their destiny; they know that they cannot avert it; and those who have witnessed the apathy with which they await it, will observe the catastrophe unmoved.

* This is a favourite precaution with Mahomedans upon all occasions of conspiracy, rebellion, and mutiny. Dost Mahomed owed much of his success to the dexterity with which he could substitute a brick, wrapped in a shawl, for a copy of the *Koran*, whenever it came to his turn to bind himself by an oath to the performance of any specified act.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A SENTINEL.

CHAPTER VII.

RESIDING at the distance of only two or three score yards from the house of Mr. Caetano, of the Poonah collector's office, the sounds of the fiddle, flute, and tambourine, to the tune of "*Haste to the Wedding*," were distinctly audible. I therefore lost no time in donning my white nankeen trowsers and waistcoat, my blue camlet jacket, and a pair of "*Europe*" pumps, in order that my friend and chaperon Jeffrey might not be detained when he called to conduct me to the party. It is unaccountable to me, at this distance of time, how I could ever have brought myself to tolerate, much less to enjoy, such society as it was now my lot to share. It was illiterate in the extreme—intolerably vulgar, because it smacked of pretension and indulged in puerile imitations of the habits of the upper orders,—and, what was worst of all, it affected merely to *patronise* those educated Europeans whose pecuniary or official position was a grade or two below that of the host's. Poverty makes a man acquainted with strange bedfellows, but in no reduced condition of life does one encounter stranger associates than in that which was now my share. The only apology I can offer to myself for my ready embrace of a companionship which involved a positive degradation, is the utter impossibility of enduring a life of solitude in a climate where all the excitement which even free intercourse with polished society can give is insufficient to relieve existence of the depressing effects of monotony.

At the appointed hour, Jeffrey arrived. I had not completed my toilette, and he very obligingly employed the time, while, like another Brummel, I was wasting my ingenuity in failures to adjust my cravat, by describing to me the *modus operandi* in all cases of Indo-Portuguese marriage.

"As soon," said he, "as a girl is considered of sufficient age to superintend a household, and take upon herself maternal responsibilities, *i.e.* as soon as she has reached the discreet and sober age of thirteen, a select committee of sages and *commadres* (female friends of the girl's mother) assembles to discuss the relative merits and pretensions of the various 'ingenuous youth' who enjoy the honour of their acquaintance. The circle, generally speaking, is not so large as to render selection a matter of fearful difficulty; still, there are often as many as a dozen 'eligibles,' and from these it is usual, after a careful weeding, to choose some three or four, whose names are accordingly submitted to the priest of the district, that he may determine the individual upon whom the honour of becoming 'Missy's' husband should fall. The padre sets about the inquiry very conscientiously. He considers three qualifications for the husband to be indispensable: firstly, he must be a good and zealous Catholic; secondly, he must be a youth of a good disposition; thirdly (this might have come first), he should not only have the means of paying for masses, candles, and chimes, but there must be no

question about his capacity and inclination for a special remuneration of his reverence—to say nothing of a *noona* and grand display of fireworks and illumination-lamps. The choice being determined, the fortunate youth is apprized of his great good-luck (though, perhaps, he had never dreamt before of the honour intended him), and a day is fixed for his introduction to his *futura*. This ceremony generally occurs at a tea-party, at which tinsel crowns, decorated with the *mogree*, or Indian jessamine, are presented to the youth, who places one upon the head of his *innamorata*, she returning the compliment. This, the *crowning* act of betrothal, is accompanied by a flourish of music, and the mellifluous voices of the *tumasha wallahs*—who form the band. Vigorously they scrape and yell, to the applauding echoes of the company, who shout '*wah ! wah !*' or '*capaz excellente !*' according as their habits and language partake of the Hindoo or the Portuguese. The worthy priest is fluent in the distribution of compliments and words of encouragement ; but as the effort has the peculiar effect of parching the palate, he is not inattentive to the propriety of perpetually moistening it with tumblers of Hodgson, and *brandy pawnee*. Then the father of the destined bridegroom, approaching a sideboard, and grasping a bottle of sour sherry, demands a bumper to the *noiva* and *noiro*, which being drunk, with an infinite number of bows, and good wishes, and shakes of clammy hands, the youth produces a ring from the recesses of his pocket, and places it on the finger of the blushing betrothed. The priest then quaffs a '*doch an darrach*,' and repeating '*Guarde Deus muitas annos*,' takes his departure. The remainder of the day is spent by the old folks in gossip, the hookah, and the application of moisture to the thirsty lips, while the 'young people' get into a corner and go through the ceremony of making love—for a ceremony it is among the Indo-Portuguese, and nothing more. The gentleman will, perhaps, commence with a '*Eao ta amma por vosse merito bellamente*, Miss,' to which she replies, '*Chee !*' He rejoins, '*Toom burra acha*, Miss. *Hum sadee kurreega toomara wastee !*' This pleases her rather better, because she understands it more clearly ; but with the coquetry peculiar to her sex in all countries, she averts her head and mutters '*Toom ka boltee ho ?*'—and so the nonsense goes on. This sort of thing lasts for six days ; on the seventh, the wedding takes place. It is a day of great rejoicing, and that it may be all the longer, operations commence with the dawn. First, a roasting-ptg is killed—then the *madrinaks*, or bridemaids, arrive—then come the mothers of families, most of whom have, for this occasion, donned black silk petticoats and veils, and decorated their persons with all the jewellery they possess. Their children accompany the latter, and help to augment the uproar which now distinguishes the house. The bridemaids equip the bride. Poor thing !—it is a serious operation. She has, perhaps, never worn a pair of stays nor of shoes all her life,—now she is to be laced up in the one, and pinched by the other. Her movements indicate her agony, for her face is concealed by a veil, the gift of the bridegroom ; but her

speech is made up of phrases suited to the occasion, all expressive of the intensity of her delight at the prospect opening before her. She is led to church, a fine male child having previously been put into her lap, by way of propitiation ; at the entrance of the church she meets the bridegroom and his friends ; the party range themselves in files, and, decorated with tinsel, proceed up the aisle. The ceremony is soon disposed of, and back the whole party go to eat of a dinner, at which there are, probably, not less than one hundred dishes. What follows we shall see."

By the time Jeffery had finished his description, I had achieved a *tie* that D'Orsay might have envied, and putting on my *black straw* hat (a sort of head-gear I have never seen since), took his arm, and proceeded to Pereira's. As we entered the veranda of the bungalow, which formed a sort of ante-chamber, and was lighted with oil in tumblers reposing in bell-shaped hanging lamps, we were met by Mr. Pereira, who politely invited us to take a glass of wine or brandy-and-water. To the introduction of Jeffery he responded by taking my hand, and assuring me he was "too glad" to see me. "You come in the pay department—that very good—Captain Jamieson he very good gentleman," &c. I went into the "hall," as it is the custom to call the largest room in a bungalow, and there found forty couples dancing furiously to the tune of *Mrs. Macleod*—the gentlemen (nine-tenths of whom were dark) in white jackets or blue cloth coats of all fashions, from the days of George Selwyn to those of George the Fourth ; and the ladies in pink or sky-blue crape, or yellow silk, with cotton gloves, and pink, blue, or white kid shoes to match. "*Hands 'cross, Missy Gomes—that right !*"—" *Now make right left, Fernando,*" and similar directions were given by a plump gentleman in a violent state of perspiration, as he tore down the middle with the agonized bride, followed by an Irish clerk to the commissioner, dragging after him a girl—a mere child—whom he was to lead to the altar (!) a few days afterwards.

I pause here to express my astonishment that a government, so entirely despotic as that of British India—so interested, at the same time, in the increase and efficiency of the Christian population, which is for the most part in the public service,—has not ere this passed some law for the restrictions of marriages, at so very early an age as thirteen or fourteen, amongst the Portuguese, country-born and Europeans. However well supplied the "market" for the upper classes may be, it rarely happens that a spinster of the humbler grades finds her way to India at that period of life when she would be a desirable wife for a young man in a corresponding position. The consequence is, that the uncovenanted assistants, for the most part, seek partners for life amongst the daughters of men in their own class, such as clerks, conductors, serjeant-majors, small tradespeople, pilots, &c., and as personable girls in this condition of society are rare, the aspirant to the dignity of husband pays his court as soon as the child is entering into girlhood, lest she should be carried away by some other competitor before she reaches maturity. A body of wives is thus created who have scarcely even a physical

qualification for the serious responsibilities devolving on them. Mentally, they are of the lowest degree of intelligence; their ability just reaching to the composition of a curry, and their knowledge of the service of needlework being generally limited to the hemming a handkerchief. If they can read decently, write legibly, and spell with an approach to correctness, they are enabled to keep the bazaar and washerman's account, but they seldom employ their literary talents upon any other service. Their conversation is necessarily dull, for the range of their subjects is limited to the cantonment in which they have been brought up, and their affections or inclinations being seldom consulted in the matter of marriage, they become, to their husbands, little better than legalized concubines. To their children—and it is really shocking to think how often such young and delicate creatures become mothers before they are fifteen—they are nurses, and but little more, for it is impossible they should teach when they have not been taught, or offer examples of virtue when their own lessons have been derived from scenes of iniquity. Large families, ignorance, poverty, and infidelity, are the common results of unions of this nature; and the European, degenerating by low associations, vulgar habits, and the shifts to which penury drives him, becomes to the Government a tame, spiritless servant, instead of the active and energetic being he might be rendered, if restraint were put upon his facilities of saddling himself with an awful burthen at the outset of his career.

To return. The dance was continued with unabated vehemence until midnight, when supper was laid out in the verandah, and all the guests fell to with an energy and perseverance of which the Mansion House or the London Tavern can furnish no parallel. The clatter and jingle of plates and glasses continued for half an hour, at the end of which his Reverence rose and addressed the assembly, much after this fashion:—

“My dear bredren,—I very happy for dis business. De bride and bridegroom excellent peoples. Dey love each oder very moche; so deir marriage is good, and they get plenty children—God bless—dey go every *Domingo* to mass and pray God. If not make pray den all go to debil, and no can see de purgatorio. Der fader and moder is de good peoples (*loud cheers*). I know dem many years in Peshwa's time—and before dat, in Salsette, I knew deir grandfader and grandmoder. Now is de good health of all company, and I drink tre time tre.”

This was the signal for uproarious mirth: the band resumed its labours—the younger part of the company rose and resumed the operations of galloping about the room, while the serious remained to comfort the inner man until they could just see to make their way to their palanquins.

Although my official occupations consumed six or seven hours a-day, I had still to do battle with a large amount of *tedium vite*. Man, in such forms as I was doomed to be acquainted with, delighted me not; “nor woman neither.” It was, therefore, with unmixed joy that, after a year's residence at Poona, I received orders one day to prepare for a visit to the Presidency. The pay-master had been directed to proceed

thither and close his pay accounts up to the end of the campaign in the Deccan. They were necessarily complicated and extensive, and as the Auditor-General disallowed many items of expense, it was important that the pay-master should be in personal communication with him to explain away what appeared objectionable. Having to take charge of all the books and accounts, I could not proceed by dawk, and therefore arranged to march. I bought a pony, and hired bullocks and a hackery; the former for my personal conveyance, and the latter for the carriage of the books and my baggage. A tent was served out to me from the stores; and a nalk's guard of sepoy was placed at my disposal as an escort. This was the first time in my life that I had been intrusted with an independent charge, and I confess that I actually had the weakness to shed tears of delight at the novelty of my position. The confidence that I had in myself—the conviction which possessed me, that I was destined for, and capable of, great things, was, in fact, at the bottom of all the gnawing discontent which marked my present existence. "Why," thought I a hundred times, "will this great monopoly, the East-India Company, 'freeze the genial current of my soul' by insisting upon a line of demarcation which, once o'erstepped, will give them a large addition to their stock of zealous and attached servants? If they will suffer me to *hope*, only to hope, every hour's service of my life will be marked by cheerful alacrity, instead of dogged indifference." But I might have asked the question until this hour before I should have received a satisfactory reply, or wrought a change in the close system the Indian government has delighted to patronize.

Before quitting Poona, I bade farewell to the few acquaintances I had formed, and likewise proceeded to the artillery barracks, to shake hands with an old comrade who was with me in the Persian Gulf, and who had been appointed to the troop of horse artillery doing duty at Poona soon after my arrival at the station. Philipson,—for such was my quondam comrade's name,—regretted my departure, for we had seen much of each other; but he more than all lamented that I had forsaken the active duties of the profession for (what he called) ignoble quill-driving. Although he was a young man of excellent education and family, he seemed to entertain no wish whatever to change his lot. He loved the military profession for its own sake, and was quite satisfied that there existed a chance of his becoming a troop quarter-master or riding-master—the highest grades of promotion available to the Company's private soldier who should remain with his regiment. Any advancement that took him from the range of regimental duty he would not listen to. I found him preparing for a review appointed by General, afterwards Sir Lionel, Smith, to take place the next day.

"Oh! murder, Middleton, my boy," cried he; "and are you really going? Well, heaven be with you! I don't envy you the quiet life you'll be leading at Old Woman's Island.* Give me the exhilarating duty of the horse artilleryman; the parade, the review, the trumpet, the exciting gallop, the blue jacket, the—oh, boy, won't there be fine

* A nick-name for the island of Colaba, close to Bombay.

fun to-morrow morning when the old General sees the brigade go through their manœuvres? I have the whole picture in my mind's eye at this moment! Behold the long string of guns, with their attendant caissons; the horses champing their bits, pawing the ground, and laying back their ears, eagerly watching for the trumpet call, which, as they well know, will cause them to move forward. See the gunners standing by their horses; one, perhaps, altering his stirrup-leathers, which may be a hole too long, or too short; another, examining his harness to see that the *lumas* are tight, and that all fits correctly on his ticklish charger; a third adjusting the accoutrements of a fourth; while a fifth (Tom Jones, there), knowing that his horse won't stand quiet after the blast of the trumpet, stands with one hand resting on the collar, the other grasping the cantle of his saddle, intently listening for the adjutant's order to 'mount' as the signal for him to vault into his seat. See the trumpeter at the adjutant's elbow, occasionally slapping the mouthpiece with the open palm of his hand, or breathing gently into his clarion to keep it in a constant state of readiness for sounding. All is in expectation for the coming sound; and there it is! Hark! the command is distinctly heard throughout the lines; and the orders, 'Prepare to mount!' 'Mount!' 'Forward!' given almost without intermission, are closely followed by the trumpet call appertaining to the movement. The ready gunner is now in his saddle, his horse erect, and in the act of springing forward; the others, settling themselves in orthodox positions, with the exception of the sixth, who, having a more than ordinarily uneasy animal to ride, who will not walk off mounted at the first start, is hopping along on the left leg, the right foot being in the stirrup, seeking a good opportunity to make an effective spring and attain his saddle"——

I stopped him; for Philipson's passion for the army was a kind of disease, and when he got into these graphic descriptions he would run on until he was nearly frenzied.*

We parted, never to meet again; and the next day I was on my way to Bombay. The weather in the mornings, the only time for marching, was cool; the scenery, in many parts above the ghauts, romantic or picturesque. I generally contrived to get my tent pitched either in a mango grove or beneath the spreading shade of a banian tree, and often realized the pleasing description of a young poetical friend, whose lines are a sealed book to the great majority of readers:—

Brightly the fields around us smile,—
Green, as our own dear emerald isle;
And o'er each low hut's drooping eaves
The wreathing cuddoo spreads its leaves,
Within whose wide, refreshing screen,
The golden flowers profuse are seen.
Here vegetation crowns a soil
That scarcely asks the labourer's toil;

* Philipson afterwards was sent to England a lunatic.

And here the richest trees are growing,—
 The fairest flowers, unheeded, blowing :
 Erect and tall, the stately palm
 Looks down upon the landscape calm !
 'The clustering bamboo's feathery shoots
 Spring from a hundred knotted roots.
 Hark ! from the silvery peepul trees,
 A ceaseless murmuring, like the breeze !
 Here the fantastic banian springs ;
 On every side his arms he flings ;
 His pendent roots and clustering stems
 Are studded thick with blossomed gems,
 Which, from a thousand twining flowers,
 Enwreathes his coloured trunks with bowers,
 Amidst whose soft and shady cells
 The fair Dhatura hangs her bells.
 But speed we on,—the sun is high ;
 And see ! our tents before us lie !
 Pitched in the spreading mangoes near,
 The midday heat we need not fear ;
 Beneath that sheltering canopy,
 How swiftly will the hours glide by !

* * * *

What passed us, like a meteor, by,
 Glowing beneath the reddening sky ?
 'Twas the wild peacock, quick upspringing,
 His shrill note through the clear air ringing ;
 And hark ! that gentle, low, sweet song,—

'Tis from the forest dove !

Among the branches all day long

He tells his tale of love.

Look at the parrots' countless flight,
 Green as the tint of emerald bright !
 Now in a chattering flock they rise ;
 Now scattered far each straggler flies ;
 Now to the verdant tree returned,
 Their hue can scarcely be discerned.

The duty which carried me to Bombay lasted several months, during which I had an opportunity of displaying my histrionic powers, on the boards of the very pretty theatre then standing, a pastime which went a great way towards cheering my otherwise stupid existence. But an event occurred towards the beginning of 1823, which was to change the whole colour of my life. This was neither more nor less than the arrival of a letter from the adjutant-general of the Bengal army, to the adjutant-general at Bombay, intimating that a gunner of the artillery of the former presidency wished to exchange with one of the Bombay regiment ; as an opportunity of advancement in the latter service (through the agency of an officer, a relative) offered itself to the *qui lye*. I had heard much of Bengal, and believed that there existed many opportunities for honourable and lucrative employment in that

part of India, which were not to be found in the west. I was therefore prompt to offer myself as a substitute for the Bengal artilleryman, even though the doing so involved the sacrifice of a clerkship, and a return to military duties, with all their disagreeable concomitants. The reader will wonder that, after my experience of what I considered the miseries of the European soldier in India, I should be so ready to resume my position in the ranks, without some better-grounded prospect of emancipation than the mere fact of the facilities of obtaining civil occupation being greater at Calcutta than Bombay. But the truth is, that the situation of the European at Bombay, who did not happen to be a wealthy merchant, or a member of one of the services, was, in those days, of so degraded a character that no man with a drop of proud blood in his veins would have remained there, if *any thing* offered itself which was a degree above positive negro slavery. "*Common Europeans*" was the term applied, indiscriminately, to tradesmen, clerks, pilots, &c., and the least punishment with which the older civilians and military and marine officers considered an Englishman should be visited who presumed to offend them, was, transportation to England at the public expense! I remember that on one occasion, a coachmaker named Mitchell ventured to ask a secretary to Government to pay a bill that was due; the secretary answered the worthy man in a most insulting tone, which elicited an appropriate retort. Deport him! deport him! yelled the council. On another occasion, a captain of artillery one night got into a palanquin belonging to a "*Common European*," and desired the bearers to carry him home. The bearers protested, but a box on the ear determined their obedience to the usurper. The European the next day called on the captain for an explanation. The captain "*handed him up*" to Government for his insolence! Deport him! screamed the magnates in council. And in a third instance, a schoolmaster offended a "*gouty old commodore*" of the Bombay marine by some petty quarrel about a key to a square. The commodore appealed to the Government; the council sympathized with the man of their own order, and the deportation cry was again raised! Fortunately, the noble, and generous, and wise ELPHINSTONE was at the head of the Government, and refused to listen for a moment to the tyrannous suggestions of his colleagues; but the mere circumstance of their dreaming of such summary and ruinous punishments, sufficiently marked the tone of the upper classes of Bombay society two-and-twenty years ago.

The adjutant-general readily agreed to my proceeding to Calcutta to replace the soldier who was desirous of coming to Bombay. But I did not start immediately; for even in so small a matter as my departure, there was a degree of official ceremony gone through which, to the ordinary observer, would seem sufficiently ridiculous, but which was really nothing more than the unavoidable result of the constitution of a government which is accountable for its smallest actions to a distant and supreme power. First, the adjutant-general had to apprise the commander-in-chief, by letter (half a sheet of foolscap, with an inch and a half of margin); then his excellency, in similar form, duly an-

nounced the event to the "Honourable the Governor in Council," and solicited the Honourable Board's sanction to the measure. The Government—with what pain, must be left to the imagination of the reader—assented to my departure. The chief secretary then wrote to the adjutant-general, to tell him to tell the commander-in-chief that his application had been complied with. The quarter-master-general was desired, also by letter, to ask the superintendent of marine to invite tenders from all the shipowners and commanders in the port "to carry a European soldier to Calcutta;" and the commissary-general was ordered, through the Military Board, to prepare the necessary rations for my sustenance during the passage. The paymaster of the presidency was instructed to pay my passage, and settle my pay account; and the auditor-general was informed that he might pass the contingent bills for passage, provisions, &c. ! And all this official machinery was put in motion because one poor gunner was going to take the place of another. There would have been enough in all this apparent solicitude to gratify the vanity of a vainer man than myself, did I not happen to know that the same forms and ceremonies would have been gone through if the individual concerned was a black drummer in a native corps.

As the good ship *Milford* ploughed her way out of the beautiful harbour of Bombay, I stood at the gangway and took a last look at the grave of my early hopes. Let one dislike a locality ever so much, some degree of regret always attends the departure from it. The grievances are forgotten, and the pleasant moments passed there revive even in a pleasanter form than that which they wore originally. For the instant, I embodied Byron's Childe Harold, and as the immortal verses of the first canto always come to the aid of romantic youth when quitting a shore fraught with strange associations, I caught myself repeating—

The sails were fill'd, and fair the light winds blew,
As glad to waft him from his native home;
And fast the *black* rocks faded from his view,
And soon were lost in circumambient foam;
And then, it may be, of his wish to roam
Repented he,—

and so I did, for just then, to quote from another poem by the same hand—

Here the ship gave a lurch, and I grew sea-sick.

As it is my plan to avoid as much as possible telling the reader what he may have read in a hundred other quarters, I will not describe the voyage from Bombay to Calcutta. Let it suffice that I arrived after a voyage of forty days; and as we entered the Hooghly, on whose banks I expected to seek the liberty unattainable in other parts of India, a vessel was going out, having on board the great champion of a free press, James Silk Buckingham, who was being despatched to England for his offences against despotism! An agreeable commencement for one who had come in search of *liberty*!

SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN.

[Concluded from p. 501.]

On the 5th of September, intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten that the whole country between Cabool and the Oxus had risen in favour of the Dost ; and that he was advancing on Bameean, to which post our troops had retired. The position of the Envoy may be conceived from his brief letter to Mr. Robertson. "My back is broken by eternal writing, and I have no cessation from labour day or night. The crisis which I have long foreseen is arrived, and I trust there will no longer be any delay in dealing with the Seikha." A week afterwards, he writes again, "affairs in this quarter have the worst possible appearance. The whole of the Kohistan is said to be ripe for revolt." But the most alarming intelligence which reached the Envoy was, that an entire company of the Shah's newly raised levies, commanded by Captain Hopkins, had gone over to the enemy. Thus seemed to perish at once all the hopes he had formed of raising a national army for the support of the Shah's throne. It was a broken reed on which he had been leaning for support. "I have pointed out," says he, at length, "that there is no such thing as an Afghan army . . . I have just had a note from Sir Willoughby Cotton, in which he observes, 'I really think the time is now arrived for you and I to tell Lord Auckland, *totidem verbis*, that circumstances have proved incontestably that there is no Afghan army, and that unless the Bengal troops are instantly strengthened we cannot hold the country.'" But the fears generated by the inauspicious approach of Dost Mahomed were checked for a time by the splendid victory gained over him, at Bameean, by Brigadier Dennie, on the 17th of September, in which that chief lost his tents, baggage, kettledrums, standard, and his only gun, which he originally carried with him in his flight ; in short, every thing but his resolution.

This defeat convinced the Wullee of Khooloom that Dost Mahomed's case was hopeless, and he resolved to save himself and his territory by a timely submission. The Dost was obliged to remove his forces to a distance ; but our dangers were not thereby removed. Cabool was filled with traitors, ready to betray the city ; and the Kohistan chiefs, not forty miles from the capital, were ready for a revolt. Dr. Atkinson relates that they were summoned to the capital, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the Shah, and then proceeded to the house of one Haffs-jee, a prime mover of sedition, and took equally solemn oaths to devote their lives and property to the Shah's destruction. This treachery was fully confirmed by their own letters, which were intercepted. A force was therefore sent into the Kohistan, in October, under Sir Robert Sale, accompanied by Sir A. Burnes. The fort of Tootum-derra was destroyed. Joolgah was evacuated, and then levelled with the ground. These results induced the principal chiefs in the lower Kohistan to send in hostages for their fidelity. A little later, the forts of Baboo-koshtakar and Kah-derra were captured ; the one blown up, and the other burnt to the ground. From the 17th of September, the day of Bameean, to the 11th of October, we hear nothing of the movements of Dost Mahomed. On this latter day, it was announced in Sir A. Burnes's camp, that he had entered the valley of Ghorbund. The Shah's native commandant, on being summoned to surrender, fled, and communicated the contagion of his own fears far and wide. The intelligence reached Sir W. Macnaghten the next day, and his feelings on

Asiat. Journ. N.S. VOL. IV. No. 24. 4 I

the occasion were thus expressed :—" It is impossible to say what may be the effect of his coming into this neighbourhood, but I apprehend very serious consequences, for both the town of Cabool and the country are ripe for revolt. I cannot ascertain how many men he has with him,—some accounts say 10,000, others 200 ;—the last is, I dare say, near the mark ; but what I dread is the effect of his incessant intrigues, while he is so near us, upon the minds of the population. Our force is too weak to expel him from the position he has now taken up ; and we have desired Brigadier Dennie to return to Cabool with the 35th and Garbett's troop of Horse Artillery, as soon as possible, for the capital is in a very weak and defenceless state. I shall write daily during the present crisis."

This force, however, was found sufficient. A company of the Shah's Kohistanes was sent to Ghorbund, and created such a panic as to compel Dost Mahomed to leave the valley on the 13th, with a few followers. He was pursued by another detachment, till he reached Nijrow, which had for a twelve-month been the hotbed of sedition. Having reunited his forces to the extent of about 4,000 foot and 400 horse, he broke up from Nijrow on the 27th, and on the 28th encamped at Doornama. On the 29th, our troops, commanded by Sir Robert Sale, marched to meet him. He had been joined by two of the eastern chiefs. His approach to Cabool of course quickened the progress of intrigue, and Sir William Macnaghten began to forebode the worst consequences. " If he could only succeed in getting up an insurrection in the city (says he in a letter to Lord Auckland, written only four days before the Dost surrendered), I have little doubt that his two sons, who are at large in Zoomut, will be able to effect a rising in that and the adjacent districts ; and that we shall have to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Cabool for a time." But on this occasion, there was no want of vigour to meet the emergency. Dr. Atkinson says, " Every possible precaution had been taken to provide for the safety of the state at this perilous crisis. The guards over the citadel gates and magazines were farther increased ; guns were mounted on the Bala Hissar, so as to command the principal avenues and streets of the town." " If the town does rise (writes Sir William) we shall be compelled to make a terrible example of it. We have placed guns in position so as to command it." And, in a moment of irritation, he added, " No mercy should be shewn to the man who is the author of all the evils that are now distracting the country ; but should we be so fortunate as to secure the person of Dost Mahomed, I shall request his majesty not to execute him till I can ascertain your lordship's sentiments." A little after, he adds : " His majesty, in a conversation I had with him yesterday, after dwelling on the mistaken lenity he had, according to my advice, shewn towards the adherents of Dost Mahomed, observed, ' I suppose, if I were to catch the dog now, you would prevent me from hanging him.' I replied, it would be time enough to talk about that after catching him."

Dost Mahomed moved on gradually towards the capital at the foot of the hills, and had arrived at Furwan-derna. On the 2nd November, 1840, our troops marched thirteen miles to that post, and reached it at noon. They came upon the Dost and his army, and found the hills covered with the armed populace of Nijrow. As they advanced, the Dost endeavoured to move off, and two squadrons of the 2nd Cavalry were ordered to intercept him. On approaching the enemy, and being ordered to charge, they turned round, and leaving their officers to their fate, galloped back, under the impulse of fear or treachery. Three officers were killed on the spot, among whom were Dr. Lard and Lieut.

Breadfast, of the Engineers, two of the very ablest of our Afghanistan functionaries. Two other officers were wounded while performing prodigies of valour. In the confusion occasioned by this infamous conduct of the Cavalry, Dost Mahomed disappeared. This appeared to be the hour of our extremity. There was no other prospect before our officers but that of being reduced to a struggle for existence in the city of Cabool. It was expected that the Dost would fall back on Nijrow, and be enabled to make such use of our disaster at Purwan, as to bring down the whole force of the Kohistan upon the city. The mind of Sir Alexander Burnes presaged the direst calamities. He wrote from the field of our disgrace to Sir William, to beg that all the troops might be recalled, and concentrated at Cabool for its defence. This letter, calculated to confirm the gloomy anticipations of the Envoy, was delivered to him on the 3rd of November, as he was taking his evening ride. After reading it, he was returning home in the greatest depression of mind, when Dost Mahomed suddenly presented himself, and, on ascertaining that the Envoy was before him, dismounted and claimed his protection. The effect of this sudden apparition on the mind of the Envoy may be more easily conceived than described. Feelings of the deepest anxiety were exchanged, as if by the power of enchantment, for those of the highest delight and exultation. Such an incident would appear extravagant even in romance: but how frequently, during our brief career in Afghanistan, did not the events of real life exceed in their romantic, and too often tragic, interest, the boldest fictions of the imagination. All idea of retribution or revenge vanished from the mind of the Envoy, as he took the Dost's arm and walked up through his garden; and as the Dost, on entering the house, delivered up his sword, with the remark, that he had now no farther use for it, the animosity which had been excited by his opposition was forgotten in admiration of the confidence which he had manifested in our clemency, and the perfect self-possession which he exhibited in this moment of bewildering excitement. Seated in the palace where, fifteen months before, his command had been law, his first inquiry was about his family. Immediately afterwards, he requested the aid of a moonashee, and with the utmost calmness and distinctness, dictated a letter to his son, Afzul Khan; then in Nijrow, and to his two sons, Assem Khan and Sheer Ali Khan, who had made their escape from Ghuzni on the 23rd September, and were in arms in Zoomut, to announce his own surrender and safety, and the honourable reception he had met with.

The conduct of Sir W. Macnaghten to the Dost was marked by the kindest sympathy and attention. Two days after his arrival, the Envoy writes, "This morning I have passed a pleasant hour with the Dost; I went to see his tents, where he is very comfortable. He gave me the whole account of his wanderings from the time of his flight at Arghunda. Whatever else he may be, he is certainly a shrewd clever fellow, and it is difficult to refrain from compassionating his fallen state." Soon after, he adds, "We are doing every thing we can to soothe the ex-chief's feelings, and up to the evening of the 7th, our efforts appear to have been attended with success. On the evening of that day he had an interview with his mother, and when she left him, he appeared in a state of considerable affliction and excitement. It appears that some one had told him—(and I have no doubt his mother, instigated by some mischievous people in the town, was his informant)—that it was our intention to send him to London." The Envoy begged him to set his mind at ease, for that he would not be sent farther than Loodhianna, without his consent, and at Dost Mahomed's request gave him a writing to that effect. This promise seemed to give

him satisfaction. Soon after he was sent to India, and his farther connection with the subject of this memoir ceased; except that Sir William, when the question of his allowances came under discussion, urged the most generous arrangement. "I trust," says he, "that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared to that of Shah Soojah; and I have seen it argued that he should not be treated more handsomely than his majesty was; but surely the cases are not parallel. The Shah had no claim on us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim."

It must be apparent that the dangers which threatened our position in Afghanistan in the beginning of November, 1840, when Dost Mahomed was in full march on the capital, were far greater than those which issued in our expulsion at the close of the following year. At the former period, the city of Cabool was in the highest state of excitement. The Kohistanes, though hating Dost Mahomed much, yet hating us more, had organized the most systematic opposition to our rule, and were ready, on the first gleam of success, to pour ten or fifteen thousand warriors into Cabool. The Seikh cabinet was deep in intrigues against our authority in Afghanistan, and had not only given the most unequivocal support to the insurgents, but had actually sent supplies of money to Dost Mahomed. Two of his sons were abroad in the heart of the country, endeavouring to enlist the inhabitants in the cause of their father. Kelat had fallen away from us; Beloochistan was in arms, and our position in the south was perilous. Yar Mahomed Khan, whom Pottinger had justly described as the greatest scoundrel in Central Asia, in spite of all the benefits which we had conferred for two years on the government of Herat, was preparing to take advantage of Dost Mahomed's approach, to march an army to Candahar. In every direction, the horizon appeared dark and portentous. On the east, west, north, and south, our position in Afghanistan was menaced. And had the Dost, instead of surrendering himself to the Envoy, appeared in force before the city, and succeeded in creating an insurrection, the energies of the country would have been instantly concentrated for our destruction, and the disgrace of being shut up in the Bala Hissar, which the Envoy had begun to dread, would have been consummated. There was nothing in our favour but the indomitable courage of the Envoy and his military associates, which steadily rose with the tide of difficulty, and the energetic measures which were so promptly taken to meet the emergency. A twelvemonth after, when a crisis of infinitely less difficulty surprised us, had the energy of Sir William been seconded with the same manliness and zeal by the military authorities, our army would have been saved from annihilation. The surrender of Dost Mahomed gave us a year's respite. "It made the country," as Sir Alexander Burnes expressed it, "as quiet as Vesuvius after an eruption,—how long this will last it is impossible to say."

Sir William Macnaghten had now, at the end of fifteen months, a little breathing time from political anxieties, and was enabled to turn his attention to the reform of the internal administration. "We have hitherto," says he, "been struggling for existence, without any leisure to turn to the improvement of the administration..... We have now, thank God, a little time to turn our attention to the affairs of the country, and his majesty is well disposed to do his utmost to cleanse the Augean stable." While Dost Mahomed was rousing the tribes on the Oxus, Sir Alexander Burnes had sent the Envoy a long and important letter, with his views on the state of the country, which he described as

be in a very deplorable condition. The picture was, perhaps, overwrought, for Sir Alexander was subject to great alternations of feeling; but there was, unhappily, too much truth in his representations of the wretchedness which the double government had inflicted on the country. This system of administration corresponded with that which we have introduced into Oude, Hyderabad, and other states in India, and which, while we are writing these lines, has roused the people of Kholapore into an insurrection, which one-fifth of the army of the Bombay presidency has been required to repress. It places the powers of the administration in one hand, and the power of the sword—a sword wielded with irresistible might—in another. The native officials are relieved from that salutary dread of reaction which is the only check on official rapacity throughout the East, and are enabled to pursue their extortions with perfect impunity. When they have roused the people to rebellion, our troops are sent to quench it with their blood. Thus the presence of a British army in Afghanistan, which was of itself a sufficient cause of humiliation and irritation, was rendered still more intolerable by being associated in the minds of the people with the exactions of the Shah's officers. Instead of appearing in our proper character, as the messengers of humanity, we were exhibited only as the ministers of vengeance on an insulted and plundered people. There was no remedy for this state of things except in making the province a British possession at once; but this was forbidden both by our views of policy and our promises.

The pressure of this system was, perhaps, felt the more severely, from the practice, once so common in India, of paying the Shah's troops by assignments on the revenues of particular districts. The soldiers were thus the collectors; they proceeded to the districts assigned for their support, and lived at free quarters till the peasant paid the assignment. Sir A. Burnes well observed, that "such a system must clearly alienate all the people of this country from Shah Soojah and from us, for the force we give him ensures what, if left to himself, he could not otherwise command." Oosman Khan, whom the Shah was induced to appoint his vizier, seems to have acquired the confidence of the Envoy. "He purposes," says he, "to manage the revenue department so as to abolish the *burat*, or assignment system; but I cannot as yet form any opinion as to the feasibility of the system." Within three weeks after, writing to a friend, he says, "you are a little too sanguine, I think, in the hope of a speedy and universal reform of this country. For thirty years, the inhabitants of most of the districts have never paid a fraction of revenue, until they were coerced into payment by the presence of troops. The habit has grown into second nature with them, and we cannot expect them to subside at once into cheerful tax-payers."—"The universal venality of the public officers, and the authorised exactions of the former governments, are hardly credible, and it is wonderful that any portion of the inhabitants could have remained to endure them; as it is, half the country is depopulated; but, with a little management I feel certain that the revenues of the country might be doubled in a few years." During the year 1841, the attention of the Envoy was closely directed to the correction of abuses, as far as it lay in his power to influence the Shah's proceedings; but the basis of the administration was unsound; and to build any useful or secure superstructure upon it was impossible.

We are much tempted to enter upon the political movements at Herat, because they serve to illustrate Sir W. Macnaghten's views of the politics of Central Asia; but the great length to which this article has extended, and the

impatience of husbanding the little remaining patience of the reader for the closing scene, which possesses so deep an interest, obliges us to pass over this episode in the Afghan tragedy with the remark, that the villainies of Yar Mahomed were consummated in March, 1841, by the expulsion of our representative, Major Todd, just at the time when our differences with Persia had been finally adjusted by the cession of Ghorian; that this disappointment was so keenly felt by Lord Auckland as to induce him, in a moment of irritation, to remand the Major to his regiment—one of the very few harsh or hasty acts of that administration—and that the Envoy proposed to march an army to Herat, but was overruled from head-quarters by the advice, "that we should first learn to quiet and to control the positions we occupied before we plunged onwards."

We now come to the last scene in this tragic drama. In July, 1841, the Envoy, in communication with General Elphinstone, proposed to Government that six corps, including H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry, should be relieved by six other regiments, because the country was unquiet in several directions, and particularly in Kohistan and Nijrow. Lord Auckland proposed to send one European and three native regiments, and to hold two others in readiness to proceed. To this the Envoy and General rejoined, at a subsequent date, that the European regiments were particularly desirable, but that all the native regiments would not be required, under existing circumstances, as tranquillity had been restored—so the officers reported—in Zoormut, and the Western Ghilzies were peaceably disposed; the Khyberess were innoxious from internal feuds, and the insurrection at Candahar had been suppressed. They stated, that though fewer troops would be required, a strong force for a time would be advisable, "to confirm the fickle people in the habit of obedience, which they were now, for the first time, beginning to manifest after half a century of anarchy." At the same time, Sir A. Burnes wrote to his correspondents at this presidency, that the country was so tranquil, that troops might safely be withdrawn.

In September, 1840, Sir Wm. Macnaghten had been nominated provisional member of the Council of India; and in September, 1841, he received farther tokens of the approbation with which his conduct had been viewed in the highest quarters at home, by his appointment to the office of Governor of Bombay. He had thus attained the highest honours within the reach of any civil or military servant on the Indian establishment. If he had ambition for high place, it was amply satisfied. He now prepared to quit Afghanistan, and had fixed the early part of November for the period of his departure. Sir Alexander Burnes also expected to be relieved from that subordinate situation in which his mind had been chafed, and his feelings inflamed, and to succeed to the office about to be vacated. His largest wishes were on the eve of being gratified. On the 1st of October, he wrote, "Supreme at last..... I fear, however, that I shall be confirmed as resident, and not as Envoy, which is a bore; but as long as I have power, and drive the coach, I do not much care. I hope I have prepared myself for the charge by hard study, and a knowledge of the country." Alas, for the blindness of human foresight and the vanity of human wishes! Thirty-two days after this burst of exultation, he became the first victim of an *amant* which ended in severing our connection with Afghanistan. And the very week in which Sir William Macnaghten was making preparations for his departure, he was arrested by an insurrection, which terminated in his own assassination, and the destruction of the entire army.

The expenses of our connection with Afghanistan had begun to tell heavily on the resources of India. Not only had all the administration of its revenues been swallowed up; but Government had been constrained to anticipate the resources of posterity by contracting a heavy debt. Lord Auckland, therefore, felt it his duty to recommend a degree of economy to the Envoy, which, however, in the circumstances of our position was found to be little compatible with its safety. On the arrival of the Envoy at Candahar, in 1839, he had written to the Governor-General that "he must be prepared to look upon Afghanistan for some years as an outwork, yielding nothing, but requiring much expenditure to keep it in repair;"—and this expenditure now threatened to prove a lasting drain on the resources of India; for Afghanistan was found, at the end of two years, as incapable of paying the expenses of its occupation, as when the Envoy wrote, "the history of the revenues of this poor country may be given in very few words. The whole is consumed in the pay of the priesthood, the soldiery, and the support of his Majesty's household." Among the measures of economy, which were now resorted to, was that of curtailing the stipends of the Ghilzie chiefs. On a former occasion, Sir Alexander Burnes had strongly objected to these payments, and recommended their being discontinued; but the Envoy defended them by saying "that they were nothing more or less than a compensation to the chiefs for the privileges they had given up of plundering the high roads through their respective jurisdictions, and that we should be found in the end to have made a cheap bargain." The chiefs were now summoned to Cabool, and the reasons of state which rendered it necessary to reduce their stipends duly explained to them. They declared their entire satisfaction with the arrangement; left the Shah's presence with apparent content—and immediately blocked up the passes, and resumed the plunder of passengers. Troops were sent to re-open our communication with India, and met with resistance. The brigade under Sir Robert Sale, including her Majesty's 13th, and the 35th Native Infantry, which was returning by this route to our own provinces, had to run the gauntlet of all the passes between Cabool and Gundamuck, fighting every inch of their way. They cleared these defiles in triumph, but not without the loss of more than two hundred killed and wounded,—rather a dearer bargain than the 30,000 rs. which had been saved by irritating the Ghilzies. This was in the month of October. The discontent was evidently local, and was expected to disappear when the cause had been removed by a new and amicable arrangement with the chiefs.

As the time approached for Sir William Macnaghten's departure, he received numerous congratulations from the public officers in various parts of the country, on his being so happy as to lay down his authority at a time of such unusual tranquillity. Major Rawlinson, writing from Candahar on the 25th of October, said, "Every thing is perfectly tranquil, and for a wonder, there is nothing to write about." On the 29th of October, Captain Burn wrote from Gundamuck, "my last communication to you was dated the 16th instant, since which time all has been going on quietly in this district." So little did Mirjat Pottinger apprehend danger, though Meer Mujeedie and a body of Afghans had come into Kohistan, that he had laid his horses to ride into Cabool after breakfast to take leave of the Envoy, and return the next morning. Colonel Palmer's letter from Ghazni, of the 28th, stated that "all was quiet in his vicinity." On the 4th of October, Colonel Maclaren wrote from Candahar to congratulate Sir William Macnaghten on his appointment, and said that "it came at a particular time which would render it more acceptable to him. viz.

when the whole of Afghanistan was settled, which I now say it is." On the very evening before the insurrection, and while the disaffected chiefs were assembled to plan it, and to massacre Sir Alexander Burnes, he went on a visit to the Envoy, and congratulated him on his approaching departure at a period of such profound tranquillity.

On the morning of the 2nd November, intelligence was brought to Sir W. Macnaghten that the town of Cabool was in a state of commotion. Shortly after, he received a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, stating that his house was besieged, and begging for assistance. He immediately went to General Elphinstone,—who was mentally and physically debilitated by the gout,—and suggested that Brigadier Shelton's force should proceed to the Bala Hissar, there to operate as might be expedient; that the remaining troops should be concentrated; the cantonments placed in a state of defence, and assistance sent, if possible, to Sir Alexander Burnes. Some time about 8 A. M., Capt. Trevor, who was living in the vicinity of Sir Alexander's residence in the city, conveyed to the Envoy a report which had just reached him that his house had been attacked, and that he had been wounded and was lying in the town. Captain Trevor added, "I hope it is all a lie, but I would earnestly recommend that the business be put an end to before night, at any risk. Khan Shereen, and Golan, and Shumsodeen's brother are here. The plot is a party one now, but our slackness in driving these fellows out of their houses may make it serious." Apparently two hours after, he wrote again to the Envoy, "Here is a note from Mackenzie. Poor Burnes, I fear, is missing. The enemy, to all appearance, are not now many, but if you leave them for a few hours longer, all Cabool may be up. They have already taken the Shor Bazar. Hear what the bearer says. I must remove Mrs. Trevor to-night. Never was so disgraceful a business." At mid-day he wrote again, "The firing seems to have ceased except from the Brigadier's fort, but I am still unable to learn what is doing in the town, with any certainty. The plunder of Burnes's and Mohun Lall's houses, and of Hay's property is complete. The Hazirbashi shew much zeal; nevertheless I enter entirely into the feelings of Bluebeard's wife, when she cried, 'Sister Ann! Sister Ann!'—But no one came. The panic had already begun; and the doom of the army was sealed. The king sent his own son with some Hindoostanee troops to put down the insurrection, but they were driven back. Immediately after this failure, Capt. Trevor sent information of the event to the officer commanding the Bala Hissar, and told him that the enemy, about *two hundred* strong, were still in possession of the houses, and their remaining so all night might have the worst consequences. He added, "the Vizier says that one regiment will be sufficient to dislodge them, and that round them the town is at present unoccupied." But the officer commanding the Bala Hissar sent no regiment; Col. Shelton hesitated to send his troops through the streets of the city. The insurgents were not dislodged.

"The Austrians," said Napoleon, on one occasion, "do not know the value of moments." On the 2nd of November, we forgot the value not of moments only, but of hours. In his official despatch to government, which Sir William Macnaghten wrote during the gloomy days of the siege, and left unfinished on his desk as he went out to the meeting at which he was assassinated, he thus alludes to the events of this day, the first and decisive day.—"Before Brigadier Shelton could reach the Bala Hissar, the town had attained such a state of ferment that it was deemed impracticable to send aid to Sir Alexander Burnes' residence, which was in the centre of the city." But every surviving officer

concurs in the assertion, that if a single regiment had been led to the scene of commotion by mid-day, with the gallantry which had gained Col. Shelton such honourable distinction, the *emeute* would never have been converted into a national insurrection.

It has been generally affirmed that this commotion was the result of a general conspiracy, which had been formed throughout the country for our expulsion, by a simultaneous rising. But a careful examination of all evidence which can be obtained on the subject, inclines us to doubt the existence of any national concert, till our negligence and timidity created it. The insurrection did not break out at Chareekar, in Kohistan, till twenty-four hours after the insurgents had murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, plundered his house, and repulsed the first and only force sent against them. Doubtless, with the insurgent Meer Musjedie in the district, inflaming the religious passions of the people, they were fully prepared for revolt; but the insurrection took no decisive form till after intelligence had arrived of our sapineess and indecision at Cabool. It was eighteen days before the spirit of revolt reached Ghuznie. Lieut. Crawford says, "the enemy and the snow made their appearance together; on the 20th November, the town of Ghuznie was surrounded with the one, and the ground covered with the other." The attack on Pesh Bolak was not made before the 13th November, and the Khyber Pass was open till January. The fact that, twenty-four hours after the insurrection at Cabool broke out, the 37th Native Infantry, encumbered with guns and baggage, returned to the city without the loss of a single article, and with only three men killed, and about a dozen wounded, through the terrific defiles of the Khoord Cabool Pass, where a hundred resolute men might almost have annihilated it, demonstrates that the movement was not general, and that the Eastern Ghilzies were not in concert with the Cabooles. The *emeute* was not extensive even in Cabool. As soon as the commotion was known, a considerable number of those chiefs who subsequently joined the ranks of the enemy, Osman Khan, Abdool Ruhim Khan, Khan Shereen Khan, I'ej Mahomed, and Gholam Moyenoodeen, went to Capt. Trevor to lend him their assistance in the support of our authority; and it was not till they saw that our cause had become desperate from our own faint-heartedness, that they abandoned it. The very man, the Nawaub Jubber Khan, who sent one of his younger children to Capt. Trevor at this time, and desired that he might be detained as a hostage,—thus siding with us to the last moment, when it appeared safe to do so,—consented to be set up as king a few days after. The insurrection was unquestionably local till our culpable inactivity made it national. Cabool was at all times filled with the elements of rebellion; it was ever a smothered volcano. "From the earliest period of my arrival in this country," says Sir William Macnaghten, "I have always considered a rebellion as a probable event at any time, and that much dissatisfaction prevailed among the chiefs, but I had no more reason to expect the outbreak at the particular period of its occurrence, than at any other. Still less could I foresee the concurrence of the calamitous circumstances which paralyzed our power and rendered the rebellion triumphant." It was our own misconduct which led to our ruin at Cabool; and the same misconduct, the same panic and irresolution, at a moment of danger, would be sufficient to cause the loss of the whole empire of India.

From the first hour of the outbreak a kind of fatality seemed to pervade every resolution and every movement. A universal paralysis prostrated the faculties of our officers; and those who, in other circumstances, had earned the

highest military renown, exhibited the most lamentable absence of every military virtue. Yielding at once to the pressure of circumstances, which they ought manfully to have resisted, and which nothing but their own want of determination rendered desperate, all wisdom and moral courage seemed to have forsaken them. Unfortunately, General Elphinstone, as the Envoy described him, "was in such a state of health as to be almost incapacitated for any exertion, mental or bodily," and there was no master-spirit in his suite or his confidence to control his weakness, or supply him with wisdom and boldness equal to the crisis. On the 5th of November, Major Pottinger's letter reporting the siege of Chareekar, and the desperate state of affairs, reached the Envoy, and was immediately sent to General Elphinstone. His reply must have revealed to Sir William Macnaghten the fearful extent of his danger while all military movements continued under such direction. "This is most distressing. Can nothing be done by the promise of a large reward, a lakh, for instance, if necessary, of rupees to any of the Kohistan chiefs, to bring them off, though I fear the three days will have expired?" Indeed, it would appear as if on the fourth, if not the third, day after the outbreak, the General proposed to the Envoy to open negotiations. In a letter of the 6th November, he said, "Do not suppose from this that I wish to recommend or am advocating humiliating terms, or such as would reflect disgrace on us; but this fact that our ammunition runs short must not be lost sight of. Our case is not yet desperate; I do not mean to impress that; but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast." It was doubtless in consequence of this display of weakness in a quarter where the most heroic councils and efforts were required, that, while the Envoy urged the most energetic military movements, he did not neglect to conciliate, by pecuniary offers, the chiefs who still continued to manifest a degree of friendly feeling towards our cause. Hence, on the 7th of November, he authorized Mohun Lall to assure Khan Shereen Khan, that he should receive one lakh of rupees, and Mahomed Kunuye half a lakh, if they would perform the business they had undertaken,—which appears to have referred to supplies of provisions. With the view of dividing his enemies, he also offered Mahomed Yar Khan, the rival of Ameenoola, the chieftainship of Logur; and authorized Mohun Lall to give promises in his name to the extent of five lakhs of rupees.

We need not dwell on the sad catalogue of disasters which overwhelmed our troops during the month of November. They have already become but too familiar to the public ear from the volumes of Lady Sale and Captain Eyre. We shall therefore limit our few remaining remarks to the events in which the bearing of the Envoy at this emergency is developed, and his character exemplified. On the 17th of November, letters were received from Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, which destroyed every hope of his being able to advance to the relief of Cabool. The Envoy immediately wrote to General Elphinstone to this effect:—

"We have scarcely a hope of reinforcement from Sale's brigade. I would recommend that we hold on here as long as possible, and throughout the winter, if we can subsist our troops by any means, by making the Mahomedans and Christians live chiefly on flesh, and other contrivances. There are here the essentials of wood and water in abundance, and I believe our position is impregnable. A retreat in the direction of Jellalabad would be most disastrous, and should be avoided, except in the last extremity. We shall be better able to see, eight or ten days hence, whether that extremity must be resorted to: in that case, we have to sacrifice the valuable property of Government—we

should have to sacrifice his Majesty, who would not come without his family—and, were we to make good our retreat to Jellalabad, we should find no shelter for our troops, (the cantonments being destroyed,) and perhaps no provisions. I fear, too, that, in such a retreat, very few of our camp-followers would survive. I have frequently thought of negotiation, or rather capitulation, for such it would be; but in the present unsettled state of affairs, there is no authority possessing sufficient weight to protect us all through the passes. Besides, we should hardly be justified, for the security of our persons and property, to abandon for ever our position in this country."

"But no efforts were made by the infatuated garrison to husband their resources. On the contrary, the Envoy was overwhelmed by the military authorities with the most distressing complaints of "the state of the troops and, cattle, and the want of provisions, and was repeatedly apprized of the hopelessness of further resistance." But he still continued averse to negotiations, and, at an interview with General Elphinstone, "impressed on him in the most serious manner the great danger and difficulty to be apprehended in resorting to negotiations with the enemy, and explained to him that by such measures our Indian possessions would be shaken to the foundation, and our moral influence throughout Central Asia, lost." General Elphinstone objected to the proposal of concentrating our force in the Bala Hisar, and declared retreat impracticable, giving it as his opinion, that the only course left was to enter into negotiations with the enemy, and secure as honourable terms as could be obtained. On the 24th of November, therefore, after the fatal day of Beymaroo, when the troops had lost all confidence in themselves or their leaders, and had given way to despair, the Envoy wrote officially to the General to inquire "whether in a military point of view he thought it any longer feasible to maintain our position in the country; as he might possibly be able, if the reply was in the negative, to enter into some arrangement with the *de facto* ruler of the country, which would secure the safe return of our troops to India." The General replied: "I beg to state, that after having held our position here for upwards of three weeks, in a state of siege, from the want of provisions and forage, the reduced state of our troops, the large number of sick and wounded, the difficulty of defending the extensive and ill-situated cantonment we occupy, the near approach of winter, our communications cut off, no prospect of relief or reinforcement, and the whole country in arms against us—I am of opinion that it is not feasible any longer to maintain our position in this country, and that you ought to avail yourself of the offer to negotiate which has been made to you." At the invitation of the Envoy, therefore, as he says in his own unfinished despatch, "deputies were sent from the rebels, who came into cantonment on the 25th ultimo. I proposed to them the only terms which in my opinion could be accepted with honour; but the temper of the rebels may best be understood, when I mention that they returned me a letter of defiance the next morning, to the effect, that unless I consented to surrender our arms, and abandon his Majesty to his fate, I must prepare for immediate hostilities. To this I replied that we preferred death to dishonour; and that it would remain with a higher power to decide between us."

"On the 5th of December, the enemy completed," says Captain Eyre, "the destruction of the bridge, which no efforts had been made to preserve." That same day, the General wrote to inform the Envoy that the stock of provisions was now reduced to nine days, half-rations; that his objections to retreat to the Bala Hisar were as great as ever, as the wants there would be the same as

in the cantonments with the additional one of fuel; that retreat without terms was almost impossible; that few would reach Jellalabad, and that the only alternative was to try if terms could be made in any other quarter than with the Ghilzies. "... When reduced to the last extremity (which we now are almost), I think honourable terms better for our Government than our being destroyed here, whole, without food, is inevitable." The reply of the Envoy breathes a spirit of lofty resolution; "I am perfectly aware of the state of our supplies; but as we have nine days' provisions, and had only provisions for one or two days when the siege commenced, I conceive that we are better off now than we were a month ago. Wherever we go, we could not carry more than two or three days' supplies, and *therefore* it does not seem necessary to come to an immediate decision; but I will speak to you to-morrow, and will omit no favourable opportunity of negotiating." The following day he wrote a long letter to the General on the subject, and as it was his last communication before the inauspicious negotiations commenced, we are sure it will be perused with interest

"There are three courses which may be said to be open to us. First, a retreat on Jellalabad without terms. Secondly, a retreat to India, with terms, abandoning our position in this country. And thirdly, to retire into the Bala Hissar. The first, I regard as impracticable; and if practicable, the adoption of such a measure would cover us with everlasting infamy, as we could not take the King's family along with us, and his Majesty could not stir without them. The second I regard as nearly equally impracticable, from the conflicting interests of the parties with whom we should have to treat. This course would, I think, render any promised protection ineffectual; and, if this course could be safely adopted, the consequences would be terrific, as regards the safety of our Indian Empire and our interests in Europe. The third course seems to me (though certainly attended with risk), to be by far the most safe and honourable which we can adopt. With four or five disposable regiments in the Bala Hissar, it would be strange if we could not obtain fuel and provisions: we should be in a position to overawe the city, and encourage the Kuzzilbashes and our other well-wishers to come forward to our support; and we should probably find in the Bala Hissar provisions for a fortnight or a month. I would therefore *lose* no time in sending every night, by all possible contrivances, our stores, and sick and wounded. Should the report of the advance of troops from Candahar prove correct (which we shall in all probability hear to-morrow), all our troubles will cease. Should we have reason to believe it unfounded, we can then commence destroying our powder, and superfluous stores. In the mean time, I think we have daily proofs that the forces of our enemies are diminishing; and, with the blessing of Providence, some event may arise from their misunderstandings, to relieve us from our present perilous position *even without* the accession of fresh troops."

The same day on which this letter was written, the situation of the besieged was rendered, if possible, still more deplorable by the glaring misconduct of the men of her Majesty's 44th. A company had been sent to relieve Mahommed Shereef's fort, but was seized with a panic, and fled over the walls, thus abandoning the post to the enemy. The bazaar village was at this time garrisoned by a party of that regiment, who, observing the flight of their comrades, were upon the point of quitting their post, when they were observed and stopped by some officers. Three Companies of the 37th Native Infantry were therefore ordered to guard the bazaar. General Elphinstone on this occasion wrote

to the Envoy, "Shelton wishes a support of the 44th outside. If they have any sense of shame left, they must do better, and their officers must exert themselves. Shelton is disposed to attribute the blame to the *sepoys*; from all I hear, I fear unjustly; but this must be inquired into when we have time." Misfortunes now crowded on this hapless army. On the 8th of December it was discovered that the Afghans had mixed so much dirt in the grain they had sold at exorbitant prices, that the quantity in store supposed to be equal to six days' consumption, turned out to be equal only to that of four. "Under these circumstances," says the General, "it becomes absolutely necessary for us to come to a decision as to future measures." On receiving this letter, the Envoy wrote officially to him to inquire whether in his opinion any farther attempt to hold out against the enemy would merely have the effect of sacrificing both his Majesty and the British army, and whether the only alternative left us was to negotiate for our safe retreat out of the country on the most favourable terms. Still clinging to the hope of being enabled to hold out, he adds: "It must be remembered that we have rumours of the approach of reinforcements from Candahar, though nothing in an authentic shape has reached us." The reply is given in Captain Eyre's work. It was signed by the General and Brigadiers Shelton and Anquetil. It described the deplorable state of the garrison and the impossibility of procuring supplies, and concluded with repeating the opinion that the Envoy should lose no time in entering into negotiations.

Meanwhile Sir W. Macnaghten redoubled his efforts to obtain provisions. On the 9th he sent Mohun Lall 10,000 rupees and promised 30,000 the next night. He authorized him to promise Humseh, the Ghilzie chieftain, a present of 30,000 rupees and the perpetual friendship of Government, if he would turn in a month's or a fortnight's provisions in three days. He added at the foot of the letter—"The 60th, 64th, and 80th Native Infantry Regiments left Ferropore on the 19th ultimo, and must be at Peshawur by this time. Pray, try by all the means in your power to get us grain and boots at any price to-morrow or next day." The unfortunate Envoy, when thus fondly dwelling on the expected arrival of relief from India, could not know that the army of Cabool was doomed to destruction by the same contemptible imbecility on the eastern as on the western side of the Indus. He did not know that the relieving brigade, instead of being sent forward under the command of the most energetic soldier the Commander-in-Chief could discover, was intrusted to one of whom he himself said that *he hoped to infuse* a little energy into him. He did not know that days were squandered, when every moment was invaluable; that the field pieces, which were to have accompanied the brigade, were ordered back; and that it was destined to reach Peshawur,—without the means of forcing the passes—when the destruction of the Cabool force had been completed. Had these four regiments been pushed on, as some generals would have urged them on, lightly but adequately equipped, they might have dashed through the Khyber, then comparatively open, and reached Jelalabad in time to alter the face of things at Cabool. The total want of energy by which this golden opportunity of saving, not perhaps the whole, but certainly a large portion of the army was lost, we bequeath to the contempt of posterity. On the 10th of December, the Envoy learned, to his dismay, that the troops which were advancing to his relief from Candahar, had been stopped by the snow, and obliged to retrace their steps. There was therefore no alternative left, but to re-open the negotiations with the chiefs, under circumstances of deeper humiliation, and with scarcely any prospect but that of being deceived and destroyed. To these

negotiations, which he had postponed to the last moment, until there was but a single day's provisions left, he was driven against his will and his better judgment, with the forlorn hope of saving an army of 5,000 men, who were dying of cold and starvation, while the country around them was filled with fuel, and amply stored with provisions.

The chiefs met the Envoy on the 11th, and the terms of the agreement were, as related by Captain Melville, that the British troops should evacuate Afghanistan, and be permitted to return unmolested to India; that supplies of every description should be furnished to any extent required; that certain men of consequence should accompany them as hostages; that Dost Mahomed and his family should be given up, and Shah Soojah retire to Loodhiana; and that means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage stores should be furnished. The chiefs received Captain Trevor as a hostage. On the 13th, we began to perform our part of the engagement by evacuating the Bala Hissar. On the 16th, the chiefs declared, that no provisions should be supplied except on the surrender of four forts, which completely commanded the cantonments. They were most unwillingly surrendered, and provisions for a single day were sent in to the famished garrison. On the 18th of December, snow fell for the first time, and to the depth of five inches, and thus a new enemy entered on the scene; and then the demands of the chiefs rose. On the 19th, the Envoy wrote an order for the evacuation of Ghuzni. On the 20th, the chiefs demanded that all our spare guns and ammunition should be given up, as a proof of our sincerity, but the Envoy refused to listen to the proposal. On the 21st, their demand for four hostages was complied with. On the 22nd, an officer from Zeman Shah was conducted to the magazine, to make choice of such articles as were likely to be acceptable to the chiefs. That night, Captain Skinner, who had been living under Akbar Khan's protection, was sent by him with two natives to make a flattering proposal to the Envoy, which is thus described by Captain Mackenzie—

"Mahomed Sudeeq disclosed Mahomed Ukhbar's proposition to the Envoy, which was, that the following day Sir William should meet him (Mahomed Ukhbar) and a few of his immediate friends, viz. the chiefs of the Eastern Ghilzies, outside the cantonments, when a final agreement should be made, so as to be fully understood by both parties; that Sir William should have a considerable body of troops in readiness, which, on a given signal, were to join with those of Mahomed Ukhbar and the Ghilzies, assault and take Mahomed Khan's fort, and secure the person of Ameenoollah. At this stage of the proposition, Mahomed Sudeeq signified that, for a certain sum of money, the head of Ameenoollah should be presented to the Envoy, but from this Sir William shrunk with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. Mahomed Sudeeq then went on to say, that, after having subdued the rest of the Khana, the English should be permitted to remain in the country eight months longer, so as to save their purdah (veil, or credit), but that they were then to evacuate Afghanistan, as if of their own accord; that Shah Soojah was to continue king of the country, and that Mahomed Ukhbar was to be his wuzeer. As a further reward for his (Mahomed Ukhbar's) assistance, the British Government were to pay him thirty lacs of rupees, and four lacs of rupees per annum during his life."

The Envoy received this proposal late at night, and thinking that it afforded some distant hope of the salvation of the troops, agreed to it, and affixed his signature to the Persian document in which it was written; and to the mo-

ment of his departure the next day, a little before noon, communicated the negotiation to none but the general, who promised to have the troops in readiness. But he subsequently repented of his acquiescence, and wrote a note to the Envoy, which he never received. "I hope," said the General, "there is no fear of treachery. The sending two guns and two regiments away would divide our force, and our sole dependence is in the union of our force. The cantonment I find is at present full of Affghans. All this we must think of, and act for the best. What guarantee have we for the truth of all that has been said? I only mention this to make you cautious as to sending away any part of our force. Perhaps it is unnecessary with you who know these people so well. I will be prepared to turn out, if necessary, by having the men ready to man the ramparts." After breakfast on the 23rd, the Envoy summoned Capts. Trevor, Lawrence, and Mackenzie to accompany him to the meeting, and for the first time disclosed to them the nature of the transaction. Captain Mackenzie warned him that it was a plot against him. He replied, "A plot! let me alone for that; trust me for that." The anticipations of his escort, however, were too true. The scheme was one of the deepest treachery on the part of Ameenoolah and Ukhbar Khan, and their object was to seize the Envoy. After the conference had begun, on a given signal, Ukhbar Khan endeavoured to seize Sir William, and meeting resistance, shot him dead with the pistols which he had a day or two before received as a present from him.

The sequel of this tragedy we give in the indignant language of Captain Eyre:—

"But what were our troops about all this time? Were no steps taken to rescue the Envoy and his friends from their perilous positions? Where was the body-guard which followed them from cantonments? This question will naturally occur to all who read the foregoing pages, and I wish it were in my power to render satisfactory answers. The body-guard had only got a few hundred yards from the gate in their progress to the scene of conference, when they suddenly faced about and came galloping back, several shots being fired at them in their retreat. Lieut. Le Geyt, in passing through the gate, exclaimed that the Envoy had been carried off, and it was believed that, finding his men would not advance to the rescue, he came back for assistance. But the intelligence he brought, instead of rousing our leaders to instant action, seemed to paralyze their faculties; and, although it was evident that our Envoy had been basely entrapped, if not actually murdered, before our very gates, and though even now crowds of Affghans, horse and foot, were seen passing and repassing to and fro in hostile array between Mahomed's fort and the place of meeting, not a gun was opened upon them; not a soldier was stirred from his post, no sortie was apparently even thought of; treachery was allowed to triumph in open day; the murder of a British Envoy was perpetrated in the face, and within musket-shot, of a British army, and not only was no effort made to avenge the dastardly deed, but the body was left lying on the plain, to be mangled and insulted, and finally carried off to be paraded in the public market by a ruffianly mob of fanatical barbarians."

Thus perished by the hand of an assassin, at the age of forty-eight, one of the most distinguished servants of the Indian Government, just as he had raised himself by his own merits to the highest honours of the administration. Those who have followed us through this brief narrative of his public career, will not fail to perceive that in him the highest philological attainments were combined with a clear judgment on political questions, an insight into men and things, and the

firmest resolution. In the novel and anomalous position in which he was placed in Afghanistan, his conduct was marked by sagacity and prudence; and although he may sometimes have adopted conclusions, and advised measures, which an uninterested spectator might be disposed to censure, yet every emergency that arose only served to shew the extent of his resources and his courage; and there is little reason to doubt, that if, at the last crisis, he had been intrusted with the supreme direction of military movements, the final catastrophe would not have occurred. One error in his policy has not escaped public animadversion; the choice of a site for the Cantonments. The natural and obvious position for our garrison was the Bala Hissar, but the Envoy's tenderness and respect for the feelings of the Shah induced him to relinquish the pre-eminent advantages of that situation, and to fix on a spot which it requires little knowledge of military science to condemn. To this great error, it has been the fashion to ascribe the tragedy of Cabool. But when, before this time, did a body of 5,000 British troops with arms in their hands, and ammunition in their magazine, complain of the defects of their cantonments, when opposed to so contemptible a soldiery as that of Cabool, who never once ventured to assault their position, and among whom, the leading men never ventured to shew themselves in the field? While one British army thus allowed itself to be bearded at Cabool by a rabble without any recognized leader, or indeed any man possessed of military knowledge, in a position impregnable in respect to such opponents, another British army, feebler in numbers but firmer in resolution, took up a position within the dilapidated defences of Jellalabad, and set themselves vigorously to repair them, while they boldly repulsed every attack of the enemy, and, like the Jews under Nehemiah, so to speak, "wrought in the work with one of their hands, and with the other held a weapon." But even if the errors of Sir William Macnaghten's policy had been far greater than they were, his character is nobly redeemed by the judgment and heroism displayed in the last crisis, when the imbecility of the military authorities threw on him the responsibility of providing for the safety of the army. And it cannot be better described than in the language of one of the most acrimonious opponents of the Afghan expedition, whose work, though marked by great power of argument, and often by much justice of sentiment, is still that of a thorough partisan. Mr. Lushington says: "Having elsewhere freely expressed our opinion of the conduct of the chief planner of the Afghan war, we are the more anxious to do justice to his demeanor through the greater part of the struggle in which he perished. Lieut. Eyre's account shews him in a most respectable light; the spring of every exertion made by the force; the suggester of every plan; the brave adopter of a responsibility from which the military leaders shrank, and which his foresight uniformly vindicated by the favourable results of his suggestions. He consented to treat only when forced to it; he rejected the offer of unworthy terms with becoming spirit; and his conduct throughout would have entitled him to no mean place among that order of men whose high qualities rise higher against adversity, but for one lamentable and final exception."

With an examination of the "lamentable and final exception" we close this article.—It refers of course to Sir William Macnaghten's acquiescence in the proposals made to him by Mahomed Ukhbar Khan, on the evening before his assassination, and the breach of faith which it is supposed to involve. This transaction has given birth to a wide diversity of opinion: by some it has been stigmatized as detestable treachery; by others it has been considered as fully

justified by the circumstances of the case. We live too near these events, and are perhaps too much under the influence of the feelings with which we have been accustomed to judge of the expedition itself, to form a dispassionate judgment of this particular and important event in it. It is too early to expect any thing that can be likened to the decision of the historical judge; and we must all be content to be considered as advocates, either on one side or the other of the question. For our parts, after the most exact and conscientious examination of all the evidence we can find, we are strongly disposed to exonerate the Envoy from all censure; and on the following considerations:—Every engagement with mutual obligations must be binding on both parties, or on neither. If one party intentionally neglects to fulfil his share of the engagement, it becomes null and void, and ceases to be obligatory on the opposite party. The stipulations of the treaty which the Envoy entered into with the chiefs were, on our part, that the army of Cabool should return to India immediately, and that we should evacuate Afghanistan; on the part of the chiefs, that “immediate supplies, and carriage cattle, should be furnished to the troops to any extent required.” Our part of these stipulations was fulfilled with the most scrupulous good faith; we evacuated the Bala Hissar, and made every arrangement for our departure. But the Afghan chiefs never observed a single article of the treaty. Instead of sending in supplies equal to the wants of the starving garrison, they sent only enough for a single day: and on the fifth day after the agreement, openly set it aside, by declaring their resolution to send in no farther supplies until four forts, which commanded the cantonments, were surrendered to them. The treaty was, therefore, clearly at an end. But as if to shew that no promise would be kept with their humble foes, and that all their engagements were made only to be broken, they took possession of the forts, but continued to neglect the wants of the garrison. There was, therefore, no obligation on the Envoy to risk the safety of the army simply in compliance with an engagement intended to be mutual, but which had been so flagrantly violated.

It was not the mere honour of the Envoy or the character of his government which was at stake in this instance, but the lives of twelve thousand men; and this ought to have been, and was, the one paramount consideration with him—the cynosure by which he steered his course. It was to save the lives of this large body of men that he had agreed to the humiliating terms of the treaty, and he was fully justified in regarding the treaty as waste paper when it had been violated by the chiefs in such a manner as to render it, if observed, the means of destroying instead of saving the troops. There was, in fact, no treaty; but a constant negotiation was carried on with the chiefs individually and collectively by the Envoy, who was endeavouring to make the best terms in his power for an army which looked to him for safety. Though he had agreed with one part of the chiefs to depart on Friday, having scarcely any provisions left, yet he was at the time engaged in a separate bargain with Khan Shereen Khan and Humzeh, the Ghilzie, two of the chiefs who were present at the first meeting; and this bargain was carried on to the very last day. He told them plainly that if the Kuzzilbashas and the Ghilzies were anxious for our army to remain, and would declare themselves openly in our favour, he would send to the Barukzies and declare his agreement with them at an end. From the time when the treaty was violated by the new demands of the chiefs and the refusal of supplies, he considered himself at liberty to make any

arrangement with any party, which might most effectually relieve the army. It was not three days before the catastrophe, that he offered Khan Sheran five lakhs of rupees, and the Ghilzie chief the same sum, if they would side with us and send in provisions. In these circumstances, while he was looking round with the deepest anxiety for some happy turn in affairs, late in the evening of the 22nd, Ukbar Khan sent a flattering offer to separate himself from the rest of the chiefs, and to allow the English to remain eight months longer in Afghanistan, so as to save their credit, on condition that Shah Soojah should be king of the country and Mahomed Ukbar Khan his vizier; and that the British government should pay him thirty lakhs of rupees and four lakhs of rupees a-year. Sir William eagerly grasped at a proposal which offered the smallest chance of salvation to the army. We must confess that we can see nothing in the nature or obligation of the negotiations which were then pending with the other chiefs, who were urging his departure, while they denied him provisions and cattle, which could give the least colour of moral turpitude to his acceptance of an offer which promised him the preservation of the army. There can be little doubt that if this negotiation had been instrumental in extricating that army from its perils, we should never have heard a whisper of treachery.

The only portion of this engagement which appears to us in any measure questionable, on the score of morality, is that which refers to Ameenollah. Mr. Lushington animadverts on it in the severest language. "To acquiesce in the continuance of a treaty,"—there was no treaty at all obligatory; the chiefs had even refused to sign it, and their whole conduct was a palpable violation of it—"and to plot the seizure of men, who were relying on its faith, under pretext of peaceful conference, was an act of detestable treachery, which, up to that time, the Afghans had done nothing to parallel." In this short sentence there are three discrepancies of fact which materially affect the character of the transaction. Sir W. Macnaghten did not plot the seizure; it was one among the various proposals of Ukbar Khan, to which he gave his assent. Neither was there more than one individual, the infamous Ameenollah, to whom the proposal applied. Nor was even this man to be inveigled to a peaceful conference, on the faith of a treaty, and there treacherously arrested. The conference included only Ukbar Khan and the Eastern Ghilzie chiefs, with one of whom the Envoy long had been engaged in a separate negotiation, and most of whom were supposed to be favourable to our interests. Ameenollah was not expected to be present at the conference, which had apparently for its object the recognition of these terms by the Envoy in the presence of Ukbar Khan and the Ghilzies; after which their troops were to be united with ours, to assault and take Mahomed Shah's fort, and there to secure Ameenollah. This man, the most active and inveterate of all our opponents, owed every thing to the kindness of Sir William Macnaghten; who, after the specimen of ingratitude and treason which he had exhibited, determined to make an example of him. This fact was apparently well known to Ukbar Khan, when he baited the hook with a proposal which he knew would be agreeable to the Envoy. We can find no evidence that Ameenollah ever attended any of the meetings of the chiefs, or was a party to any treaty or agreement, or that Sir William ever held any intercourse with him during the insurrection. Indeed, in the whole course of the negotiations we find his name mentioned but once, which was, when the chiefs violated the treaty by demanding the surrender of the forts. On that occasion, he is said to have joined Osman Khan in making this request. We leave it, therefore, to the future historian to pronounce on the

degree of culpability involved in the Envoy's assenting to the proposal made by Ukbar Khan, that he and the Ghilzie chiefs should unite their troops with our own to assault and take the fort, and there capture this arch enemy of the British cause.

It only remains to deal with the atrocious charge brought against Sir William Macnaghten, of having encouraged the assassination of his opponents; and it is easily disposed of. Capt. Mackenzie bears witness that when, at the fatal conference on the evening of the 22nd December, Mahomed Audeeq signified that, for a certain sum of money, the head of Ameenoolah should be presented to the Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten shrunk back with abhorrence, declaring that it was neither his custom nor that of his country to give a price for blood. But we have other evidence, equally decisive, under the Envoy's own signature. Although he had, on previous occasions, written to Mohen Lall to encourage the rival of Ameenoolah by all possible means, and assured him that he would execute "the scoundrel if he could catch him;" and that he would give a reward of Rs. 10,000 for his apprehension and that of some others, yet, when the moonshee wrote to the Envoy under the impression that he wished the man to be taken off privately, Sir William Macnaghten immediately replied, on the 1st of December: "I am sorry to find, from your letter of last night, that you should have supposed it was ever my object to encourage assassination. The rebels are very wicked men, but we must not take unlawful means to destroy them."

It was no little relief to the feelings of Sir William Macnaghten's relatives and friends, that his remains were not abandoned in the country in which he had been so treacherously massacred. They were rescued from the pit to which the barbarous Afghans had consigned them, by the affectionate solicitude of his widow, and brought down to the presidency. Those public honours by which the interment of men of high official rank is distinguished were denied to one who, at the period of his death, had been raised to the third station in this empire, because he perished in an unfortunate and unsuccessful enterprise. But the absence of all official distinction at his funeral was more than compensated by the universal respect paid to his memory. His was a public funeral in a higher and more gratifying sense than if it had been marked by the presence of troops and the boom of artillery. His remains were accompanied to their final resting-place by the whole body of the community, and interred amidst the sympathies of the metropolis. A large public subscription was immediately made for the erection of a monument over his grave; and we have the melancholy consolation of remembering that, though assassinated in a distant land, he still sleeps in the city where his early honours were acquired, and where he laid the foundation of so many lasting friendships.

NUGGUR, AND ABOUT IT.

BY MRS. POSTANS.

EVERY one acquainted with Western India has heard of Nuggur, or Ahmed-Nuggur, it being the favourite station of the "Ducks." In olden times, when guns, spears, and hoes formed the joys of our young aspirants to military fame, Nuggur was famous for its sport, its "grim grey boars," stony hills, and open plains; and I fancy that more hogs were killed, more hunting-songs sung, and more sporting adventures met with here than in the whole of the Deckan besides. Matters, however, have now somewhat changed, for sport is on the decline in the Deckan, as elsewhere; the "Nuggur hunt," once the pride of sportsmen, is on the wane; balls and mess-parties supersede forays on the "jungle-side," and whether it be, that Phonde Sawunt, and Ragjee Bangriah, our bandit leaders of the Northern and Southern Concan, divert men's minds from mimic to real war, the spirit of sport has fled. Nevertheless, it is still a pleasant spot, and surrounded by interest for the painter, poet, and historian. One wise old moofti, some forty years ago, undertook to write an account of the curiosities of Nuggur, within a circuit of four miles, and the work was looked on as a miracle of learning; it was called the *Shahabee*, in honour of Shahab-oo-deen, its author; and, as if to end all doubt of its merits, the case of Nuggur and Poonah went to law about the possession of the MS., while the British authorities sequestered it, on the judge and the oyster principle of settlement. To me, who was favoured with its inspection, it appeared so like "Feriahta," with its interesting points left out, that I felt much more gratification in wandering about Nuggur, guided by the information of some modern Herodotus, full of true and pleasant chat, than in poring over the wise man's collection of dates, hard names, and Persian couplets.

Nuggur is situated on a wide plain, surrounded by hills, and intersected by rivers, so that the level ground should be ever waving with bright green crops; the fine mangoe-trees that cluster round the pretty villages, ever productive; but in Nuggur, as elsewhere, that which *should* be, is not always so, and for two years we have had a drought that has reduced the flowing waters to mere occasional pools, withered the corn, slain the cattle, and reduced the strong man to a condition of hollow-eyed and trembling feebleness. Then again, as it ever is in India, came cholera, as if to ease the land of those it no longer could support, and the young and the old went forth from their homes to the sides of the stony hills, to dwell in caves, hoping to escape. Nuggur, the once mirthful scene of sport and glee, has not yet recovered the double visitation; but want and fear yet hang upon its homes, whether of the city or the village.

The fort is one of the strongest in the Deckan; and with various handsome buildings, musjids, and palaces, within and about it, renew a reflection long since made, on the employment of Mohamedan wealth

in India, in comparison with our own ; for did we to-morrow quit this glowing clime, we should leave but *grasses* to mark our long possession of the land. A huge tree on the glacis of the fort is honoured by the much-believing, as that under which the Great Captain of his age conducted operations against the enemy ; but if the Duke ever *did* honour its peepul shade, it must have been after, and not during, the siege ; for, like Rustum, he must have borne a charmed life. The fort of Nuggur, however, hath a stirring history attached to it. A true tale of life romance, that affords an interest quite equal to that which Rhine-ascending tourists feel for Nonensworth and Rolandseck. The reader must allow me to tell the tale, even as it was told to me, and must assist me by imagining the fine fort of Nuggur on its plain, as Josephine's convent is upon the stream, looked down on by a richly-sculptured tomb of many stories, perched on a neighbouring hill ; the Rawland's Tower of the Deckan.

"Chand Beebee ke Nuggur," then, as Moslems still call the theme of our discourse, was, some 250 years since, governed by a very beautiful ranee, the moon-faced, or silver-bodied Beebee. Her palace within the fort was of the richest architecture and decoration, shaded by fine trees, cooled by fountains, and resplendent with silver ornaments ; but the loveliness of the woman is said to have far outshone the pomp and glitter of the princess. The nobles of Upper India and the princes of the Deckan alike sued for her hand ; but the fair queen of Nuggur, proud of her independence, determined to support her dignities alone. Salabat Khan, a young noble, full of military zeal and ardour, in travelling through the country, chanced to see the Beebee, and from that moment became violently enamoured of her. Knowing, however, the utter hopelessness of his passion, he wandered far away to join some of the many chiefs, whose varied claims equally distracted both the upper and the lower countries. Time passed ; the fair queen of Nuggur governed, in womanly pride, her fine Deckan lands, careless of her suitors, while Salabat Khan in vain sought, among the excitements of war and the stimulant of ambition, to expel from his heart and memory the image of her he loved so hopelessly. The kings of Delhi, who had ever desired the possession of the rich districts of Ayrungabad and Nuggur, at length determined on besieging the fort of the fair queen. Day by day, Chand Beebee, from her battlements, noted the surrounding armies, in hostile array, gathering round the fort ; yet still, with an heroic spirit, determined to die, as she had lived, Queen of Nuggur, rather than fall captive into the conqueror's hands. The siege was long ; the little party within the walls gradually became less efficient ; no help at hand, no hope without ; despair seized on the bravest hearts ; and in a few hours more, beneath the waters of the deepest bowrie (wall) of the fort, lay the body of the lovely Beebee. That day, with a strong army of rescue, gathered from many lands, pride, and joy, and love, all animating his warlike spirit, Salabat Khan encamped upon a rocky hill, looking full upon the fort ; a messenger was despatched to the queen, bearing tidings of hope and succour ; but, alas !

too late; and when returning, he bore the fate of the fair Beebees to the chieftain's ear, Salabat Khan called for his cup-bearer, and mingling with his sherbet the deadliest poison of the land, died, gazing on the grave of her he loved. His followers built-over his remains a splendid tomb; and the people, so long as the tale dwelt in their remembrance, scattered flowers and perfumes around it.

Such is the history of Salabat Khan's tomb, which is a favourite place for picnics, and a residence during the hot weather: it is about four miles from Camp, and on a considerable elevation. Fifty persons have dined together in the lower apartment of the tomb, which gives a very fair idea of its size, when it is remembered that the four compartments have an equality of extent, a regal space for the "eternal habitation" of a camp-trained soldier. It is fortunate for us modern travellers and sojourners in the East, however, that the Mohamedan conquerors of India and their descendants had this taste for handsome mausolea, as it supplies many of us with houses in a style of architecture not to be met with at present, as well as substantial shelter, at the expense of driving out the bats, and fitting in a few doors and windows. The few feet of earth with the conical masonry, occupied by the original tenant, neither seems to be considered as an objection nor an inconvenience: it forms a seat or a stumbling-block, as the case may be, but the last only literally, and is never considered as a subject for veneration or troublesome respect. Then, again, the situations these true believers chose for their mausolea are so attractive, the trees that shade them are so bright and waving, the mounds where they are raised so dry and clean, and the gardens about them so cool and fresh-looking, that the living may well envy the dead their possession. It must be remembered that these Moslems were characteristically very capable of appreciating the luxurious and agreeable. No people ever knew so well how to live in India as they did in their days of glory, proofs of which we have in their underground apartments for the hot season, their water palaces, thick walled underrooms, and descriptions of well-cooled sherbets; and, as it was their custom to pray, meditate, and spend hours in the tombs of their departed friends, it is but probable that these handsome mausolea had some reference to the comforts and convenience of the living, as well as to the secure resting of the dead. The four stories of Salabat Khan's tomb must have formed a cool and pleasant look-out post for those who were once his followers. The well, in which reposed the body of the hapless queen, is closed, and still regarded with superstitious reverence by the Moslem population.

Our first picnic from Nuggur was made to the Happy Valley, a favourite spot for sportsmen, newly-married couples, and Parsee amateur travellers. It is eight miles from Camp, and its situation is as remarkable as its scenery is attractive. After riding over a wide plain, here and there studded with villages, sheltered by thick clumps of rich mangoe-trees, a rock appeared more desert than the rest, flanked by arid hills. On approaching it, however, the tops of palms, coco-nut trees, and all the chief varieties of Indian foliage, attracted our atten-

tion just peeping above its edge ; and, dismounting from our horses, we found a flight of granite steps cut in the rock, and leading down into this fairy-like glen of natural beauty. The Hindus have a deserted temple there, but the spot was evidently selected as a Moslem pleasure-ground, a fact which now affords travellers the advantage of a good bungalow built in true Mahamedan taste, which means with a flat roof, on which to smoke, sleep, and pray, in accordance with the uses made of such places by their original designers ; small square slate-coloured rooms, with arched roofs for the occupation of bats, and little recesses for the reception of oil-lights ; with doors that do not close, or if closed, do not open ; tri-sided underground apartments, looking into the valley, and arches instead of windows. This last peculiarity is here, however, an advantage, for the view commanded is most lovely. The valley, indeed, is the mere gorge of an isolated hill, but the foliage is dense and beautiful—originally well cultivated, but now having the appearance of the wildest nature ; huge masses of rock are piled amongst it, and a fair stream, every here and there taking the form of waterfalls, or a rapid torrent, as the nature of the ground may cause, makes its way onward to the lower plain. The fine banian, with its columned shade, is here seen in peculiar grandeur, its daughter stems stretching widely, and descending deeply into the ravine, the parent branches forming noble studies of forest foliage, so noble, indeed, that Hindu travellers have even been attracted by the beauty of one, that owns some dozen pillars all around it, among which have sprung the aloe, and various lesser shrubs, giving to each stem the semblance of its being an independent tree. Every stone round which the rivulet rushes is smeared with red pigment, and no traveller passes along the little footpath on his way to the distant village, but raises his hand in reverence to this natural temple of the grove. Trees, and shade, and water, are sure attractions to the natives of the East, and it amused me much to note the varied travellers who, hour by hour, arrived at the Happy Valley. Many were pilgrims, with scrip and staff, who ate, bathed, begged, and smoked, and then, without paying the slightest homage to the temple, or to the huge stone Nandi that formed its chief ornament, although supposed to be on religious service all intent, went their way, laughing and chatting through the valley. Others were peasants, laden with grass, sturdy little Mahrattas, inured to labour, who wended on their way, singing their cheerful national songs, or mirthfully chatting in their strange "Hickary, Tickary" sort of language, careless of the toil. One poor woman, in descending the steps, fell with her burden of grass when about half-way down. For the moment she remained still, as sorely hurt, which no doubt she was, but quickly rising again, bathed her arms and feet in the fountain, and resettled the loosened bundle of grass. Duty so far ended, she unslung a bundle from her shoulder that looked as if containing grain, round and soft, but to our astonishment straightway was unrolled an infant of some three months old, who, without cry or murmur, allowed itself to be seated on the ground, and with a happy smile fell to playing with the

surrounding grass. In a few minutes more the mother unfolded a long cotton scarf, when, placing one end firmly between her knees, and calling a boy who stood near to hold the other, she by one arm lifted the infant Griselda into it, and after folding the scarf together in the centre, tied the ends firmly, and swung it over her shoulder, as a pedestrian usually does a change of raiment; then, with the little bundle at her back, and the heavy load upon her head, the slight, active, and much-enduring Mahratta mother cheerfully wended on to complete the last four miles of her journey. It was a strange proof of how easily people may conform to circumstances. One has seen the Italian child swaddled like a mummy, and suspended on a hook behind the paternal door, while the mother was in the vineyard; the Sindhian child, swinging in a cradle of cords to the branch of a tree; and the Ojibbeway, suspended to the parent's back, enjoying the gentle satisfaction of infant pastime, while the mother, poor drudge! turns up the sod to prepare it for the seed that shall be their stay when hunting fails; yet never, I think, have I seen any thing so thoroughly conforming itself to circumstances as the calmness of this Mahratta woman and the good-humoured quietude of her little one. What a contrast it afforded to the wayward petulance of the English spoilt child of fortune,—fractious from indulgence, surrounded by attendants, and alarming a whole house if it but strikes its hand against a table! There is, perhaps, little difference in the nature of the children, but all in the power of education.

A very characteristic individual attracted our attention the day after we arrived at the Happy Valley, a wandering jogee, lately come from the revered city of Nassick, and on his way *vid* Poonah to Sassoor. He was a hollow-eyed, thin-faced, miserable-looking wretch, whose shaggy uncombed locks hung about his head, more like a tangled lion's mane than any thing else, and his chief covering consisted of dust and ashes, with a little red paint here and there. His travelling baggage simply included a gourd, a string of beads, and a staff, and yet he came and sat down under the shade of a huge banian-tree, by the side of a carved effigy of Huniman, that was scarcely more hideous than himself, with the air of a man who had seen the world, and the dignity of one who would have considered the best inn's best room as far too poor for him. Here then sat the wanderer, doubtless hungry, thirsty, and weary, yet too proud to acknowledge his participation in the feelings of common men, waiting until fit homage should attend his coming; soon, fortunately for his necessities, a Banian (merchant), a well-dressed, and evidently respectable man, descended the temple steps, on which our shaggy-headed friend called him with an air of authority that was instantly acknowledged by the other, who forthwith fetched fire, water, and food for his religious superior, and then, seating himself a little apart, awaited any further orders. There is little doubt that much of this overbearing conduct in the ascetic was practised with the idea of impressing us with a sense of his power and dignity; and during the two or three days that we occupied the bungalow, he remained squatting

under his banian-tree, affecting complete ignorance of our presence; but as we mounted our horses to quit the spot; the avarice of the man controlled every other feeling, and, starting from his position, he came forward, humbly begging for a few pice. We told him at first that, as we worked for our money in an honest calling, and he lived idly on the opinion of his fellow-men, we were more objects of charity and consideration than he was, who could command what he would of money and service from the rich; but he became so importunate, that we at length desired the horse-keeper to give him a few pice; but the Gera-walla being a low-caste man, the jogee, as people were looking on, refused to be contaminated by our offering, and sulkily retired to his tree, bawling forth the titles of his gods, intermixed with a few denunciations on the unbelieving. The unfortunate creature's solitary journey through the dense jungles of Nassick, prolific as they are of damp poisonous exhalations, and filled with beasts of prey, must have made him acquainted with much of both suffering and danger; but if gratified vanity from the applause of men be one of the most agreeable forms of incense the human mind can receive, certainly our presiding genius of the "Happy Valley" must have been amply repaid.

Nuggur, as all know, was a scene of many of the worst cruelties, and also highest triumphs, of the great conqueror Aurungzebe; he is said to have died here, and a little tomb on the left of the fort is considered as the depository of his heart. The mausoleum commands a very beautiful panoramic view of Nuggur, with its palaces, musjids, gardens, and flowing streams; while our pretty church rising amongst them, together with the "compounds" in the artillery-lines, gives it to the English sojourner a refreshing "home" look. The gardens of Nuggur are celebrated, throughout our side of India, for their beauty and produce; we have thick hedges of myrtle four feet high, vines that rival the south of Italy, and English vegetables in abundance. The native gardens are also rich in produce; but a native garden is, after all, but a mere orchard, and amongst rubbish, weeds, stony roads, and large fruit trees, one looks in vain for the neat inclosures, the well-kept paths trim borders, and perfumed parterres of an English shrubbery. Utility appears the only object in the Eastern gardener's view; acres of rose-bushes are cultivated only that the blossoms may be cropped at sunrise to produce rose-water, and jasmine is grown in abundance, but merely for decorations on festivals, and in offerings at the temples. At Nuggur, the "Mootee Bhaug," or Garden of Pearls, is an exception, having been formed in English taste, and being rich in beautiful shrubs, bearing Oriental flowers of every hue; yet even here, jowarree is sown amongst the plants, and the song of the bulbul is lost in the cry of the corn-watcher, as he whirls his sling aloft, to scare away the feathered plunderers. We have our "Behiestie Bhaug" too, or Garden of Paradise, with the ruins of a palace at its entrance, about which, the dry old historians are very voluminous in their accounts, of how one khan built it, and another added to it, and a third advised about it, and a fourth seized it.

A water palace of considerable size, still remaining in the neighbourhood of Nuggur, is said with great probability to have been the residence of Aurungzebe, and is situated in the remains of an extensive garden, known as the "Furruh Bhaug," or Garden of Happiness. Considering the palace was commenced in 1006 of the Hegira, it is yet in remarkably good preservation, and must have been, in its day, a very substantial and handsome building. The centre room, which is of huge proportions, is lighted and ventilated by two open balconies, running round the ceiling at small distances from each other; and the interior architecture of the arched recesses and roofing is, in many cases, ornamental, and finished with much skill. The prince who commenced its erection, did so, it appears, as a matter of state policy, to shew the Delhi nobles his opinion of the stability of a possession, on which it was considered wise to expend so much; but the water which surrounds the palace was not thought of until his successor brought it from the hills at some distance by means of aqueducts, the remains of which may still be seen in all directions about Nuggur; and this prince, with much good taste, built round the palace a reservoir of some forty acres in extent. Soon after the rainy season, the waters on every side bathe the palace walls to some feet in depth, and the garden immediately around it would be unapproachable for foot passengers, but for a raised vallade carried out from the western side of the garden. In the early morning, few effects of light and shade can be more beautiful than those which adorn the water palace of the Furruh Bhaug, for the most perfect and handsome portion of it receives the first rays of the morning sun, which, lighting up its Gothic-looking architecture, separate it vividly from the masses of fine trees clustering round its base, while they again are reflected, leaf, and branch, and stem, in the deep clear waters that surround and bathe their roots; and these, contrasted in their depth of richest shade, by the crimson turbans and orange-coloured scarfs of the native groups, who wend hither daily to enjoy the pleasures of the spot, the cool bathing beneath the trees, or the social chit-chat meal. Wild ducks may occasionally be seen in flocks upon the surface of the lake, affording considerable attraction to the denizens of the Camp; but even when the sportsman is disappointed of his spoil, the eye of the lover of the picturesque may be always gratified by the number of snow-white, graceful birds which rest upon the banks, or seek their food among the beautiful aquatic plants that adorn these fair waters, where the rich green rushes throw into fine relief the tender tints of the lovely lotus, and a hundred blossoms, red and yellow, blue and purple, of whose names I am quite ignorant, are distinctly mirrored upon this charming lake, which, barbarian as he was in some matters, Shah Tiah certainly shewed infinite taste in forming here, and which, perhaps, gave origin to the couplets we find transcribed upon a tablet under a ruined doorway of the palace, said to have been under his own hand.

"In this garden, conferring happiness, pause in peace,
Look round at its surrounding pleasures, Oh ye kings!
Nor seek for other wealth."

And, again, on a smaller block is written,

"This garden is called the happy;
May its beauties ever remain as I"

The dream of Moslem grandeur, however, and the luxurious indulgences of its princes, are now at an end, and the beautiful Farruh Bhaug has long been subservient to supposed purposes of utility and improvement. A grant of its acres having been made to a medical officer of Government, mulberry-trees were planted in great quantities for the growth and cultivation of the Italian worm and silk. The plan, to a certain degree, failed; perhaps in consequence of the sanguine estimate of its originator, as expenses were entered into that the results of the early trial could not justify, and debt became the consequence. Feebleness and discouragement followed, and as the world generally take some advantage of misfortune and disappointment in the plans of others, so a number of private mallees set about digging up the young trees and selling them for a trifling remuneration to the amateur garden cultivators of Camp. The collector, however, interfered; fortunately for the delightful shades of the Farruh Bhaug, the trees were restored, and the system still works in a trifling degree; the fine foliage becoming every day more luxuriant from the abundance of sweet water, while the worms slumber in the chambers of kings.

Nuggur, January, 1845.

GHAZAL FROM THE DIWĀN OF SHAMS-I TABRĪZ.

اندر دلِ ما توئی نگارا غیر تو گلون و سنگِ خارا
هر عاشقِ شاهی گزیدست ما جز تو ندیده ایم یارا
گر غیر تو ماه باشد ای جان بر غیر تو نیست رشکِ مارا
ای خلقِ حدیثِ او مگوئید باقی همه شاهدان شمارا
بر نقشِ فنا چه عشقِ بازو آنکس که ندید کهریارا
بر غیرِ خدا حسد نیارد آنکس که گمان برده خدا را
گر رشک و حسد بری برو بر کین رشکِ بُدست انبیارا
شمسِ تبریز جو روان کن گردان کن سنگِ آسیارا

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN TINNEVELLY.

The British public are not aware of the extraordinary progress which Christianity has recently made amongst the natives of Tinnevelly. This district of southern India has been the scene of the labours of many able and excellent missionaries, including Mr. Jœniké and Mr. Gerické; the seed sown by whom appears to be now germinating. A communication from the Bishop of Madras* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel incloses a letter addressed to him by the Rev. A. F. Cœmmerer, dated Nazareth, Tinnevelly, Dec. 8, 1844, of which the following is an extract:—

The extensive movements in favour of Christianity, of which your Lordship has already heard, call for my warmest gratitude to the bountiful Giver of all good. I was unwilling to communicate to your Lordship the joyful news until I could report the hopeful change as real and permanent, assured that, after a trial of a few months, the facts would tell with more value. Nor was it my intention to refer at all to the matter before January, but, being called upon by your Lordship, I have great pleasure in furnishing the following particulars of the very encouraging state of things in my neighbourhood.

Your Lordship will remember my stating, in my last half-year's schedule, that there was then every appearance of a favourable opening soon presenting itself for introducing the Gospel among the important villages to the north of Nazareth; I am truly thankful to say the time has arrived. It is now my privilege to report that nearly the whole of the Shanar population, scattered about from my station as far as to the river which forms the northern boundary of my district, and is about four miles distant, have embraced the Gospel. Since October last, 227 families residing in seven villages have renounced idolatry. The number of converts in them amounts to 832, and I have little doubt that many more will soon be added. In other villages also, already in connection with Nazareth, there have been considerable accessions; the number is between 500 and 600. So far as I can judge, all appear sincere and promise well: although several have been reproached and deserted by their heathen relatives, and in a few instances have even been persecuted, all have continued firm and unmoved. In one of the villages only, there are four or five misguided young men who cause me great trouble. They are doing their utmost to disturb and unsettle the people; but, as yet, I am very thankful to say, with no success. I sincerely trust they will soon be brought to a better mind. It was in the village of Mavadeputum that Christianity met with so much opposition a few years ago. Some families, at that time in connection with me, were expelled the village; and their prayer-house was demolished by the very people of this place who are now desirous to join me, and ready to receive that instruction which they before

* *Missions to the Heathen, No. V.*

despised. Such a wonderful change has been wrought in them! A conviction of their guilt has forced itself on their minds, and they say they have never since been prosperous in their worldly undertakings. They attribute it all to their desecration of the Christians' place of worship.

A few proofs which have been given by the new converts of their sincerity will not be uninteresting. On the 9th October the principal men and the whole village of Mavadeputum, which is about three miles from Nazareth, having signified their intention to embrace Christianity, and having requested me to visit them, I rode over on the 11th, accompanied by my brother. On my arrival there I was conducted to the river side, where there were five temples belonging to the village. Here I found the people and a great crowd beside of heathen, of all classes, assembled under a large peepul tree, adjoining one of the larger temples. I entered into conversation with those who had invited me, and I soon discovered that the subject of their joining me in a body had been canvassed in the village, and that all were unanimous in begging me for a Christian teacher and a schoolmaster. They promised, from that day forth, "to renounce Idolatry, to serve God only, and to learn the way of salvation." They promised also 100 rupees in money, and materials towards their future prayer-house, which is to be built in January; and begged I would assist them with 150 rupees more, as they required a commodious large place for their congregation, which amounts to 502. I asked them what further test they were prepared to give of their sincerity and disinterestedness. Their reply was, "Take our temples and dumb idols, which have ruined us." I am sure no better test could have been given. Inquiry having been made for the keys, they were immediately brought and delivered into my hands. The temples were opened, and, although it was then mid-day, the interior was so dark that the idols could not be distinguished. With the help, however, of a torch, thirty-six idols, large and small, were brought out and thrown against each other with great violence, by which several were broken; and, but for my checking them, not one would have been left whole. I took occasion to speak of the helplessness of idols, and the folly of such as put their trust in them. Some of the heathen were heard to say, "We are not to blame—our forefathers left us as a legacy such a religion; and the time will come when not only such temples, but even the Trichendore Pagoda will come into the possession of the missionaries. What is it to us? Where shall we then be?" The new converts were next directed to convey the idols to Nazareth, and after a couple of days their bandies brought them all away, and they are now heaped up in my compound.

By an early opportunity I hope to send to Madras a few of the principal ones, together with a large knife used in sacrificing, with a request that they may be transmitted to the parent society, as evidences of the triumph of the gospel. The five temples, a Sockalingum and Menacshi Kovil, a Christnu Kovil, a Pilleir Kovil, a Nagaswamy Kovil, and an Ammun Kovil, which have been transferred to me, are important ones,

and much larger and more substantial than any I have yet seen made over. They are of long standing, and have always been served by a Soodra, which is not the case in ordinary small temples. They are built partly of granite and partly of brick and chunam, and must have cost more than a thousand rupees. A few of the stone pillars have figures carved on them. The small inner temple and the portico before it, all of which is granite, the people tell me were built 280 years ago; the other parts are of later date. On removing the idols, small pieces of turquoise, ruby, moonstone, and coral, inclosed in thinly-beaten gold, were found under them. I have the pleasure to forward them to your Lordship in No. 1. In two other villages, also, inferior devil temples have been made over. The people broke the idols to pieces, and gave me the small gold ornaments that were on them, which also I have the pleasure to send to your Lordship in No. 2. At another village I have promised of a piece of ground to build a prayer-house upon. All these circumstances hold out most encouraging hopes. On the society and its friends devolve the duty of providing the necessary funds, if I am to extend my borders and occupy this most inviting field. The new villages have been regularly and frequently visited. Many have been found who can read fluently portions of scripture, and suitable books have been put into their hands. The want of places of worship is very much felt. Three or four are immediately and urgently required, and not one has yet been built.

Mr. Cæmmerer (Dec. 12, 1844) reports an increase under Christian instruction of 1,500, since the returns made in June of that year.

Royal Asiatic Society.

This Society held an ordinary meeting on the 15th of February; the Right Hon. the Earl of Auckland in the chair.

The Secretary read a communication from the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, containing extracts and translations by him from papers of the Secret Triad Society of China, procured from members of that body at Hong-Kong.

The extracts commence with a translation of certain verses used at the initiation of a new member into the fraternity, expressive of his readiness to march with the rest of the brotherhood in battle array to Nanking, when the fitting time arrives, to reinstate the Chinese dynasty on the throne of the imperial empire—the ostensible object of the society. After taking the oath of fealty, the novice is anointed with blood; repeating an imprecation that his own blood may flow should he ever reveal the secrets of the society.

The account which the Hong-Kong branch give of themselves is, that about the end of the 17th century, a tribe of Tartars, named Selocs, invaded the country, and greatly disturbed the peace of the empire. The Emperor Kang-he was induced to offer a large reward to any able general who would lead an army against the invaders; and on the imperial proclamation reaching a Buddhist monastery in Füh-kên, where there were above 1,300 friars, these friars at once proceeded to the capital, and were admitted to the impe-

rial presence. One of their number was immediately appointed commander-in-chief; and routed the Seloo army. For this service the Emperor liberally rewarded the friars, and sent them to their home. Their good fortune, however, excited the envy of some of the ministers of the court, who soon contrived to poison the Emperor's mind towards them, and to gain permission to burn down their monastery; only eighteen escaped the conflagration, and of these, thirteen died of hunger; the remaining five hid themselves in seclusion, until a youth of thirteen, who described himself as the son of a deceased emperor of the Ming dynasty, joined them. In the hope of placing this youth on the throne, and thereby gaining power to avenge the destroyers of their temple, they joined other bones, and founded the Secret Triad Society to aid them in their plans. Their numbers gradually increased to thousands; and towards the close of the reign of Kang-he, they engaged in many an arduous struggle with the Manchoo army. In the 18th year of Yang-ching (1736), however, they were obliged to disperse, after agreeing upon the means of keeping up a secret correspondence with each other. For this purpose they organized themselves into lodges, similar to those of the Freemasons of Europe, appointing to each lodge a distinctive standard, with directions as to what parts its members should take when the great struggle for vengeance arrived. Every one of the brotherhood is initiated in a variety of secret and symbolical signs and language; so that the way in which they perform the commonest acts may make them known to each other, without endangering their discovery by the most inquisitive eye, to whom the key is not known. They have emissaries in every part of the empire, who enlist proselytes, drill them for arms, and initiate them into the mysteries of the brotherhood. Individuals of any class are permitted to join; their leading maxim being, "we are all the children of the same parent." Every member is enjoined to obey implicitly the regulations of the fraternity; and fines and punishments are ordained for disobedience. Any member receiving a bribe to betray another member, will be discarded from the society, and outlawed; no brother must have connection with two sisters; none shall betray the principles of the association, under pain of being "scattered to the winds;" and all improper and opprobrious language is forbidden. They have songs and hymns for all occasions, the principal themes of which are the restoration of the Ming dynasty. To facilitate the travelling of the members, every brother is required to entertain a stranger associate gratuitously in his house for two days. He is also required to keep money in store for emergencies; and to contribute to the public treasury of the society. To maintain unanimity, and to keep up the spirit which should animate the body, frequent meetings of the lodges are convoked, and the oaths of fidelity are renewed. Like the celebrated German *Femgerichte* of the middle ages, every traitor to the society is summoned to meet the charge against him in full conclave, and if found guilty, sentence of death is at once pronounced against the offender. Mr. Gutzlaff gives the following as their religious principles:—"We consider Heaven as our father, the Earth as our mother, the Sun as our elder brother, and the Moon as our elder sister; we pay respect to the true Lord of Heaven; we worship our five founders; we treat with deference our brethren; and we devote ourselves to a life of pleasure." He states also, that to heaven, earth, and mankind (their *Triad*), the three powers constituting the universe, they pay peculiar homage, and recite certain hymns in their praise. On the admission of a candidate, a certificate is given him, signed by several present when he took the oath of allegiance. A girdle and badge are also tendered to him: a translation of one of

these badges is given by Mr. Gutzlaff; the inscriptions principally refer to the promised restoration of the Ming dynasty.

On the occupation of Chapoo by the English in the late war, a party of the Triad Society offered to side with the English, and turn against the garrison—many of whom belonged to the association. Their offer was not accepted; but they left the army, and created a disturbance in the city. Mr. Gutzlaff thinks the power of the Triad Society on the increase; and that it is not unlikely they may one day or other fraternize with many of the politico-patriotic societies now forming in every part of China, for the purpose of upholding every thing ancient against barbarian encroachment.

More detailed accounts of the Triad Society are to be found in the *Transactions and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: but they agree, in the main, with the foregoing.

It will be seen from our last Historical and Critical Review (p. 436), that a party belonging to this secret association had been seized at Hong-Kong, and that one of the objects of the obnoxious Registrative Ordinance was to exclude from the colony persons connected with the association.

A short account of the present state of Aden, by J. P. Malcolmson, Esq., civil and staff surgeon at that place, was then read. Mr. Malcolmson has been six years at Aden, and adds his testimony to the importance of the station, both as a coal depôt and a naval post. He explains the geological formation of the Peninsula, which he states may be considered throughout as one mass of volcanic and pseudo-volcanic rock. The town is situated in a valley, which is evidently the crater of an extinct sub-marine volcano. The ridges of hills around it are composed of lava in its various forms, from the compact basalt to the pumice stone. Nearly all these rocks have such an excess of alkali in their composition as to be unfit for building purposes, the stone peeling off into thin laminæ after a brief exposure to the air. Mr. Malcolmson discovered one peak only, composed principally of iron and siliceous, chemically combined with felspar and garnet, which is capable of resisting the influence of atmospheric air; and this stone is now being used in government erections. The Peninsula is attached to the main land by a low, sandy isthmus, not exceeding six feet in height above the level of the sea, and not more than three-quarters of a mile in breadth. The animals indigenous to Aden are a few monkeys and hyenas. A beautiful kind of fox exists in great numbers: they are very destructive among the poultry of the inhabitants. Rats are numerous. Snakes, lizards, and scorpions are the only reptiles found. The snakes are not venomous; but the bite of one kind of scorpion is productive of considerable pain and tumefaction to the injured part. Mr. Malcolmson is of opinion that, as the ruins become cleared away, these vermin will be greatly reduced in numbers. A few flowers are found on the hills, and when the English first occupied Aden, some trees of stunted growth were to be seen in the ravines and valleys; but, unfortunately, the latter were used for fire-wood by the camp-followers and townspeople, when the supplies from the interior were stopped.

The climate may be divided into two seasons, the hot and cold; the former commencing at the end of April, and continuing to the end of October. During these months, the S.W. monsoon continues to blow with great violence, commencing daily about eight A.M., and generally subsiding at sun-set. About eight P.M. a cool, invigorating breeze usually sets in from the north-east. Hot nights, such as are experienced in India, are of rare occurrence in Aden; but

during the prevalence of the S.W. monsoon, clouds of dust are carried into every house, and even into boxes and drawers; the thermometer frequently ranging at the time as high as 104°. Sickness, however, is less prevalent during the hot, than during the cold season. Rain occasionally falls, with tropical violence, in November, January, and February. There are but few cloudy days in the year; consequently the glare from the barren, heated rocks is distressing to the eyes: nevertheless, ophthalmia is of very rare occurrence. In Aden, as at other places, it is remarkable that a great difference exists between the sensible heat, and that indicated by the thermometer. The population of the place has increased rapidly. In 1839, when the British took possession, the inhabitants did not exceed a thousand poor, squalid, half-naked creatures, living chiefly on dates and fish: the aggregate population of the place, exclusive of troops, may now be taken at 20,000. The trade of Aden has attracted many wealthy merchants from Mocha, Jidda, and other parts of the Red Sea; and were it not for an impression among these people that the British, from not having yet erected any building of consequence at the place, do not intend to keep possession, the number of settlers, Mr. Malcolmson thinks, would have been greater. The dwellings at Aden are of a very fragile nature,—merely wood and reed, covered with sedge roofs. Excepting from the risk of fire, they are, however, well adapted to the climate. Food and clothing are plentiful and cheap; and the writer states that he had witnessed more instances of longevity among the natives of Aden than in any part of India. There is no disease peculiar to the place; and the inhabitants may be said to enjoy almost unvaried good health. The water of Aden is of a very superior quality; and is furnished by upwards of 350 wells, that have been cut through the solid rock, generally at the foot of the hills, to an average depth of 40 feet. The water generally remains stationary at the height of 20 feet, at all seasons. Strangers visiting Aden generally detect a slightly saline taste in the water, and find that it sometimes acts as a gentle aperient. Some attempts have been made to bore for water in the western bay, where the steamers take in coal; which Mr. Malcolmson thinks will ultimately be successful.

Mr. Malcolmson concludes his notice of Aden, by expressing his belief that, as a naval and military station, it will, at no distant period, be one of the most important posts in the East belonging to Great Britain.

Among the presents to the library, laid before the members at this meeting, was a thick folio volume, beautifully lithographed at Hyderabad, comprising a treatise, in Persian, on perspective, illustrated by numerous drawings and diagrams. The work is entirely the production of the Nuwab Shumsool Oomra, a learned Mahomedan attached to the Nizam's court; and it was presented to the society in his name, through Major J. A. Moore.

Dr. Hugh Falconer, A.M., F.R.S., late superintendent of the Hon. E. I. Company's Botanic Garden at Saharunpore, was unanimously elected a non-resident member of the society.

Another meeting was held on the 1st of March; the Earl of Auckland in the chair. Major-General William Morison, M.P., was elected a resident member of the society.

The Secretary read a letter from J. D. Campbell, Esq., presenting to the society a small package of Assam tea, the freshest that had ever reached this country. The letter stated that 190,000 lbs. of superior tea had been produced by the Assam Company in 1844; that the produce of 1845 is expected to reach 250,000 lbs., at a considerable reduction in the charges; and that there is every

reason to expect a great improvement in the quality and manufacture of the text.

Mr. Norris, assistant secretary to the society, read a paper to the meeting giving an account of the progress he had made in his examination of the Kapur-di-Ghari inscription, mentioned in our last report (p. 536). He stated that, having observed a certain combination of letters to be often repeated in the inscription, he applied the late Mr. J. Prinsep's interpretation of the Bactrian alphabet to it, and found that the combination read *Deva-Nampiya*; and as this word commenced the small separate tablet, engraved on the rock (seemingly as a title to the whole), he concluded it to be a proper name. With this clue, and aided in his researches by his friend, Mr. Dowson, he had succeeded in identifying the purport of the whole inscription with those religious proclamations found at Dhauli, in Cattack, and Girnar, in Guzerat, engraved on rocks by order of the Buddhist monarch, *Asoka*, in the third century before Christ. Mr. Prinsep's translations of these curious and interesting remains of Indian antiquity were printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1837; and the present discovery, though in a different character, and a dialect slightly varying from the former inscriptions, will doubtless clear up many doubtful readings in them, besides affording the means of fixing the powers of the Bactrian letters more completely than has hitherto been done; and thereby enabling many of the yet undeciphered coins to be read. Mr. Norris had carefully examined that portion of the inscription which contained the names of the western kings, and found that it clearly gave those of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, *Magas*, *Antigonus*, and *Alexander*. Some chronological difficulties here presented themselves, which he had not yet had time to investigate. He hoped soon to be able to prepare a copy of the whole inscription for publication in the society's Journal, together with a new alphabet of the character.

A carefully collated copy of the smaller tablet referred to was laid upon the table. It forms the seventh division of the Girnar rock, which reads thus, in Mr. Prinsep's translation:—

"The heaven-beloved King *PIYADASI* everywhere ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind. He is anxious that every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion, may shine forth blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity! Unto no one can be repentance and peace of mind until he hath attained supreme knowledge, perfect faith which surmounteth all obstacles, and perpetual assent."

We understand that the corresponding tablet in the Kapur-di-Ghari monument slightly differs in sense from the foregoing.

Mr. Norris's copy, on paper, of that portion of the Kapur-di-Ghari inscription taken on cloth by Mr. Masson, was exhibited in the Society's room. There was also unrolled, for comparison, a fac-simile of the Girnar rock inscription, made with great care and labour, by Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay, in 1838, subsequent to Mr. Prinsep's publication, and which that lamented scholar's ill health and departure from Calcutta had prevented him from using. Dr. Wilson, who happened to be present at the meeting, was much gratified at finding that the roll was in the safe keeping of the Society, as he had understood it had been sent to Calcutta.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Norris for the trouble he had taken in examining the inscription, and for the able method he had pursued in ascertaining the purport of its contents.

Before the close of the meeting, Dr. Wilson addressed the members present on the subject of the Himyaritic inscriptions, and stated that he had succeeded in finding a key to them.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE.

The Committee held a meeting on the 28th February, Beriah Hotfield, Esq., M.P., in the chair. Several sheets of a work prepared by the lamented chairman of the Committee, Sir Gore Ouseley, put to press a short time before his decease, were laid upon the table. This work will comprise biographical notices of some of the most eminent Persian writers, compiled principally from original sources. Forty sheets of the fourth volume of Professor Flügel's edition and translation of *Haji Khalfas Lexicon Encyclopaedicum et Bibliographicum*, were also submitted. A letter was read from Nathaniel Bland, Esq., offering for publication by the Committee a work on Persian poetical literature; and it was resolved to accept Mr. Bland's proposal. A letter was also read from the Rev. W. Cureton, proposing to translate for the Committee the "Book of Religious and Philosophic Sects" of Mahammed-Al-Sharistāni, the text of which is now being printed by the Oriental Text Society. The Committee likewise received an offer of a MS. translation, by Mr. Medhurst, from the Chinese, of an account of the Malayan Archipelago; the MS. was ordered to be referred to a sub-committee for examination.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

At the January monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a very valuable paper was read by Dr. Bird, the secretary of the Society, on the Hamaiyric and Ethiopic alphabets and inscriptions, from some of which latter the Rev. Mr. Forster pretends to have made out a fragment of patriarchal history; terminating his observations with this remarkable conclusion: "There is every moral presumption to favour the belief that, in the Ilken Ghorab inscriptions, we recover the alphabet of the world before the Flood;" but in which opinion he is neither borne out by paleography or philology. Dr. Bird's paper makes it appear that Mr. Forster, in place of reading the Hamaiyric inscriptions from right to left, should have read them from left to right, as in modern Ethiopic, to which the letters of the Hamaiyric have a striking and remarkable resemblance, and constitute the character called by the Arabs *Al Munad*, or the propped, from which modern Ethiopic took its origin, soon after the time of Frumentius, between A.D. 325 and 335; about which period the Abyssinians were converted to Christianity, and the Bible was soon afterwards translated into Ethiopic. The present article is about to be published in the October number of the Society's Journal; and in a previous article of the same number, Dr. Bird has translated the Hamaiyric inscriptions from Aden and Saba, proving them to be of Christian times. The whole subject of these papers is one of extreme interest, and will doubtless attract much attention from the literati of England and the Continent. It is a curious coincidence, that a similar class of speculations, perfectly in harmony with that of Dr. Bird, but entirely without his knowledge, have been entertained by a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* for December, as well as by Mr. Norris, deputy-secretary to the London Asiatic Society, — *Bombay Times*.

Debate at the East-India House.

East-India House, Feb. 26.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

A special Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was held this day, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on the subject of the differential duty on white clayed sugar.

The *Chairman* (Capt. Shepherd) stated, that the Court had been specially summoned, in conformity with the provisions of one of their by-laws, to consider the recently-proposed financial plan of her Majesty's Ministers with respect to the alteration of the sugar duties. He wished, on the part of the East-India Company, to express the sincerest gratitude for the general measure for the reduction of the duties on sugar. There could be no doubt that, as a general measure, it would be most beneficial, and it was, therefore, with sincere regret that he had to call the attention of the Court to a matter of detail which might, if not rectified, materially prejudice, if not wholly destroy, the effect of that equalisation of the duties which was made a few years ago. He referred to the proposition of an additional duty of 2s. 4d. per cwt. on certain qualities of sugar called "white clayed sugar," or such sugars as were rendered by any process equal to white clayed sugars. Now, a very large proportion of the sugars produced in the East Indies would be liable to this duty, by coming under the denomination of white clayed sugars. It was also known that, under the present system, the greatest portion of East-India sugar, from the peculiar process which it underwent, namely, the process of straining through wet grass, had that peculiar white colour which must bring it under the denomination of sugar "equal to white clayed." After some remarks upon the evils and inconvenience which had formerly been experienced in reference to a discriminating duty of this kind, the Chairman stated that the Court of Directors had written to the Earl of Ripon, President of the India Board, on the subject; and, although their representations had been patiently listened to, the Government shewed no disposition to relieve their grievance. The letter was as follows:—

" East-India House, Feb. 26.

" My Lord,—1. The attention of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company having been given to the proposed change in the law regarding the duties to be levied on sugars imported into this country, they are desirous of bringing to the notice of your Lordship, and of her Majesty's Ministers, the effect which they apprehend that change will have in regard to the sugar the produce of India.

" 2. By the last act passed for granting to her Majesty the duties on sugar (7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 28), 24s. per cwt. is to be levied on the produce of British possessions, including those within the limits of the East-India Company's charter, into which the importation of foreign sugar is prohibited, and this amount of duty is imposed without distinction upon all sugar of British origin not refined. In the resolution lately submitted to the House of Commons as the basis of a new act, the Court regret to observe the introduction of a variation calculated to operate to the discouragement of the cultivation in British India. They refer to the distinction made between 'white clayed sugar, or sugar rendered by any process equal to white clayed, and brown sugar, being Muscovado or clayed, or any other sugar not being equal to white clayed,'

the former class of sugars being charged with a duty of 2s. 4d. in excess of that charged upon the latter. The sugar of India will, for the most part, be subjected to the higher rate of duty, and, the Court submit, unfairly. Mere colour is, as is well known, a very inadequate test of quality,—grain and strength being important elements in estimating the value of the article; and the Court cannot refrain from pointing out, that the grievances with which they conceive India to be threatened will be increased by the fact, that what is called 'brown sugar,' though clayed, is to be admitted at the lower rate of duty, while the sugar of India, if deemed on inspection equal to white clayed, will be chargeable with the higher.

"3. The Court are fully sensible of the advantages which the large reduction of duty contemplated will confer upon those British possessions which engage in the production of sugar; but they submit that the people of India should not, in any degree, be deprived of a fair participation in those advantages, and be placed, by comparison with their fellow-subjects elsewhere, in a worse condition than they are at present.

"4. The objection to the proposed change, so far as it tends to introduce inequality where equality previously existed, rests upon the broad ground of justice; but the Court are satisfied that, should the discriminating duties in question be established, their enforcement will be attended with practical difficulties, which would tend alike to derange the operations of trade, and to embarrass the officers of customs. Merchants would, in many cases, feel uncertain as to the class in which their sugars would be placed, and those whose duty it would be to classify them would be unable to discharge that duty in a satisfactory manner.

"5. The views of the Court are confirmed by experience. A distinction similar to that now proposed formerly existed, and was relinquished. The same difficulties which formerly prevented its working will always recur, and no amount of benefit to the revenue likely to accrue from the imposition of a higher duty in certain cases can compensate for the evils with which the distinction would inevitably be attended.

"6. The duties upon Muscovado and clayed sugars were not equalised without full consideration, and the results which have followed attest the prudence of the equalisation. The effect has been to give a stimulus to the production of sugar, not only in increased quantity, but of greatly-improved quality; but it cannot be doubted that the course of improvement thus commenced will be seriously checked and impeded by a return to a system which (if the Court are correctly informed) was abandoned from experience of its mischievous consequences.

"7. That India should struggle successfully against the effects of a measure so discouraging to the production of one of the staple articles of her commerce is scarcely to be hoped. India now consumes of the manufactures of Great Britain an amount represented by 6,000,000*l.* sterling. How is this demand to be continued, if one of the principal commodities with which payment is to be made be subjected to a burden from which the produce of other British possessions will be exempt? India will in this respect not suffer alone, for the interest of the British manufacturer will decline in proportion as the agriculture of India is discouraged. Independently of this circumstance, India has a claim upon the Government of Great Britain, which no other dependency of the British crown possesses to an equal extent, in the large amount required to be remitted annually to make the home payment. To throw in the way of its

trade an additional impediment, will be equivalent to an increase in the demand upon its resources, which it has ever been the just and wise policy of the home authorities to reduce as far as practicable.

"8. With reference to these circumstances, the Court entertain a hope that, upon reconsideration, her Majesty's Ministers may see fit to abandon a distinction, the maintenance of which will be attended with so much evil to the interests of the people of India, and with so much vexation to those engaged in the sugar trade generally.

"We have, &c.

"JOHN SHEPHERD.

"HENRY WILLOCK.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Ripon, &c."

The *Chairman* proceeded to say, that he should propose a petition to the House of Commons, which, if adopted, they should request Mr. Astell to present, and call upon Mr. Hogg, who already had a motion upon the paper on the subject, to support its prayer. Sir Robert Peel and the Ministers must be well aware of the claims of India upon the consideration of this country. India paid to the mother country, in the shape of home charges, what must be considered the annual tribute of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and daily poured into the lap of the mother country a continual stream of wealth in the shape of private fortunes. He thought, therefore, that a feeling of gratitude, justice, and liberality would induce the Ministers to deal generously with their interests. He concluded by moving the following petition:—

"To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the East-India Company sheweth,—

"That your petitioners learn with extreme regret and apprehension that a proposal for changing the mode of levying the duty upon sugar the produce of British possessions has been brought before your hon. House, which, if permitted to acquire the authority of law, cannot fail to operate most injuriously upon the interests of the people of India.

"All sugar the produce of British possessions, and not refined, is now subject to one amount of duty. It is proposed to effect a considerable reduction in that amount, and for this change your petitioners would feel deeply grateful were the people of India to be admitted to the full measure of the benefit. But of this they will be deprived, should the sanction of Parliament be extended to so much of the proposed scale of discriminating duties as subjects white clayed sugar, and sugar which by any process has been rendered equal to white clayed, to a charge of 2*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. beyond the amount proposed to be levied on brown sugar, being Muscovado or clayed, and all other sugars not being equal to white clayed. The greater part of the sugar of India will fall under the denomination of 'equal to white clayed,' and will consequently be subject to the higher rate of duty, while by far the largest portion of the produce of other British possessions will be liable only to the lower rate of duty. A distinction will thus virtually be made to the prejudice of India; its produce will, to a certain extent, be treated as foreign, and will be precluded from entering the markets of the United Kingdom in fair competition with that of other dependencies of the British Crown.

"Your petitioners respectfully submit to the consideration of your honourable House, that the proposed differential duty is not justified by any corresponding difference in the quality of the commodity to which it is to apply. *Mere colour*

is no test of the quality of sugar, as is well known to all engaged in its production and sale. Strength and grain are the chief qualities which confer superiority, and in these respects the sugar of India does not excel.

"Your petitioners humbly submit that her Majesty's subjects in British India should, in ordinary justice, be placed in a situation of perfect equality in respect of privileges of trade with their fellow-subjects elsewhere; that the peculiar circumstances of their situation even entitle them to peculiar indulgence, inasmuch as large remittances from India to this country are annually made to meet home charges of various kinds. These remittances must be provided for; and, if cultivation in India be discouraged, and the trade of that country be embarrassed by the imposition of burdens not affecting those with which its agriculturists and merchants have to compete, the people of India will have reason to complain. The distance from Great Britain, and various local circumstances, place India in a position of some disadvantage as compared with other British settlements. Your petitioners do not advert to this as a reason for granting to India any extraordinary indulgence, but they do rely upon it as an argument against subjecting it to any extraordinary discouragement.

"In addition to the other claims to consideration, the people of India are large and increasing consumers of British manufactures. But their capacity for thus consuming will be diminished in proportion to the disadvantages to which they may be subjected in providing the means of payment. Sugar is one of the staple commodities, and its cultivation might by due encouragement be greatly extended; but, if the principle of a discriminating duty disadvantageous to India be adopted, your petitioners apprehend that cultivation relatively with that in the West Indies will be seriously diminished. Such a result would be not less injurious to the British manufacturer than to the Indian cultivator.

"Your petitioners beg further to represent, that, on general principles, the proposed discriminating duty is impolitic, as its tendency is to check the production of the better class of sugars, and to encourage the production of those of coarse and inferior appearance; and, lastly, that the practical difficulties of such an arrangement will be altogether insurmountable—that uncertainty, dissatisfaction, disputes, and in many cases gross injustice, will inevitably result from the attempt to discriminate where no fixed and trustworthy rules of judgment can be laid down. Your petitioners desire to remind your hon. House that such an attempt has previously been made, and abandoned, as your petitioners believe, from experience of its futility; and that in regard, not to sugar only, but to other articles, it has been found expedient to impose one rate of duty upon all descriptions, in order to avoid the inconveniences and vexations which are inseparable from the contrary course.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that your hon. House will be pleased to withhold your authority from the grant of such discriminating duty in the case of sugar, and to subject all sugar the produce of British possessions into which the importation of foreign sugar is forbidden (not being refined) to an uniform duty of 14s. per cwt.; and thus extend to the people of India the benefit to be derived from the large and liberal reduction proposed to be made from the amount of the existing duty.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

The *Chairman* then moved, that the company's seal be affixed to it, and that Mr. Astell be requested to present it to the House of Commons.

The *Deputy Chairman* (Sir Henry Willock) seconded the motion.

Mr. *Fisher* said a few words in support of it.

Mr. Wooding also approved of it. He thought it of extreme importance that the poorer classes should have an opportunity of purchasing a good article at a low price.

The motion having been carried,

Mr. Astell said he should have great pleasure in presenting the petition. After the statements they had heard read, it was unnecessary for him to trouble them with any remarks on the subject. He could assure them that the directors, whether in or out of Parliament, were at all times fully alive to the interests of the proprietors. The hon. member for Beverley had given notice of a motion on the subject, and which would very shortly be brought forward.

Mr. Twining congratulated the Court on having placed a petition of such importance in the hands of a gentleman who had so frequently and so ably advocated their interests in his place in Parliament. He highly approved of the petition, and confidently trusted that the prayer of it would be granted.

The Court then adjourned.

March 19.

A Quarterly General Court of the Proprietors of East-India Stock was held, at which a proprietor had given notice of his intention to call the attention of the Court to the following papers respecting the case of the ex-Rajah of Sattara :—

Papers relating to the commission of inquiry held at Sattara in October, 1836, printed in conformity with a resolution of a General Court on the 21st of December, 1842.

Papers ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th of August, 1844.

SUGAR DUTIES.

The *Chairman* (Capt. Shepherd) acquainted the Court that the Company's seal had been affixed to the petition to the House of Commons, agreed to at the last General Court, relative to the discriminating duties on sugar, and that the petition had been presented to the house by Mr. Astell; and he had the gratification of stating, that the House of Commons had modified its resolution on that subject, so as to embrace, to some extent at least, the object the Court had in view in presenting that petition, and the increased duties would, in future, be regulated by the quality as well as the colour. That was of importance; and, although they had not gained all they sought, they had gained something.

THE RAJAH OF SATTARA.

Mr. G. Thompson then rose to bring forward his promised motion relative to the case of the Rajah of Sattara. He said he had brought with him all the papers mentioned in his notice of motion, from which it was his intention to read certain extracts for the information of the proprietors, commenting upon them as he proceeded, and to conclude with a motion on the subject. Some of those papers deeply affected the honour and veracity of one of the public servants of the Company, who was now on his way to this country. That officer was accused of having given false testimony in the proceedings which had led to the dethronement of the Rajah of Sattara. The papers also had reference to the confiscation of the private property of the Rajah, in violation of the written pledge which had been given to the contrary. The papers extended over a period from 1820 to 1842. They had been furnished piecemeal, but had since been put in proper form. It would be quite impossible for any one fully to understand the case of the late Rajah of Sattara without bestowing

the time and trouble necessary to enable him to master the contents of those papers; but every one who read them carefully would be, he was sure, fully convinced thereby that the Rajah was not guilty of any one of the charges that had been brought against him, and that, on the contrary, he had been made the victim of plots of the most abominable description, got up by certain friends of the British Government, and who he yet hoped would meet with that punishment which their infamous conduct most justly merited. On a former occasion, when this question was before the Court, the proprietors were told that they were incapable of forming an opinion on the subject, as they had not the whole of the documents before them, and had only heard one side of the case. Such was not the case now. The papers on both sides had been printed. The hon. proprietor here briefly reviewed the former proceedings of the Court with reference to this case, and then said, that although he, and the friends who acted with him, had often been defeated on this question, still they felt that the principles which they advocated would outlive the malice of the enemies of the Rajah, and by unremitting perseverance they did not despair of seeing something like justice done to the Rajah even at the eleventh hour, although they were aware that no adequate compensation could be made to him for the loss and injury which he had sustained. He (Mr. Thompson) had devoted several months to the investigation of the whole case of the Rajah. In so doing he had acted from the most pure and disinterested motives, his sole anxiety being to elicit the truth, and to forward the ends of justice. The result of that investigation was, that he was convinced of the entire innocence of the Rajah, and he had also obtained some insight into the nature and extent of the plots by which he had been dethroned. He was convinced that there was no ground even for suspicion that the Rajah had been guilty of the offences imputed to him; and now that all the evidence was before the proprietors, he trusted that they would be induced to reconsider the matter. If they did so, he was prepared to move that the report of the commissioners was not warranted by the evidence before them. He had to complain that, when this subject was formerly before the Court, the chairman, in contravention of those rules by which all public meetings ought to be governed, had moved an adjournment of the Court in order to stifle all inquiry, and that that motion was carried.

Mr. Fielder.—Why the debate was kept up until two o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Thompson.—That was on the question of adjournment, not on the merits of the case. He would admit that he made a very long speech on that occasion; but the proprietors who remained in Court did not do so in order to hear his arguments, but for the purpose of voting against him.

The *Chairman* said, he was sure the hon. proprietor did not wish to give any false colouring to the facts by the statement which he was making, but he must surely know that there did not exist on the part of the Court any wish to strangle a full discussion of the present question. On the contrary, it had, on one occasion, in July, 1811, occupied the Court no less than five days.

Mr. Thompson would repeat, that there had been a most reprehensible attempt to strangle the discussion of the question.

Mr. Weeding rose to order. The assertion was totally unfounded. True it was, that the discussion took place on the motion for an adjournment, but the hon. proprietor was allowed, and he availed himself of the permission, to go into the whole case. He was now fighting for straws.

Mr. Thompson said, that no attempt had been made to refute the statements which he made on that occasion. He then read extracts from some of the papers mentioned in his notice, when

Mr. Fielder rose to order, and asked if the Court was to have all those papers read over again,—the papers which had been read to them a dozen times at least?

Mr. Thompson said he had spoken in that Court too often and too long to be put down by such interruptions. He would advise the person who so interrupted him not to provoke him, or he could assure him he would not let him off so easily as he might expect. He would not say less, or quote one document less, for any thing that hon. proprietor might assert. He then read some extracts from the papers mentioned, and made some severe remarks on the conduct of Colonel Ovens, imputing perjury to that officer.

Mr. Fielder.—Every charge you ever brought against Colonel Ovens has been completely disproved, and treated with merited contempt.

Mr. Thompson, addressing the hon. proprietor in a very marked manner, said, "Be wise, Sir." He then continued his strictures upon Colonel Ovens, and said he should be glad of an opportunity of proving, in a court of justice, the truth of the charges which he had brought against him. He next alluded to the remarks that had lately been made in this country on the conduct of the Secretary of State in opening certain letters, and said that the practice, although so strongly condemned here, was quite common in India, and had been repeatedly resorted to in the case of the Rajah. The hon. proprietor proceeded at considerable length, and concluded by moving, that certain papers should be printed.

The Chairman.—It is greatly to be regretted that the hon. proprietor should have thought it fit to cast upon an absent party so serious a charge as that of perjury; more particularly as the gallant officer thus assailed (Colonel Ovens) is on his way to this country, and will very shortly be in a position to meet the charge personally, should the opportunity be afforded him. Under these circumstances, I cannot but regard the course which has been pursued as marked both by bad taste and bad feeling. With regard to the merits of the case of the Rajah, whatever they may be, it can scarcely be said that they have not been sufficiently sifted, or that any expectation can now be entertained of throwing much new light upon the subject. The subject has been discussed in this Court, I believe, sixteen times; and I can see no good, but, on the contrary, much of evil, from again bringing it forward here. The course which I took when the claims of the Rajah were formerly under discussion has been adverted to by the hon. proprietor. I did entertain an opinion that the Rajah had been hardly dealt with; and I did not shrink from enforcing it at all times where, by so doing, I could hope to produce any good effect. But is the agitation of disputed questions never to come to an end? So long as a minority remain unconvinced and dissatisfied, are they pertinaciously to put forward their particular views without probability of success, and to the suspension, or at least to the serious hindrance, of all other business? I say the hon. proprietor's conduct is ill-judged; and in saying this I speak with especial reference to the interests of the Rajah himself. No benefit can possibly accrue by reviving the subject here. The case is about to be brought before parliament by Mr. Hume. Will it be any recommendation of the Rajah's case there to say that it has been fifteen or sixteen times before this Court, and that the decision has always been adverse to the Rajah?

By multiplying the number of defeats in this Court, the hon. proprietor is, in fact, preparing the way for the defeat of the Rajah's cause in parliament. There is no friendship—no discreet and judicious exercise of friendly feeling in such a course as this. The hon. proprietor has complained of the mode in which the collection of published papers was made. The Court of Directors are not accountable for the defects of that collection—it was not made under their direction, and it is to be lamented that it was not more complete. With regard to the papers now moved for, the hon. mover seems scarcely to desire that they should be printed by order of the Court; and, perhaps, he will be satisfied if they are rendered accessible to such proprietors as wish to peruse them. As to the general question, taking the view which I have avowed, it will not be expected that I should enter into it. I think it a subject of regret that it should have been brought forward, and I think it a subject of just reprehension that the motion of the hon. proprietor should have been used as the means of assailing a high public servant, who is not now here to defend himself, though in a very short period he will be in this country. Surely a little delay might have been conceded, and I do not hesitate to say that the denial of it is neither generous nor just. I shall conclude by requesting attention to a despatch addressed by the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay, which will now be read.

The clerk read the following political despatch to Bombay, dated May 30, 1843:—

"Your political letter, dated the 30th of September, 1842, transmits to us a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Ovens, submitting observations and affidavits in refutation of the accusations against his honour and character contained in certain papers read in the Court of Proprietors at this house on the 20th of July, 1842. Your letter of the same date further communicates to us papers which you have received from Mr. Willoughby and Lieut.-Colonel Ovens, in reference to the letter of Major-General Lodwick to our chairman, dated June 13, 1842, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors. You express your opinion that Lieut.-Colonel Ovens and Mr. Willoughby are entitled to whatever protection we can with propriety afford to them against attacks upon their character similar to those of which they complain; and, in the case of Major-General Lodwick, you further suggest, that 'such means should be used for compelling him to bring the questions to a fair and open issue as his position in our service leaves it in our power to employ.'

"We have felt it our duty to address a letter to Major-General Lodwick (copy of which is inclosed) on the subject of a passage in his letter to our chairman, which might be construed as imputing to Lieut.-Colonel Ovens the crime of suborning evidence. The answer of Major-General Lodwick (copy of which we also transmit) was not such as we could have received as a satisfactory disavowal of the supposed meaning; but, within a few days following, Major-General Lodwick, in the Court of Proprietors, publicly and distinctly disclaimed having imputed, or intended to impute, subornation of evidence to Lieut.-Colonel Ovens. We have, therefore, thought it unnecessary to continue the correspondence with Major-General Lodwick.

"We feel it due to Lieut.-Colonel Ovens and Mr. Willoughby to record our opinion that the investigation and discussions which have taken place have left not the slightest stain on their characters, public or private, nor have tended in any way to lower the reputation they had justly acquired by their previous public services."

After some remarks by Mr. Fielder and Mr. Weeding, Mr. Thompson withdrew his motion for the present.

MUTINEERS IN THE 6TH MADRAS LIGHT CAVALRY.

Mr. Serj. Gaseles inquired whether the Directors could afford the Court any information respecting two native soldiers of the 6th Madras Light Cavalry, who had been tried and executed as mutineers nine months after the offence imputed to them.*

The Chairman and Sir J. L. Lushington said the course pursued was perfectly legal, and observed that the most mischievous results might take place if discussions were entered into upon such subjects. The latter said that the men, whose punishment had been commuted for transportation, admitted their guilt.

Mr. Twining concurred in these remarks, and the subject dropped.

CAPTAIN CONOLLY.

Mr. Weeding said, he had no doubt that all present were aware that Captain Conolly was in the service of the East-India Company when he was imprisoned and murdered at Bokhara, and he wished that some testimonial should be granted, either pecuniary or otherwise, to the near relatives of the deceased, if required.

Sir Jeremiah Bryant said that Captain Conolly certainly died, as well as Colonel Stoddart, in the service of the East-India Company, but that it would be advisable to wait for particulars until the return of Dr. Wolff.

Mr. Weeding assented, and the Court adjourned.

* The circumstances of this case may be seen in our Review, No. xvi., p. 345. We may add the following remarks upon this subject from a known correspondent in India, upon whose impartiality we can fully rely:—"I hope the energy and judgment displayed by our chief will not go unrewarded. He had the good sense to follow the sound advice of his assistants, and his praise ought to be sounded."

Chronicle.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, on the 17th March, the following occurrence took place:—

On the motion of Lord Campbell, the House went into committee on the Deodands' Abolition Bill. The Earl of Ellenborough objected to certain words in the Bill, which he thought unnecessary. Lord Campbell said the Bill was very short; it consisted only of two clauses. The Lord Chancellor.—"But the second clause is sufficient." Lord Campbell.—"At any rate, the objection does not come very well from the noble earl, who certainly had dealt in unnecessary words, if certain instruments that came from India, and which were imputed to him, were actually of his composition; but many persons in this country doubted whether they were not altogether an imposition, and not from the Governor-General of India." The Earl of Ellenborough.—"My lords, I am glad the noble and learned lord has referred to my conduct in India. I am here to answer him or any man as to my conduct in that country, and I now wish to hear said in my presence that which has been stated in my absence." (Hear, hear!) Lord Campbell.—"I beg to assure the noble lord that, in the observations I made, I had not the most distant idea of making any reflection upon him (hear!); but I will merely say, if the noble earl is contented with things as they remain, so am I." The Earl of Ellenborough.—"I beg to give

the noble and learned lord a piece of advice, which I believe was once given by Lord Chatham, in the House of Commons, to some member of that House who had chosen to arraign his conduct,—that the next time he meant nothing, he had better say nothing." (*Hear !*) *Lord Brougham*.—"I hope this will go no further (*hear, hear !*); except that, as my noble friend, who was absent on a former occasion, says, as I myself know, that nothing will ever give him more satisfaction than to hear himself openly attacked in his presence, for he is ready to defend himself. I must add this, that, as often as any thing was said in impeachment of his conduct in his absence, he was zealously, and fully, and anxiously defended (*hear, hear !*); he was successfully and ably defended by my noble friend, the gallant duke, and he was zealously—though, God knows, not ably, but I believe successfully—defended by the individual who now addresses your lordships." (*Hear, hear !*) *The Earl of Ellenborough*.—"I know the whole debt of gratitude I owe to the noble duke upon this as upon other subjects; but I cannot venture to speak of this subject."

The matter then dropped, and the Bill passed through committee.

On the 10th March, when their Lordships sat to hear appeals, the case of "Fergusson and others v M'Innes and others" was called on, which was an appeal from Scotland. The case owes its origin to a family dispute with respect to certain bequests and legacies of considerable value, contained in the will of Lieut.-Colonel Macalister, who was governor of Prince of Wales' Island. He was of an ancient family of very great respectability in the county of Argyle, being the same from which the chief of their clan was descended. He quitted Scotland in early life, in the military profession, and afterwards obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and ultimately became governor of the island mentioned. He, however, never lost his original domicile of Scotland, nor formed any other, *animo remanendi*, beyond the term of his military duty and government, abroad. Long before his death, he was making provision for his retirement to his native country, at the termination of his foreign service, by acquiring a landed estate in Argyleshire, in the neighbourhood of the mansions of his kindred and near relations. In August, 1810, he was lost at sea on his way home, *vid* China. The ship on which he was on board, it is believed, foundered at sea, and all the crew and passengers perished. An amicable arrangement having been made, the particular circumstances of the case were not entered into; a petition for leave to withdraw the appeal was presented, to which the House consented.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Amongst the presentations at her Majesty's levees during the past month were the following:—

March 5th.—Viscount Jocelyn, on appointment as secretary to the Board of Control.

Colonel Monteath, C.B., Bengal army, on being appointed aide-de-camp to her Majesty and colonel in the army.

Colonel Sir J. H. Schoedde, K.C.B., 35th Foot, on appointment as aide-de-camp to her Majesty and on return from China.

Major J. B. Jervis, to present his plan of the city of Peking.

Lieutenant James Money, Bengal Artillery.

Mr. Grenville Mansel, on his return from India.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird, on his return from India.

Dr. Shanks, on return from China and promotion to the staff.

The Rev. J. Wenham, chaplain of Ceylon, on return home.

Lieutenant G. H. Hunt, 87th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonels Lukard and Montgomery, and Captain Mitchell, on their return from India.

Lieutenant-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, on his return from the command-in-chief in India.

Colonel Townsend, on his arrival from India.

Lieutenant-Colonels Trevor, on appointment, and Cureton, on appointment and return from India.

Commanders F. H. Glasse, on return from foreign service, and T. H. Mason, on promotion and return from China.

Lieutenant-Colonels G. Everest and Sir C. Wade, Major-General Montalith, and Major T. Wilkinson, on return from India.

Captain Brooke, and Lieutenant H. T. Butler, on return from China.

Captain J. M. Martin, on return from India.

March 12th.—Sir H. Pottinger, on his return from China.

Dr. R. B. Owen, on return from India.

Mr. John Nicolay de Vries, on his return from China and promotion.

Captain Toup Nicolas, C.B., late of her Majesty's ship *Vindictive*, on his return from the Pacific.

Captain Hon. Henry Keppel, R.N., on his return from the East Indies.

Captain Peter Richards, R.N., on return from China, nomination as companion of the Bath, and appointment to H.M.'s ship *Hibernia*.

Mr. George Bacon, Lieutenant Roche, Lieutenant John W. Thomas, Lieutenant Hodson, Lieutenant G. A. F. Hervey, Lieutenant Folliott Powell, Captain R. W. Fraser, Captain E. S. Blake, and Captain Pender, on their return from India.

Captain G. St. Patrick Lawrence, on release from captivity in Afghanistan.

Captain Leckie, Captain Garstin, Major H. B. Henderson, and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, on their return from India.

Major Alcock, on his promotion and return from Ceylon.

Captain William St. Clair, on his return from India.

Captains M'Quin and H. Kellett, on their return from China.

Captains J. Penny, R. H. Wardwell, Amiel, Lieutenant C. M'Callum, W. Southey, and Mr. J. Palsgrave, on their return from India.

Commander James Stoddart, on his promotion and return from China.

Lieutenant-Colonel Daly, on his promotion and return from India.

Captains Unett, Macartney, Lieutenant Todd, and Cornet Power, on their return from India.

Commander James Fitzjames, on return from service in China, and appointment to the Arctic expedition.

Mr. Hume presented to her Majesty a petition under the seal and sign manual of his Highness Pertaub Shean, the deposed Rajah of Sattara, and the legal descendant of the Great Seevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire. The Rajah prays her Majesty to be graciously pleased to extend to him that protection which he has a right to expect from the honour and justice of the British Government, viz. that he may be furnished with a copy of the charges and the evidence against him, which he has demanded, and which have hitherto been refused him, but on which he has, without a trial or even a hearing, which the meanest of her Majesty's subjects has a right to demand, been deposed from his throne, and now remains an exile and a prisoner at Benares.

The Queen has appointed (March 17) John Pope, Esq., to be Clerk of the Works and Civil Engineer for the Island of Hong Kong.

Some Scindian Chiefs—in all, with their suite, twelve persons—have arrived in this country as an embassy from the ex-Emperors of Scinde, to endeavour to effect an arrangement with the British Government, to obtain the release of their Princes, and the restoration of their country.

It is understood that the Dutch Government are proposing to establish a line of steamers between Singapore and Batavia to carry the overland mails, and for the conveyance of Dutch passengers.

Dr. Wolff, in a letter from Erzerroom, dated 17th January, says:—"As long as that horrid fellow Abd-ool Samet Khan is at Bokhara, nothing will be of any use. Every Englishman's fate is sealed—he must die. The following persons have been murdered at Bokhara:—1. Lieut. Wyburd, of the Indian navy; 2. Lieut. Colonel Stoddart; 3. Captain Conolly; 4. One whom they call Freshaw; 5. A German; 6. Il Cavaliere Nseill; 7. Five Englishmen, outside Ichaar-Joo; 8. A Turcoman, who came to Bokhara to attempt the escape of Colonel Stoddart; 9. Ephraim, a Jew, from Meshed, who was sent to Bokhara, to make inquiries about Captain Conolly; 10. A Turkish officer. I made the whole journey from Bokhara to Meshed on horseback, with a rupture got at Bokhara, and without a bandage; also from Meshed to Teheran, ether 600 miles; and from Teheran to Tabris, 380 miles. At Tabris I was taken ill with a bilious fever, which detained me fifteen days. The Russian consul at Tabris made me a present of a tuckrawan (litter), which conveyed me to Awajick, 160 miles; but from this place to Erzerroom, the mountains covered with snow, and the horrid precipices, prevented the passage of a tuckrawan, and I was obliged to travel 300 miles, under continual agonies, and at night eaten up by lice and fleas. At Hassan Kaleh, great was my joy at finding a tuckrawan, belonging to the Pasha of Erzerroom, which was sent on through the kindness of our good, benevolent, excellent, kind-hearted, and dear Colonel Williams, whose equal is scarcely to be found in this world. At nine miles from Erzerroom, Colonel Williams came himself to meet me. I was in such a distressed state, that I was taken at once to a Turkish bath, and was supplied with fresh clothing, and I was obliged to use mercury five days before I could get rid of the troublesome parasites, and I was then so debilitated that I could not stand upon my legs."

Dr. Wolff had arrived at Constantinople, as well as an ambassador from the Khan of Bokhara to the Queen of England; but the *German Universal Gazette* says, that the British ambassador had formally refused to grant any passport to the ambassador from the Khan of Bokhara for England, as the Queen would not receive him at her court.

The Earl of Ellenborough has ordered the making of a sword which he is about to present to Sir C. Napier, G. C. B., Governor of Scinde, as a testimony of the high respect in which he holds the character of that gallant officer. The blade, which is of the finest Damascus steel, is double-edged. The handle and hilt are of gold, wrought with devices and legends. The legends are thus—"Edward, Earl of Ellenborough, to Major-General Sir C. J. Napier, Governor of Scinde."—"Mannoe—Hydrabad." The motto of the Major-General also appears in embossed characters, "Ready, eye ready." The whole weapon resembles the swords of the Knights Templar. The sheath and belt, &c., are crimson, embroidered in gold.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

Feb. 25. At Chelsea, the lady of Major John Ward, late of the Madras army, daughter.

March 10. At Westbourne-terrace, Hyde-park-gardens, the wife of Charles Lyall, Esq., son.

— At 8, Leadenhall-street, Mrs. Madden, daughter.

11. At Terlings-park, Herts, the lady of J. T. Rivaz, Esq., Bengal civil service, son.

18. The lady of Edward Peters, Esq., Madras civil service, daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 27. At St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, Mr. Tracy, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to Fanny Dora Russell, only daughter of the late Captain Outlaw, 3rd regiment of Madras Cavalry.

March 11. At Christ Church, Streatham, Frederick Thomas Patterson, Esq., 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, to Mary, second daughter of Henry Wooler, Esq. (late of Bombay), of Upper Tulse-hill, Brixton, Surrey.

— At Moray-place, Edinburgh, Wm. Thompson, Esq., merchant, in China, to Miss Margaret Cuninghame Campbell, youngest daughter of the late Major James Campbell, of Walton-park.

12. At Brighton, Capt. Rawson John Crozier, 26th regt. Bombay N.I. (second son of R. B. Crozier, Esq., West-hill, Freshwater, Isle of Wight), to Emily Jane, eldest daughter of John Brightman, Esq., Regency-square, Brighton.

13. At St. Giles's, Camberwell, Robert Jaques, Esq., formerly of the Hon. E.I.Co.'s maritime service, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Wm. Pettit, Esq., of Mount Bures-hall, Essex.

14. At Regent-terrace, Edinburgh, Lieut.-Colonel Cavaye, 6th Bombay N.I., to Isabella Jane, eldest daughter of the late Major T. F. Hutchinson, Bengal army.

20. At St. Bride's Church, Liverpool, M. Rogers, Esq., late of the Bombay army, to Harriette, second daughter of Mr. Edward Willmer, of Liverpool.

DEATHS.

Dec. 30. At the British Consulate, Tabreez, Elizabeth Anna, wife of Edward W. Bonham, Esq., and daughter of Sir H. Floyd, Bart., aged 21.

Jan. 18. At Hastings, Jane, wife of Robert M. Bird, Esq., of Taplow-hill, Bucks, and late of the E.I.Co.'s civil service.

Feb. 1. At the Crescent, St. Helier's, Jersey, Lieut. Col. R. Gordon, late 23rd Light Dragoons, aged 84, deeply lamented by his afflicted family. This venerable officer commanded his regiment throughout the campaign in Egypt under General Sir Ralph Abercromby.

18. At Dunsborough-house, Marianna Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Major G. W. Onslow, of the Indian army, aged 11.

23. At Cheltenham, Elizabeth, widow of Major-General William Comyn, Bengal army, in her 62nd year.

27. Louisa Spilsbury, daughter of the late George Strafford, Esq., of Calcutta, in her 23rd year.

March 1. At Islington, in his 55th year, Mr. Vincent Rice, formerly of the East-India House, eldest son of the late Rev. Bernard Rice, vicar of Alderminster, near Stratford-on-Avon.

2. At his residence in London, John Russel, Esq., aged 56, formerly of Pubna, in Bengal, and of Bengartree House, Leslie, Fife, North Britain.

— At Hersham, Surrey, Colonel Strickland Gough Kingston, H.E.I.Co.'s service, aged 90.

3. At Beaver's-bush, in the county of Hertford, Jane, daughter of the late Robert Dyneley, Esq.

6. At New-street, Covent-garden, aged 64, M. Nugent, Esq., for many years one of the Parliamentary reporters of *The Times*. The zeal, fidelity, and abi-

lity with which, through more than a quarter of a century, Mr. Nugent devoted his varied talents and acquirements to the service of that journal, most justly secured for him the respect and confidence of its conductors; while in private life his manly, frank, and generous qualities deservedly endearred him to his colleagues and a numerous acquaintance, by one and all of whom his memory will be long cherished.—[Mr. Nugent was the able and impartial reporter of the Debates at the East-India House published in the *Asiatic Journal*. A long acquaintance with him enables us to bear testimony to the truth of the foregoing tribute to his character.—Ed. A.J.]

March 7. At Hanover-terrace, Regent's-park, Emily Jane, second daughter of Henry Young, Esq., of the Bombay civil service, aged 5.

9. At Brighton, George King, Esq., late of the E. I. Co.'s Bengal medical establishment, aged 62.

10. At Great Marlow, John Broome, Esq., late of Calcutta, which city he left and returned to Europe in 1807, aged 88.

13. At Hamilton-terrace, St. John's-wood, in her 79th year, Elizabeth, relict of Robert Grant, Bengal civil service.

18. In London, Robert Barlow, Esq., of Holybourn, near Alton, Hants, late of the E. I. Co.'s civil service, Bengal establishment, aged 56.

Lately. At Cadogan-place, Major-General William Roome, late of the E. I. Co.'s service.

— At Fir-grove, Farnham, Surrey, in the 12th year of his age, George Henry Barlow, eldest son of Robert Barlow, Esq., of the E. I. Co.'s civil service in Bengal.

SHIPPING.

ARRIVALS.

FEB. 26. *Marquis of Bute*, China, Brighton; *Tanjore*, Bengal, Downs; *Rockliffe*, Ceylon, Downs; *Marchioness of Douro*, China, Dover; *Henry Curwen*, Mauritius, Cork.—27. *John Bibby*, China, off Dungeness; *Ellen*, China, Downs; *Jane Blane*, Penang, Downs; *Taphin*, China, Downs; *Etna*, Bengal, Downs; *Mercury*, China, Downs; *Robin Grey*, Mauritius, Downs; *Persia*, China, Isle of Wight; *John Dugdale*, China, Liverpool.—28. *Maid*, China; *Nelson*, Bombay, Downs.—MAR. 1. *Washington*, Mauritius, Isle of Wight.—3. *Circassian*, China, Dublin; *United Kingdom*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Peru*, Madras, Liverpool.—6. *Thetis*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *Oriza*, China, Liverpool.—7. *Eleanor*, Mauritius, Brighton; *Daniel Grant*, Bengal, Liverpool.—8. *Cookson*, Mauritius, Plymouth; *Heroine*, Singapore, Liverpool; *Token*, Bengal, Dartmouth; *Minstrel*, Bengal, Portland.—19. *Arabia*, Ceylon, Scilly; *William Gales*, Mauritius, Scilly; *Cleopatra*, China, Scilly.—22. *Montrose*, Bombay, Liverpool; *Uruguay*, China, Liverpool; *Emma*, Bengal, Folkestone; *Duchess of Buccleugh*, China, Falmouth; *Roding*, Bengal, Falmouth; *Mary*, Mauritius, Cork.—24. *Europe*, Batavia, Dover; *Paragon*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Bilton*, Bengal, Downs; *Alexander*, China, Downs; *George*, Java, Downs; *Dora*, Bengal, Downs; *Grange*, Ceylon, Downs; *Perseverance*, Mauritius, Downs; *Union*, Mauritius, Downs; *Robert Stride*, Bengal, Margate; *Bethoven*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Zuleika*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Lawrence*, Manila, Liverpool; *William*, Moulmein, Falmouth; *Bolivar*, Bengal, Bristol; *Veronica*, Batavia, Portland.—25. *Seringapatam* and *Thomas Sparkes*, Bengal, Downs; *Fleetwood*, Mauritius, Hastings; *Cambria*, Madras, Hastings; *Parsee*, Bengal, Downs; *George Fife*, Bengal, Downs; *Isabella Cooper*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Lord Stanley*, Bombay, Liverpool; *George Armstrong*, Bengal, Downs; *Cassiopea*, Mauritius, Downs; *H. M. S. Dublin*, South Sea Islands.—26. *Quentin Letch*, *Amy Ann*, and *Roseberry*, Bengal, Downs; *Albion*, *William Metcalfe*, Bengal, Portsmouth; *British Empire*, Bengal, Isle of Wight; *Phiadon*, Mauritius, Portsmouth; *City of London*, Mauritius, Falmouth; *Woodstock* and *Darby*, Bengal, Liverpool; *Guardian*, Mauritius, off Margate.—27. *Thomas Lorry*, New South Wales, off Dartmouth; *South Stockton*, China, Downs; *Amphitrite*, Mauritius, Downs; *Caldor*, Singapore, Liverpool.

DEPARTURES.

From the Downs.—FEB. 27. *Orator*, Madras; *Gracian*, Bombay; *Symmetry*, Ceylon.—28. *Macedon*, Hong Kong.—MAR. 2. *Kyle*, Calcutta; *Elizabeth* and *Caroline*, Calcutta; *Bangalore*, Madras and Bengal; *Peruvian*, Sydney; *Sons of Commerce*, Hobart Town; *Caribbean*, Mauritius.—7. *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Hobart Town; *Universe* and *Volusia*, Aden; *Isabella Blyth*, Mauritius.—12. *Woodman*, Bombay.—14. *Orlando*, Calcutta; *Lady Clark*, Madras and Calcutta.—18. *Persian* and *Robert Matthews*, Sydney.—20. *Larkins*, Bengal; *Pekin*, Madras and Bengal; *Ann Falcon*, Mauritius.—28. *Tory*, Hobart Town.

From Liverpool.—FEB. 25. *Dryad*, Singapore; *Mars*, Batavia and Singapore.—27. *Rosendale*, Port Phillip; *William* and *James*, Singapore; *Pandora*, China; *Colchester*, Aden.—MAR. 1. *Panthea*, Calcutta; *Agricola*, Bombay.—4. *D'Arcy*, *Hope*, and *Royal Bride*, Aden; *Lady Bute*, Mauritius; *Richard*, Cape.—8. *Bolívar*, Bombay; *Earl of Chester*, Hong Kong; *Bidstow*, Calcutta; *Princess Royal*, Calcutta; *Hariland*, Bombay; *Delhi*, Bombay; *Thomas Lee*, Bengal.—20. *Statesman*, Africa.—25. *Hope*, Bengal.

From Plymouth.—MAR. 19. *Louisa Campbell*, New Zealand

From Portsmouth.—MAR. 6. *Samarang*, Bengal; *Mary Bannatyne*, China; *Larkins*, Bengal; *Pekin*, Madras and Bengal.

From Dundee.—MAR. 19. *Libra*, Cape.

From Aberdeen.—MAR. 8. *Acasta*, Cape.

From Clyde.—FEB. 27. *Cashmere*, Sydney.—MAR. 5. *Roseanna*, Aden; *Cheshire*, Bengal.—10. *Mogul*, Batavia; *Mandarin*, Calcutta; *St. George*, Mauritius.—12. *Countess of Durham*, Ceylon.

From Leith.—MAR. 11. *Royal Shepherdess*, Ceylon.

From Swansea.—MAR. 12. *Tom Cringle*, Cape.

From Newport.—MAR. 6. *Avoca* and *Helvellyn*, Singapore.

From Southampton.—MAR. 20. *Braganza*, (St.) India.

From Bordeaux.—FEB. 28. *Portly Reed* and *Lady Mary*, Mauritius.—MAR. 14. *Woodlark*, Mauritius.

INCIDENTS.

RAMSGATE, MARCH 23.—The *John Knox*, Cleland, Bombay to London, got on shore on the Goodwin Sands, early this morning, in thick water, and has become a wreck; crew saved.

LIVERPOOL, MARCH 24.—The *Trinidad*, Manila and Cape to London, was lost at Cuck, near Etaples, on Sunday night; ship gone to pieces; crew saved.

COWES, MARCH 25.—The *Siam*, of Newport, Willmor, Calcutta to London, got on shore, March 24, and shortly filled; cargo discharging; one of the crew drowned.

DOWN, MARCH 27.—The *South Stockton*, from China, arrived; spoke the *Margaret Thompson*, and saved the crew of that vessel.

The *Forth*, and *Arab*,—the first named sailed from Manila, April 27, 1844; and the latter sailed from Rio de Janeiro, March 24, 1844, on her passage from London to Van Diemen's Land,—have not since the above dates been heard of.

PASSENGERS.

Per *Duke of Cornwall*, and *Iberia*, for Alexandria.—Mrs. Hallett, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Rinlock, Mr. Sandford, Mr. Young, Miss Grant, Mr. Reid; Mr. Moberly, Mr. Shackleton, Miss Simpson, Mr. Inman, Mr. R. Brown, Capt. Willey, Mr. R. Bell, Mr. Popalani, Dr. Nicholson, Mr. Harris, Dr. Coles, and Mr. Rennie. For Malta.—Miss Barber. For Constantinople.—Mary Ann Harliss, and Adelaide Harliss.

Per *Great Liverpool*, for Malta.—Miss Scott, the Hon. Miss Abercromby, maid servant and man servant, and Mr. and Mrs. Allan. For Alexandria.—Mr. Conybeare, D. Patherick, Esq., and Mr. Pitcairn. For Suez.—Mr. Ryan, and Mr. Grant. For Aden.—L. Josephs, Esq., and Major Dennis. For Ceylon.—Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Fraser. For Madras.—Mr. Collett, G. C. Ro-

binson, Esq., Mr. Pearce, Mr. Meyers, and Mr. Lovelkin. For Calcutta.—Messdames Birkinyoung, Patterson, Snow, and Jackson; two Messrs Cunningham; Messrs. Frith, Murray, Currie, Barber, Maitland, Dickenson, Parnell, Robertson, Patterson, and Snow; Dr. Allen; one servant.—From Gibraltar, for Malta.—Mr. and Mrs. W. Brooks. To embark at Suez, for Ceylon.—Mr. Ryder.

Per *Samarang*, for Madras and Calcutta.—Mrs. Major Claridge, Capt. and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Hutchenson, Messrs. W. Thompson, Claridge, Dempster, Bosworth, Milne, Walker, Glover, Heywood, Campbell, Longmore, Hobbert, Hooper, Jellicoe, O'Connell, Clay, Odell, Clark, Rideout, and Ross.

Per *Larkins*, for Calcutta.—Mrs. Sterndale and three children, Miss Young, Mr. and Mrs. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Ross, Dr. Hale, and two servants.

Per *Pekin*, for Madras and Calcutta.—Messdames Welleson and Quin, Messrs. Higgins, A. Vrey, Bowen, Becons (two), Atlan, Baker, Welleson, Nembhara, Jenkins, Smith, and N. A. Elphinstone; Mrs. Lee, steersman.

Per *Letitia*, for Madras and Calcutta.—Messrs. Baker, Forbes, Grey, and Atkinson.

Per *Bangalore*, for Madras and Calcutta.—Messrs. Charleton, Ireside, Ham-burgh, Longmore, and Page.

OVERLAND MAILS for INDIA, 1843-44.

Date of leaving London.	Arrived at Bombay. (<i>via</i> Suez, Aden, &c.)	Days to Bombay.	Arrived at Madras.	Days to Madras.	Arrived at Calcutta. (in divisions.)	Days to Calcutta.
(<i>via</i> Marseilles.)						
Nov. 15.....	Dec. 23..... (per <i>Akbar</i>)	38	Dec. 30..	45	Jan. 1.....	47
Dec. 6.....	Jan. 11..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	36	Jan. 17..	42	Jan. 19.....	44
Jan. 6, 1844..	Feb. 11..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	36	Feb. 16..	41	Feb. 19.....	44
Feb. 6.....	March 13..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	36	March 19..	49	March 21.....	44
March 6.....	April 8..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	33	April 14..	39	April 16.....	41
April 6.....	May 19..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	36	May 13..	37	May 17..	41
May 6.....	June 6..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	31	June 14..	39	June 18.....	40
June 7.....	July 9..... (per <i>Sesostris</i>)	33	July 16..	40	July 17.....	41
July 8.....	Aug. 6..... (per <i>Akbar</i>)	29	Aug. 15..	35	Aug. 16.....	39
Aug. 7.....	Sept. 7..... (per <i>Sesostris</i>)	31	Sept. 16..	36	Sept. 19.....	38
Sept. 7.....	Oct. 12..... (per <i>Cleopatra</i>)	35	Oct. 19..	42	Oct. 20.....	43
Oct. 7.....	Nov. 12..... (per <i>Berenice</i>)	36	Nov. 17..	41	Nov. 20.....	44
Nov. 7.....	Dec. 13..... (per <i>Victoria</i>)	36	Dec. 24..	47	Dec. 25.....	48
Dec. 7.....	Jan. 11..... (per <i>Atalanta</i>)	35	Jan. 17..	41	Jan. 19.....	48

A Mail will be made up in London, for Bombay, *via* Southampton, at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, and *via* Marseilles on the evening of the 7th April, if not postponed; a Mail will also be made up for Calcutta *via* Southampton on the 18th, and *via* Marseilles on the 24th.

OVERLAND MAILS from INDIA, 1844-45.

Date of leaving Bombay.	Per Steamer to Suez.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Marseilles.	Days from Bombay.	Arrived in London <i>via</i> Southampton.	Days from Bombay.
Feb. 1.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	March 8.....	26	March 13.. (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
March 1.....	<i>Atalanta</i>	April 5.....	35	April 9..... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	39
April 1.....	<i>Victoria</i>	May 5.....	34	May 11.... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	40
May 1.....	<i>Berenice</i>	June 5.....	35	June 11.... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	41
May 20.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	July 4.....	44	July 10.... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	52
June 19.....	<i>Akbar</i>	Aug. 2.....	44	Aug. 10 (per <i>Lady Mary Wood</i>)	52
July 31.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Sept. 11.....	43	Sept. 16.... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	47
Aug. 27.....	<i>Akbar</i>	Oct. 3.....	37	Oct. 7..... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	41
Oct. 1.....	<i>Victoria</i>	Nov. 5.....	36	Nov. 10.... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	41
Nov. 1.....	<i>Atalanta</i>	Dec. 5.....	35	Dec. 10.... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	40
Dec. 2.....	<i>Cleopatra</i>	Jan. 3.....	33	Jan. 11.... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	41
Jan. 1, 1845..	<i>Berenice</i>	Feb. 7.....	37	Feb. 17..... (per <i>Braganza</i>)	47
Feb. 1.....	<i>Victoria</i>	March 6.....	37	March 10.... (per <i>Gr. Liverpool</i>)	47
Feb. 8 (Calcutta)	<i>Procurer</i>	March 24.....	44	March 26.... (per <i>Oriental</i>)	46

* Per steamer *Bominech*.

† Per steamer *Hindostan*.

SHIPS DESTINED FOR INDIA, &c., AND THEIR PRO- BABLE TIME OF SAILING.

FOR BENGAL.

<i>Tamandra</i>	432	tons.	Skinner	...	Lond. Docks...	April 1
<i>Poictiers</i>	756	.....	Denny	.....	E. I. Docks	April 2
<i>Candahar</i>	642	..	Ridley	.....	St. Kat. Docks	April 3
<i>Helen Mary</i>	379	.....	Winn	.....	Lond. Docks...	April 6
<i>Mary Ridley</i>	309	.....	Sharer	.....	—	April 8.
<i>John Bibby</i>	550	.....	Cawhitt	...	W. I. Docks	April 10.
<i>Mischief</i>	221	.....	—	.....	Lond Docks..	April 10.
<i>Duke of Cornwall</i>	580	.....	Whitehead	.....	E. I. Docks	April 12
<i>Scindiah</i>	650	..	Terry	.....	—	April 15
<i>John Edward</i>	376	.....	—	.....	W. I. Docks	April 26.
<i>Tanjore</i>	422	.....	—	.....	—	May 10

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL.

<i>Colony</i>	420	.....	Thompson	E. I. Docks	...	April 10
<i>Robert Small</i>	655	..	Williams	...	—	April 22
<i>Walmer Castle</i>	656	.....	Campbell	...	—	April.
<i>Seringapatam</i>	871	..	Voss	.....	—	May 1.
<i>Orient</i>	600	.....	Wales	.....	—	May 4

FOR MADRAS.

<i>Sir Robert Sale (wrecks)</i>	441	...	Loader	..	St. Kat. Docks	April 1.
<i>Minerva</i>	850	.....	Geere	.....	E. I. Docks	May 1

FOR BOMBAY.

<i>Abyn</i>	374	.....	Walker	...	Lond. Docks	April 4.
<i>Arab</i>	485	..	Sumner	...	St. Kat. Docks	April 8.
<i>Persia</i>	609	.....	Morris	...	W. I. Docks	April 25
<i>Neptune</i>	643	.....	Ferris	.....	E. I. Docks	May.

FOR CHINA.

<i>City of Derry</i>	474	...	Were	...	W. I. Docks	April 1.
<i>Duke of Portland</i>	538	.....	Hamlin	...	—	May 1.
<i>Marquis of Bute</i>	543	..	Bannatyne	.....	Lond. Docks..	June 1.

FOR CEYLON.

<i>Sumatra</i>	400	.....	Duncan	...	W. I. Docks	April 3.
<i>Arcton</i>	362	.....	Shelton	.....	—	May 30.

FOR MAURITIUS.

<i>Edward Robinson</i>	301	.....	Leyland	...	Lond. Docks...	April 1.
<i>Chamley Castle</i>	871	.....	Althans	...	St. Kat. Docks	April 10.
<i>Montfleur</i>	303	.....	Humble	...	W. I. Docks	—

FOR ST. HELENA.

<i>Star</i>	159	..	MacDonald	...	St. Kat. Docks	April 1
<i>Robert Clive</i>	880	.....	Mercer	.....	Lond. Docks..	April.